STUART
1603-1714

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The Connoisseur Period Guides

to the Houses, Decorati

Connoisseur Period Guides

STUART

1603-1714

Edited by Ralph Edwards
and L. G. G. Ramsey

The Connoisseur Period Guides bring together for the first time all the arts and crafts of the great classic periods in England. The various sections of each volume have been contributed by leading authorities so as to provide an invaluable survey of the artistic achievements in each period. The books are planned both for those interested in the practical purpose of furnishing and for the student of social history and art.

The period covered by this book is one of the most dramatic and colorful in English history: it includes a civil war, the beheading of a king, a military dictatorship and the natural disasters of the Great Plague and the Great Fire of London. What effects did these violent events have on English life, manners and taste? Was Cromwell's period of power as colorless as it is sometimes accused of having been? And was the Restoration as gay and frivolous as comtemporary playwrights lead us to believe? This book deals not only with the work of Inigo Jones, Wren, Vanbrugh, Van Dyck, Lely, Hollar and other great artists, but also with the work of the craftsmen, often unknown, who made the superb furniture, silver, glass, textiles and other artifacts of the period.

This handsomely printed volume contains 192 pages of text, over 200 half-tone illustrations, more than 40 line drawings and 4 pages in full color.

Reynal & Company, Inc.
New York, 17, N.Y.

THE CONNOISSEUR PERIOD GUIDES

The Stuart Period

The Connoisseur Period Guides

to the Houses, Decoration, Furnishing and Chattels
of the Classic Periods

Edited by Ralph Edwards & L. G. G. Ramsey

⁂

The Tudor Period
1500—1603

The Stuart Period
1603—1714

The Early Georgian Period
1714—1760

The Late Georgian Period
1760—1810

The Regency Period
1810—1830

The Early Victorian Period
1830—1860

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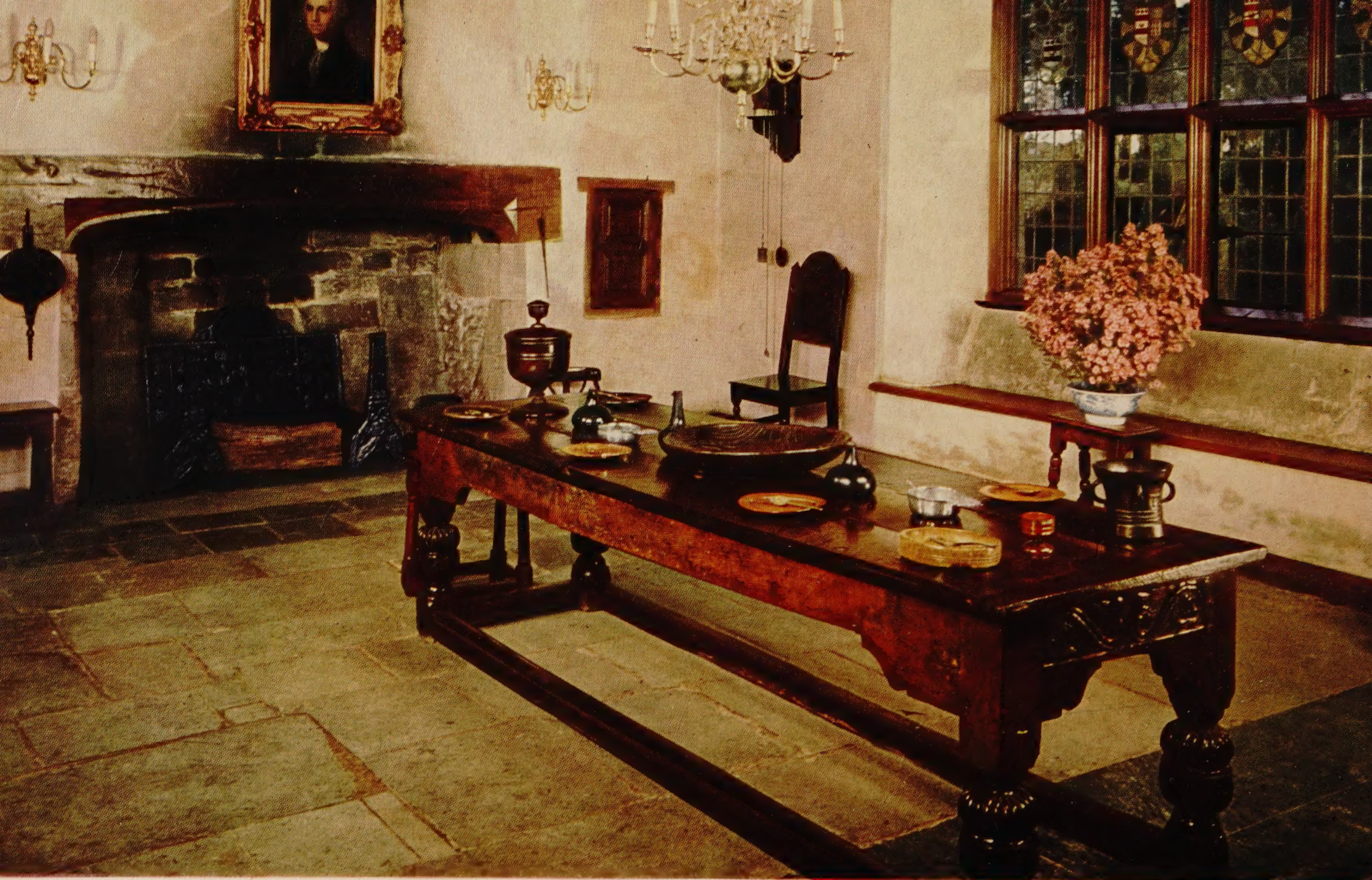
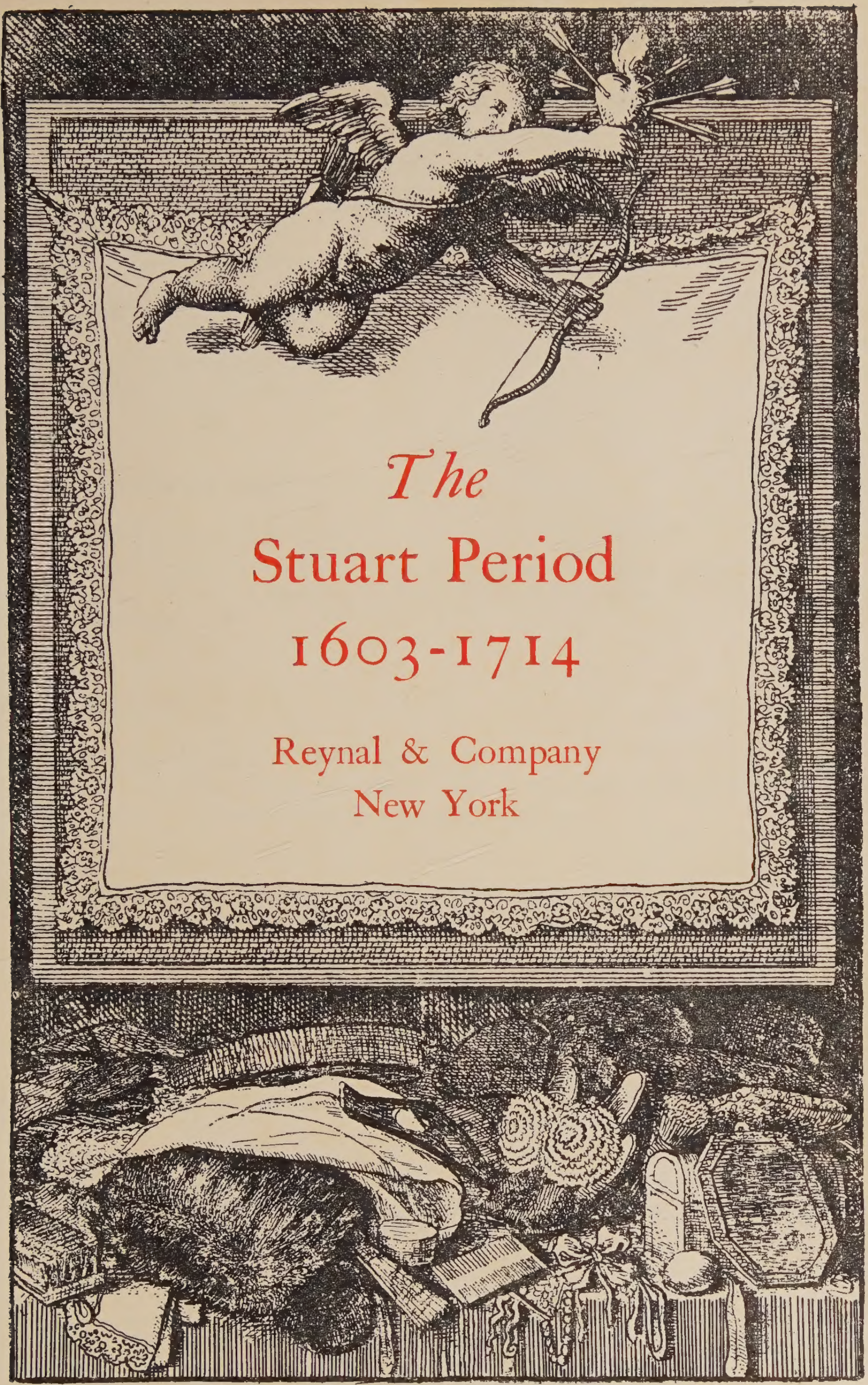


The Great Dining Room at Sulgrave Manor, Northamptonshire, home of the ancestors of George Washington, whose portrait hangs above the open fireplace. The stained glass seen in the south window contains arms of the Washington family.



The
Stuart Period
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Contents

Foreword ix

by L. G. G. RAMSEY, F.S.A.
Editor of THE CONNOISSEUR

The Jacobean Age 1

by PETER LASLETT
Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Lecturer in History, Cambridge University. Edited *Patriarcha and Other Political Writings* by Sir Robert Filmer (1949)

Architecture 17

by DR MARGARET WHINNEY
Reader in the History of Art, Courtauld Institute. Joint author of *English Art 1625–1714* (The Oxford History of English Art) (1957)

Furniture 31

by RALPH FASTNEDGE, D.F.C.
Deputy Director of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. Author of *English Furniture Styles from 1500 to 1830* (1955)

Painting and Portrait Miniatures 49

by OLIVER MILLAR, M.V.O.
Deputy Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures. Joint author of *English Art 1625–1714* (The Oxford History of English Art) (1957). Contributor to *The Burlington Magazine*, etc.

Sculpture 67

by DR MARGARET WHINNEY

Silver 75

by DR N. M. PENZER
Author of *Paul Storr, the last of the Goldsmiths* (1954), contributor to THE CONNOISSEUR. Editor of the Argonaut Press.

Pottery, Porcelain and Glass 93

by R. J. CHARLESTON
Assistant Keeper, Department of Ceramics, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Contributor to THE CONNOISSEUR, *The Burlington Magazine* and *Apollo.*

Domestic Metalwork 109

by G. BERNARD HUGHES
Regular contributor to *Country Life* and author of *Three Centuries of Domestic Silver* (1952), etc., etc.

Textiles 119

by DONALD KING
Assistant Keeper, Department of Textiles, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Costume 135

by DR C. WILLETT CUNNINGTON
Author of *Handbook of English Costume in the XVIIth Century* (1955), etc., etc.

Jewellery 147

by JOHN HAYWARD
Assistant Keeper, Department of Woodwork, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Regular contributor to THE CONNOISSEUR and other fine art magazines

Music and Musical Instruments 157

by ROBERT DONINGTON
Specialist in seventeenth and eighteenth century music. Director of the musical group, the Donington Trio Sonata Consort

Bookbinding 167

by HOWARD M. NIXON
Assistant Keeper, Department of Printed Books, British Museum

Printing 169

by RUARI McLEAN
Author of *George Cruikshank* (1948) and *Modern Book Design* (1951). Contributor to *Signature, Alphabet and Image*, etc.

Index 175

Colour Plates

The Great Dining Room, Sulgrave Manor *Frontispiece*
The Large Bed Chamber, Sulgrave Manor *facing page* 38
A lacquer cabinet on a gilt stand *facing page* 46
'Man in Black' by Sir Anthony Van Dyck *facing page* 56

From a pen drawing by Edward Cocker, 1660

Acknowledgments

The colour photograph used for the jacket and frontispiece is of the Great Dining Room at Sulgrave Manor, built by Laurence Washington, a direct ancestor of George Washington. It was taken by David Wharry and is reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Sulgrave Manor Board.

The title-page has been adapted from an etching by Wenceslaus Hollar, dated 1644, which forms the frontispiece to *Aula Veneris*, a series of plates etched and mostly drawn by Hollar of women's costumes of the period. The line block is enlarged to about twice the size of the original.

The block on page xii has been made from an original etching by Hollar, dated 1649, kindly lent by Messrs P. and D. Colnaghi, London.

For the illustrations on pages 97, 106 and 180 acknowledgment is made to the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The two engravings on Plate 1, and the line illustrations on pages 14 and 92, are reproduced by kind permission of the Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

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Foreword

L. G. G. RAMSEY

By the time the final page of the last Volume in these *Connoisseur Period Guides* has been written, much that is a part of the insular pattern of England and its people will have been recorded. And as the years progress, particularly from the period covered by the first (Tudor) volume to the years of the Stuarts now presented, it becomes apparent that there are many more extant records, inventories, accounts, correspondence and diaries than exist in reference to medieval England. Furthermore, not only do a much greater number of seventeenth and eighteenth century records exist, but they are more easily comprehensible. For that reason they are an infinitely greater aid to the academic studies of the student, the collector and the art-historian today. We now know that a court cup-board was in essentials the medieval cupboard – an open structure of shelves: while if inventories fail to identify the livery cupboard clearly, they tell us that some were open while others were fitted with 'ambois'. And whereas fifteenth and sixteenth century inventories of English household effects *suggest* that a particular item of furniture was used for a specific purpose – and it was sometimes called by different names in different parts of England – in the seventeenth century, and after, such terms, especially for furniture, were becoming more standardized: and the greater number of extant records of that period help to establish their proper nomenclature.

In relation to household furniture in particular, and the foreign influences to which it was subjected, the years covered by this volume are of unusual interest. Representative of the first years of the seventeenth century, for example, we think of the rare West-Country armorial bed (*c.* 1612) at Montacute House, Somerset. In its head are carved the arms of James I, Henry, Prince of Wales (a great connoisseur of the arts), and of the Elector Palatine of the Rhine. Then, as we pass to the years of Charles I we may well pause and remember him not for his statesmanship, but for the altogether remarkable degree of connoisseurship which he possessed: since Charles was surely the most enthusiastic and discerning collector who has ever graced the English throne. Even the austere Lucy Hutchinson was forced to admit that 'King Charles was ... a most excellent judge and a great lover of paintings, carvings, gravings and many other ingenuities'. After the King's execution many of his pictures were put up for sale and later dispersed. Yet at Windsor, at Hampton Court and at the National Gallery are splendid works which bear witness to the extraordinary richness and variety of the collection which he built up. For other important examples of his taste it is necessary to look to the Prado, the Louvre, the Brera, Antwerp and elsewhere. Almost invariably, however, we are brought to see Charles I through the eyes of the great Van Dyck. In fact, a particular feature of the important chapter in this volume on Painting and Portrait Miniatures, by Mr Oliver Millar, is that it not only contains much material which has hitherto not been published, but part of it is intimately concerned with a revolutionary turning-point in the development of the English portrait – the arrival of Anthony Van Dyck in London in the spring of 1632.

Supremely fitted by temperament to please the King and his courtiers, a master of his medium able to command delicious colour harmonies, and deeply influenced by Titian, Van Dyck did not always rely on an elegant formula and 'was sometimes inspired to paint, of such patrons whom he knew well as the King or Lord Strafford, a penetrating and sympathetic analysis of character. His spectacular double portraits and groups have a magnificent air of parade and his interest in landscape (which is shown in a handful of exquisite drawings) enabled him on occasion to set his sitters wholly within an open-air context (a form of portraiture which was to be developed in the eighteenth century) instead of placing them against the conventional backcloths of Van Somer or Mytens. The Countess of Bedford at Petworth draws on her glove; the royal children and their little gestures are frozen into immobility for a moment; the Earl of Strafford wields his baton of authority and caresses the "bigg white irish dogg" (the Earl Fitzwilliam Collection); Northumberland as Lord High Admiral stands contemptuously on the sea-shore; Lord Denbigh in oriental costume lurches into a glade with his fowling-piece and starts back as he sees a brightly-coloured parrot. It is this completely new understanding of the relation of the sitter to a chosen context, and a wholly new apparent ease, informality and variety of pose that set Van Dyck off so entirely from his predecessors and potential rivals in England and makes him the immediate precursor and inspiration of Reynolds and Gainsborough.'

Reaching the middle years of the period – and leaving behind the stern, largely stagnatory years of Protector Cromwell's Commonwealth – we are present, as it were, at the re-awakening, arriving, at the Restoration, on the exciting threshold of an age which was to be the beginning of the England that is known today.

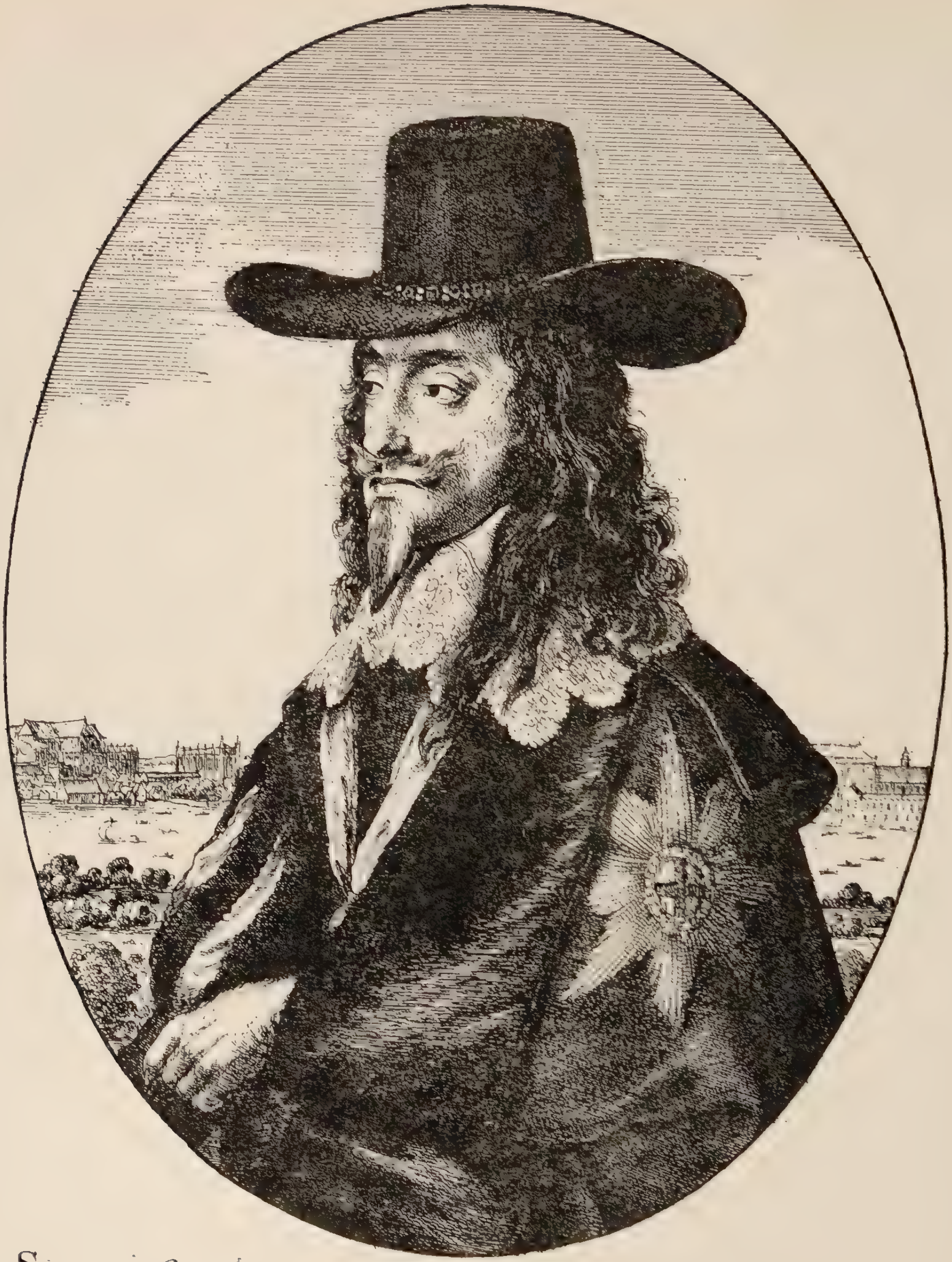
If the Restoration was perhaps a period of social relaxation and excess, new, enlightened thoughts were in the minds of many. A new type of architecture brought with it fresh building elements. In this the restored Stuart played a royal part, since in the course of about nine years of his reign he expended at least £190,000 on new works at Windsor, an outlay which must be multiplied many times to yield its modern equivalent. It was the age of Wren and Gibbons, and later of Vanbrugh: and a period, as Dr Margaret Whinney and Mr Oliver Millar have recorded elsewhere, during which Gibbons was paid large sums for rich carving for the Chapel Royal and for St George's Hall.

A new, original style of furniture, requiring new woods was also in favour to suit the fresh mode of living. It was an age which bred an upper stratum of society which called for the cane chair and table, the sleeping chair, the scrutoir, the candle-stand, the chest on stand, the japanned cabinet. As seventeenth century Europe was largely dominated by the French, not only militarily and politically but also in the arts, it was natural that 'French' terms should also be used by London cabinet- and furniture-makers. When Charles II was refurbishing the Royal palaces, one of the many master craftsmen employed by him was a certain Richard Price, who, in 1670, supplied the King with 'Three ffrench bedsteads'. The less affluent Pepys, however, who was also one of those who required contemporary furniture rather than a copy of something which was no longer fashionable, went to 'Sympson, the Joyner; and he and I with great pains contribed presses [now at Magdalene College, Cambridge] to put my books in'.

Other foreign influences on the English seventeenth century way of life were also at work. Whilst, through the advanced culture of France, the cultivated Englishman of taste was brought into contact with the world of ancient Greece and Rome, with Turkey, the Middle East, India and China, it was through the merchants of Amsterdam that the Englishman of commerce was enabled to catch a first glimpse of the primitive peoples of Africa and the Americas. These sights of far-off landscapes were, as Mr Peter Laslett points out, to be of immense importance for the future of the English peoples: until, in 1688, we find a Dutchman, William III, Stadtholder of Holland, as King of England.

Still in association with the Dutch, this second volume of the *Connoisseur Period Guides* concludes with the reigning years and death of the devout, simple, decorous Queen Anne, the last of the Stuarts: the final important act of the Stuart dynasty being the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

The Jacobean Age



Serenisſimus Princeps, Carolus D:G: Angliæ,
Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ REX, etc.

Ant: van Dyck pinxit.

W: Hollar fecit, 1649

The Jacobean Age

PETER LASLETT

When the great Queen Elizabeth died at Richmond on the 24th March, 1603, the most glorious English age had come to an end. Never again was so English a person to wear the English crown. No longer was Shakespeare's little, little land to be the land of the English alone, for with her successor, James I, begins the era of Britain and the British, England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. No longer could the English look upon their country as the westernmost European community, an island off the great historic continent. It was not to be an outpost, but a centre. By the year 1714, at the time of the death of Queen Anne, great-granddaughter to James I, it was indeed a centre: it was fast becoming the centre of the world.

An age of influence from outside

For this period of some one hundred and ten years the name of the Royal Family was Stuart, and it is often called the Jacobean age because in Latin James becomes Jacobus. In the history of Europe as a whole, this century – the seventeenth century – is sometimes referred to as the century of greatness, intellectual greatness. The British peoples shared to the full in this triumph of the European intellect: indeed, at the end of the epoch our great men were perhaps the most distinguished of them all. Although for most of the time we lived to ourselves and apart from the Continent, these were generations of pervasive influence on the English from outside the English borders. Scottish James was getting on for forty when he came to the throne, and he brought with him a Scottish Court and Scottish favourites. His second son, Charles, was only three years old when he came to England. But this weakly child, born at Dunfermline and intended for the Church, was to die on the scaffold at Whitehall as Charles I, King of England, Scotland and Ireland. High tragedy of the great Shakespearian sort is associated with him, but from our point of view his successful marriage is almost as important as his terrible death. His wife was Henrietta Maria of France: she herself was quintessentially French, and with this determined lady, the mother of Charles II and James II, there came into England a strong and persisting pressure from the most cultivated and successful nation in the world.

Seventeenth century Europe, in fact, came to be dominated by the French, militarily and politically, but above all in the arts. The English Royal Court, like all the rest of them, took to French manners, French furniture and decoration, French literary and artistic modes, and with the Court, as always, went the great nobility and those within the fashion. But it was not only from France that the alien winds blew upon the society of Stuart England. European commerce and finance were governed not from Paris, but from Amsterdam, Rotterdam and the other large cities of the United Provinces of Holland. The British Isles were set for much of the century in a Dutch seascape, and a strong sea-breeze from Holland blew through the huge city of London and over the whole English commercial and industrial community. When the House of Stuart gave way for a while to the rule of the Protector Cromwell in the

1650's, this Dutch influence became stronger still, and naval and commercial rivalry with Holland a dominating theme. From then on the French and the Dutch pulled a tug-of-war over England, and at the Glorious Revolution of 1688 the Dutch were the winners. From that year until his death in 1702 the English king was a Dutchman: William III, Stadtholder of Holland and leader of the European coalition against the mighty Louis XIV of France. Our houses, our painting, our books, many of the articles of our ordinary use showed plainly enough this Dutch economic and political infiltration.

Neither Holland nor France at this time was the simple national community which we think of when we call to mind the England of William Shakespeare. Through the high culture of France, the cultivated Englishman was brought into contact with the world of ancient Greece and Rome, with Turkey and the Middle East, even with the far Orient of India and China. Through the merchants of Amsterdam, and to an ever-increasing extent through those of London and Bristol, the English men of business caught their first glimpses of the primitive peoples of Africa and the Americas. Strange, wild but rich landscapes, far indeed from the English counties, but important for the future of the English peoples. These travellers' tales told the clergymen and the philosophers of men without the idea of a God, of peoples undreamt of in the Bible and the Christian revelation. Something of the world as it really is, the world as we now know it, was beginning to be dimly seen, and it was through English eyes that it was to be first seen as a complete whole.

The seeds of Empire

For if they were so much under the pressure of forces from outside, the English people of the Stuart age were nevertheless themselves a great and growing force upon Europe and the world. It was the arrogant Tudor, Henry VIII, who had first proclaimed that 'this realm of England is an Empire', and it was under his daughter Elizabeth's rule that the English first set foot in the American continent. But it was not until the time of the Stuarts that the first English colonies sprang up and that the Englishman first felt himself a member of an imperial race, where Empire meant something very different, something close to what we mean by it now.

Our imperial mission began at home, in the unfortunate country of Ireland. By the end of the century the English dominated the other countries in the British Isles far more completely than they had ever done before. Along the western seaboard of the North Atlantic those British colonies which were so soon to become the United States of America were already flourishing. Not only in the Atlantic, but also in the Mediterranean, in the Indian and China seas, English seamen, English merchants and slave-traders were everywhere to be found. There was no longer one English community, but many: the English at home, the English elsewhere in the British Isles and especially Ireland, and the English overseas, especially in America.

All this meant wealth and power. The money and the rulership went to the merchants who exploited this vast hinterland, and to the noblemen who were given the task of administering the areas which were conquered and settled. But the booty, the silks, the spices, the precious metals and the jewels, the tropical timber, the tobacco, the sugar, the industrial raw materials – the big English share of Europe's sack of the rest of the world – these things went to English society as a whole. They came not simply by crude piracy and loot, which had been the pattern under Elizabeth, but by the part we played in the growth of European trade: the Atlantic trade routes wound about the English seas, but we found our way into the trading lines with Russia, India and China also. Ours was already a rich country, well up to the rest in the development of agriculture, industry and commerce. The new wealth intensified the process of economic change, and in the end it helped to bring about the growth of modern industrialism, though the Stuart age was not one of uniform economic progress. What interests us is how the English used the wealth which was coming to them. Some of it – a great deal more than might be expected – went into houses, furnishing and gardens. Indeed, it was the men of the Stuart age who first thought of England as we still would like to think of her – as a garden, or as a stately house set in a garden.

The growth of England's foreign trade and her wealth generally has a more obvious bearing on our subject. It was because of this opening up of the world's markets and resources that it became possible to use Virginian walnut for desks and tallboys, to put Indian tea and Arabian coffee into china cups, instead of small beer into pewter flagons. It was because so many people could afford to live substantially that so much was created to enable them to do so, by the silversmiths and the potters, the iron-masters and the glaziers, the girdlers, the haberdashers and the cordwainers, as well as the carpenters, painters and architects. But the proportion of their income which people will be prepared to spend on things like these will depend on who they are and what their standards have to be. The historian, then, must explain what sort of people they were, these English nobles, gentry and merchants who used all these things, as well as saying why it was they could afford them. But before we look more closely at English society at this time, and the way it was arranged so as to require the things which are the subject of this book, it is necessary to remind ourselves of what happened to the English and the British under the Stuarts – the doings of the kings, the battles, the revolutions and so on.

Elizabethans and Jacobeans

James I reigned for nearly a generation, from 1603 to 1625. These were twenty-two years of marked political decline for the English throne: from being just about adequately rich, effective at home and respected abroad, and above all immensely popular under the last of the Tudors, it became, under the first of the Stuarts, dangerously impoverished, less efficient in governance and noticeably less beloved. Nevertheless the life of the country as a whole did not change very much with the change in the surname of the sovereign. When, indeed, the English Bible was published in 1611, its preface talked of 'that Bright *Occidental* Star, Queen Elizabeth' as if the afterglow was still to be seen in the sky. The shining constellation was still above the horizon when James himself died: Shakespeare lived until 1616, and it was for the subjects of James I, not Elizabeth, that many of his plays were staged; Bacon lived until 1626, and Ben Jonson till the year 1637, the very eve of the climacteric of the whole Jacobean epoch. The aesthetic life of these first forty years of the new century was very little different from what had gone before.

But there were two changes of fundamental importance going forward, one religious and the other constitutional and political. A great and growing body of powerful religious opinion, the Puritans and Puritanism, was becoming more and more hostile to the official organization of the English or Anglican Church, the Tudor Establishment. Now the Church and its bishops were part of the State itself, and in demanding the abolition of the office of bishop, the Puritans were threatening the whole political fabric. Meanwhile James I was finding it more and more difficult to get on with the English Parliament, both because its members tended to be Puritan sympathizers and also because they were beginning to take a view of the proper constitution of the country somewhat different from what had been previously assumed. The Crown, on its side, was also developing a constitutional attitude which Parliamentarians could feel was new, unjustifiable and autocratic. In this way the basic social and political linkage – that between the Crown (the Government) and the country at large – was being progressively weakened. The great debate of the Jacobean age was well on its way.

Under James himself neither of these issues became extreme. Religious uniformity was maintained somehow, and both Puritan and Catholic dissidents kept under control: after the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 the measures against the Catholics began to look ugly. As the reign went on, successive Parliaments became successive crises. The inflation of the previous century continued, and its political results became evident. The fixed income of the Crown grew smaller and smaller in proportion to the growing cost of government. All attempts to supplement the royal revenue from parliamentary taxation tended to break down, because the members tried to get their grievances redressed before they would grant the money, and grievances began to include the foreign and religious policy of the Crown, which James would not allow to be the concern of Parliament. He bullied, cajoled and complained in what was to be the Stuart fashion. It was not only Parliament which he had to treat so, but the common lawyers who found his financial expedients and his ideas on the extent of the royal prerogative to be against English legal precedent and practice.

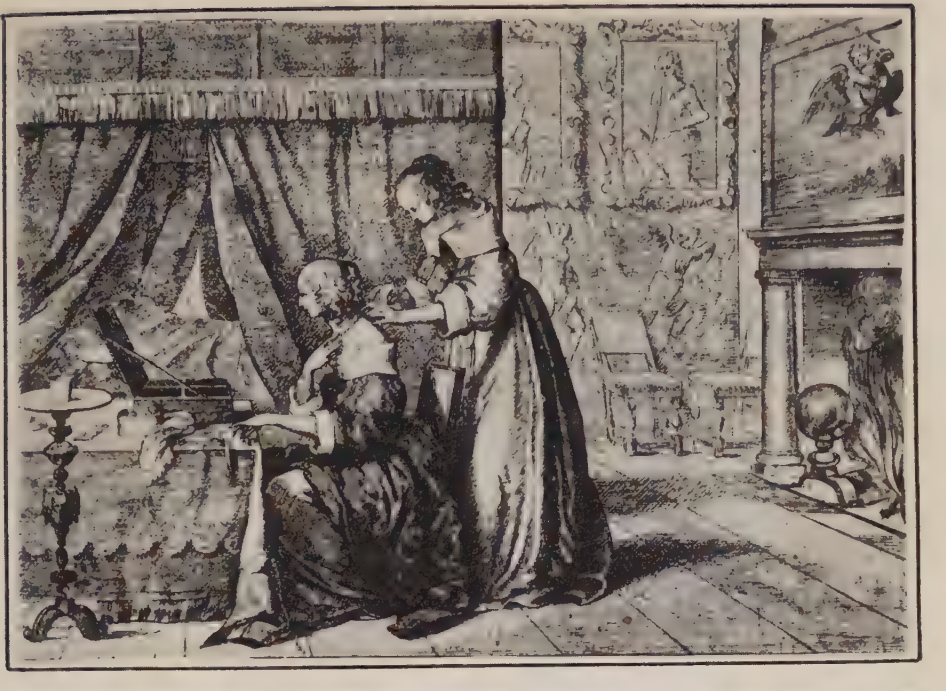
For the rest, James I filled up the English peerage, to some degree, with his own Scottish favourites, and he created a new order, the order of baronets. Baronetcies were sold, and so were knighthoods too: suitable candidates were impelled to take them. This was done because the fees helped the royal revenue, and the titles made it clear where political and economic influence lay – among the English gentry. He made peace with Spain, and pursued a weak and ineffective policy abroad: he could scarcely afford anything else. One incidental result of this was that English gentlemen began to travel abroad and see for themselves how cultivated Frenchmen and Italians lived.

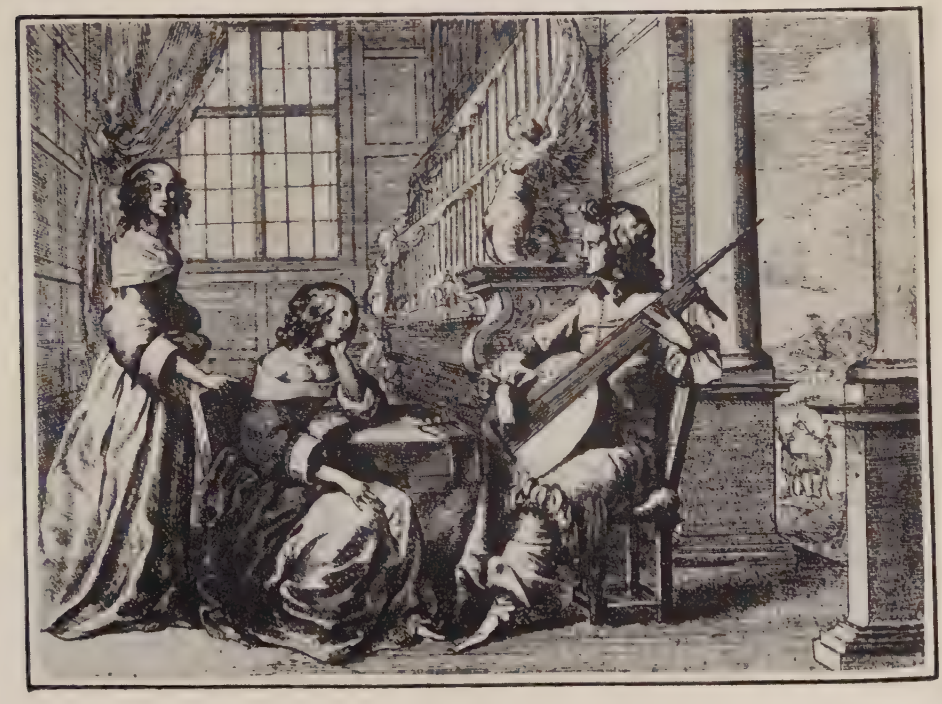
Charles I and the Puritan upheaval

When Charles I succeeded in 1625 the position of the Crown was such that unless some sort of settlement could be reached with Parliament, government of the country along the traditional lines would no longer be possible. But the gentlemen of the House of Commons, Puritans and lawyers as so many of them were, were no more prepared to trust son than they had been to trust father: from the beginning they suspected Charles of Catholic leanings, and they hated his Catholic French wife. He had inherited a disastrous military policy and an even more disastrous favourite, Buckingham, to carry it out. He summoned three new parliaments in his first four years, so difficult had his financial position become: in return he got not supplies, not even those which his father had been given and which were regarded as the traditional right of the Crown, but a classic statement of the Parliamentary championship of the rights of the people, the Petition of Right of 1628. After this Charles I resolved to rule without Parliament, and in respect of some of his taxation at least, to rule outside the law. There succeeded the famous interlude known as the Eleven Years' Tyranny, though this title suggests a despotism far harsher than the mild inefficiency of a Stuart ruling alone.

It lasted from 1629 to 1640, and these were perhaps the most placid and prosperous years of the whole century. Money was raised by the revival of obsolete royal dues, and so successful was this policy at a time when nothing expensive was undertaken that financial disaster was avoided. This was the period of Strafford and Laud, Strafford being Chief Minister and overcoming opposition with his policy of 'Thorough', and Laud the Archbishop of Canterbury, putting down the Puritans. It looked as if England was going the same way as most other European monarchies, where the Estates of the Realm (or Parliaments) were disappearing for want of being summoned, and monarchs were ruling alone, as despots. But the English gentry were forging weapons of resistance unknown to Frenchmen or to Spaniards, and when John Hampden of Buckinghamshire refused to pay Ship Money, the most famous of the royal impositions, in 1635, the end of early Stuart despotism was in sight.

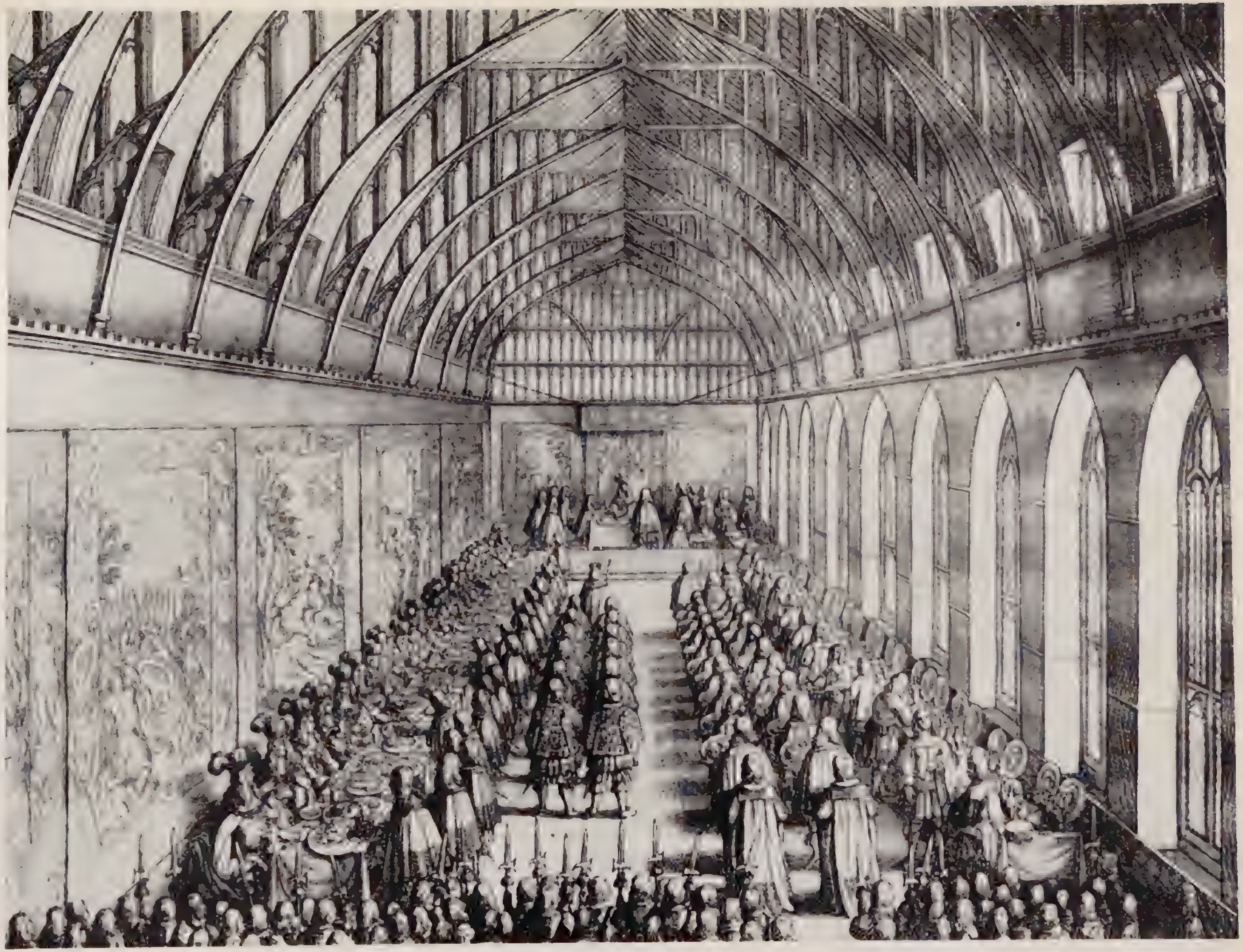
It would not have ended unless Charles and Laud had blundered into war, war which could be paid for only by something more substantial than arbitrary impositions. In 1637 they decided to require the clergy of Scotland to conform to a liturgy of the Anglican, episcopal type, and within a very few months Charles found himself fighting his own native kingdom. The royal expedition to punish the rebellious Scots was a dreary fiasco, and Charles summoned Parliament at last early in 1640, as it had traditionally been summoned to meet a national emergency. The response of the outraged members was so discouraging to the Royal policy, that Charles sent them all away once more. But by this time his position was desperate, and the only way of buying off the invaders was to summon Parliament once again, and to agree at long last to some redress of religious and political grievances. In September 1640 the Long Parliament – the longest in our history, for it was not to be finally and legally dissolved until





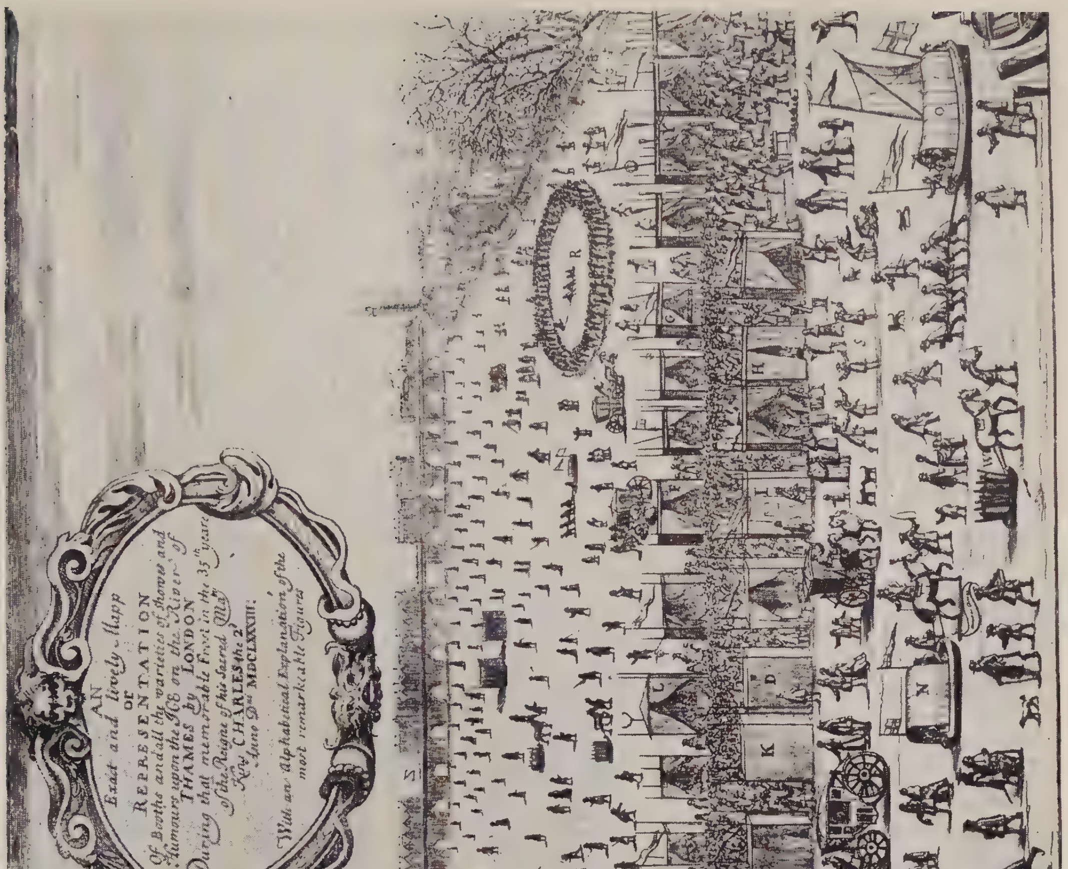
Two illustrations from *The Genteel Habits of England*, a book of engravings by Sir Edmund Marmion, *c.* 1640. They show a great lady first at her toilette, and then singing with her gallant. The table of her bedroom is heavily draped, and her dressing-box with its mirror lid is set upon it, but the floorboards are bare. The bosom-revealing fashion of the time was a sore point with the Puritans.
Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

PLATE 1



Banquet of Charles II and the Knights of the Order of the Garter in St George's Hall, Windsor. Such feasts were costly. Archbishop Laud's quadrangle for St John's, Oxford, was built for £5,087: the Royal feast at its opening cost him £2,226, *Wenceslaus Hollar.*

PLATE 2


AN
Exact and lively Mapp
or
REPRESENTATION
Of Booths and all the varieties of Showes and
Humours upon the ICE on the River of
THAMES by LONDON
During that memorable Frost in the 35th yeare
of the Reigne of his Sacred Maty
King CHARLES the 2d
Anno Dni MDCLXXXIII.
With an Alphabetical Explanation of the
most remarkeable Figures

A contemporary engraving of the Great Frost Fair on the Thames, 1683–4, an extraordinary sight for the gentry up from the country. In one of the booths they could get their names printed on a dated ticket. Bull baiting is going on at Q. *British Museum.*

PLATE 3

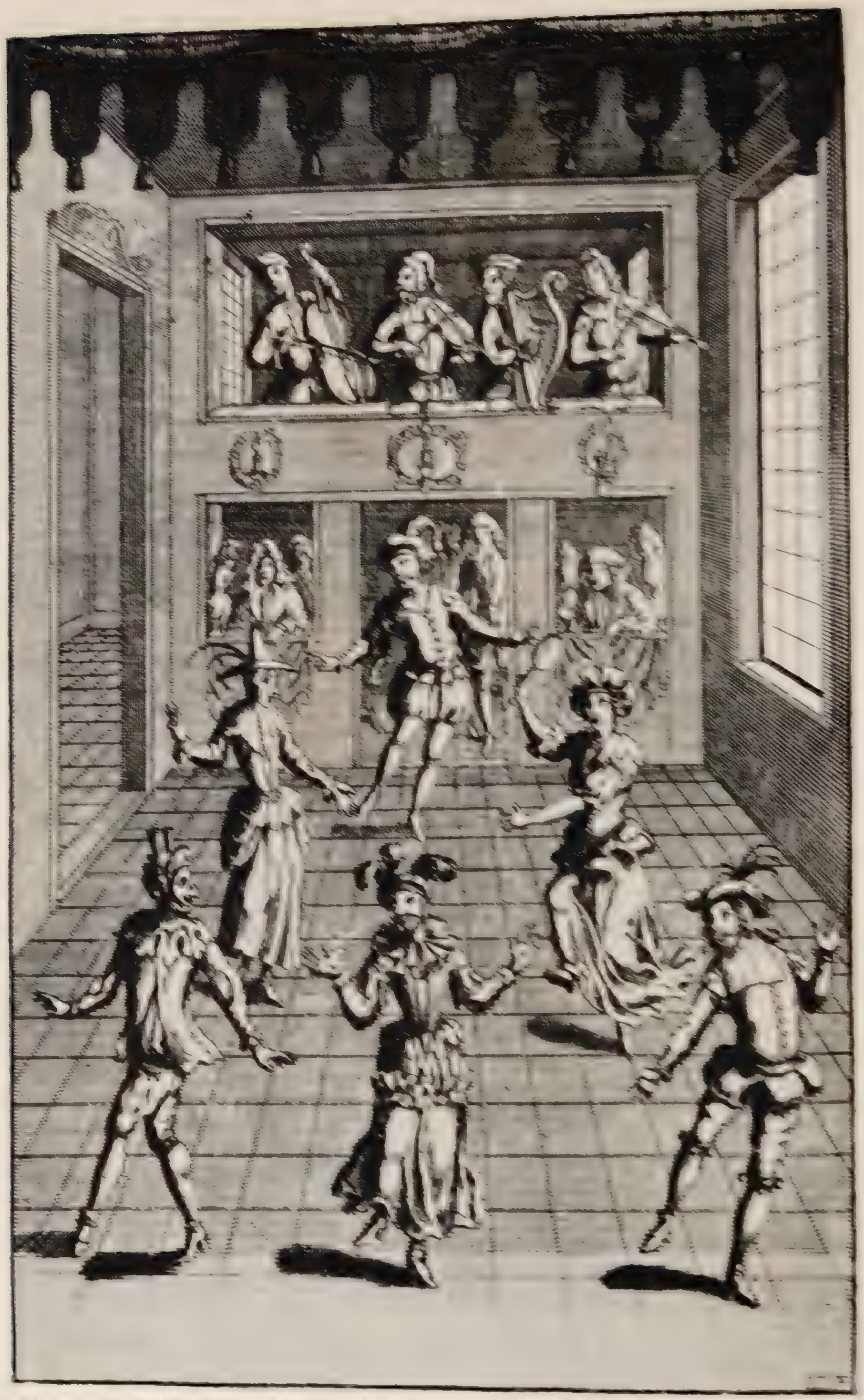


Illustration to *Wit at Several Weapons* by Beaumont and Fletcher, published by N. Rowe, 1711: a lively and grotesque picture of Jacobean dramatics. The orchestra is above the stage—music always came from above, even in the great halls. Underneath at each side are the gentlemen playgoers with their ladies in the stage boxes.

PLATE 4

To face page

1660 – was summoned to Westminster. This Parliament brought about revolution.

For two years the gentlemen of the House of Commons had their way with the royal policy, the royal ministers and the governmental institutions. Led by John Pym, a clear majority voted to remodel everything which they found obnoxious, unchristian in their definition of Christianity or unconstitutional: there was no one but the King and his Court to oppose them, because until 1642 no Royalist party existed, at Westminster or in the country at large. But Englishmen had yet to teach themselves that permanent, acceptable change cannot be brought about except by compromise and in gradualness: Pym was running his country into civil war. In 1642 it came, and it was nearly won for the Crown in the first few months by the strength of traditional loyalties and the inexperience of Parliament in anything else but legislation and debate. But on the Parliamentary side were ranged first the earnest mass of the Puritans and second the wealthier half of the kingdom, London and the south-east. The eastern counties brought into being a New Model Army, organized and financed in a way quite different from the armies of the King or any other army before. The man who commanded it was a gentleman from Cambridge and the Fenland, a sober, convinced Puritan of the extremer wing: his name was Oliver Cromwell.

When Cromwell won the first Civil War at the battle of Naseby in the year 1645 the English people broke with their traditional past. For the first time in the history of Europe an army claiming to be the army of the people as a whole had defeated and made helpless a legal sovereign; in their own eyes, and in the eyes of their supporters then and ever since, moreover, they had vindicated for the first time and in the most conspicuous fashion the principle of government by the consent of the governed. But the political problem, the problem of who should govern England and how, had not been solved: it was to take forty-five years to solve it. A whole complicated series of negotiations had to take place with the defeated King, a second Civil War had to be fought, an extraordinary interlude had to be faced in which the common man was to be seen for the first time at the centre of political decisions, before the next stage could come about. This was the stage at which it became inevitable that a court should be set up to try Charles Stuart, King of England, and find him guilty. He was executed on the 30th January 1649. The future of the country now lay not with the representatives of the people in Parliament, which had been so purged that it was hardly recognizable, but with Cromwell and his generals.

The problem of government

It was not until 1653 that Oliver Cromwell was made Lord Protector. By that time he had conquered Ireland, defeated Scotland and raised the military fame of his country to a height which it had not reached for two hundred years. Once again the English had a foothold on the Continent, in the French seaport of Dunkirk; the Protector's navy was victorious in home waters and in the Indies. But the changes which had come about since 1640 were far wider than the establishment of a new political regime and an outburst of patriotic fervour. The English Church was stripped down and the Anglicans turned into a persecuted minority. In obedience to Puritan principle the theatres were closed, and the stream of dramatic writing – the peculiarly English literary activity – was interrupted. The whole ambience of English society was changed. The settled rule of the squires in the countryside was almost replaced by direct military command, in the form of Cromwell's major-generals: the trauma about a standing army sank deep into the national consciousness. But for all his strength and success, the political problem defeated the Lord Protector. After his death in 1658 and the short rule of his son Richard in his place and with his title, the Cromwellian system collapsed with dismal suddenness. With it went the ideal of the first British Commonwealth, a republic with Irish delegates in an assembly made almost representative. In 1660 the Stuarts were restored, and to the stern countenance of the Lord Protector succeeded the clever, good-humoured face of Charles II; Old Rowley, the hero of the sporting gentry and the darling of the ladies of the theatres, flourishing once again.

In the popular memory, then, the reign of Charles II, from 1660 to 1685, and the whole Restoration period up to 1688, is a time of rejoicing and of licence. A carefree and loose-living Court we still remember, a country doing its best to believe that the 1630's had returned: Milton, once Cromwell's Latin secretary, at work on *Paradise Lost*, blind, ageing and despised. Perhaps it is true that the Restoration was a period of social relaxation and excess. The dingy rule of the Saints was expiated on Newmarket Heath, at the Royal Sport of racing horses, and in many a gentleman's hall, where the brimming Stuart silver flagons were hoisted in damnation to the enemies of Church and King. But the most important date in English history between 1660 and 1688, perhaps of the whole Stuart Age, was not marked by a war, or a revolution, or anything conspicuous or violent, but by something much more sudden and final. This was the year 1687 when *Principia Mathematica* by Mr Isaac Newton was published, and the problem of the physical world was solved – finally solved, or so it seemed to an astonished England and Europe.

For the gay courtiers and ministers around Charles II were 'natural philosophers', members of his own most enduring creation, the Royal Society. And there was another development of the less exciting but permanently influential sort – that of religious toleration. The Puritans who were driven from political influence and religious control in 1660 did not disappear before the victorious Anglicans. In the counting-houses of the merchants, in the colonial enterprises – and this is the time when the growth of the American colonies and of foreign trade in general was becoming really formidable – the Puritans flourished and got rich as the Dissenters, tolerated in their religion if excluded from politics. Their persistence and their influence helped to intensify the problem of the distribution of political power.

Philosophy, parties and revolutions

The instability in the foundations of English political and constitutional life showed itself vividly enough in the events of the last few years of Charles II, when civil war and revolution came very near to the surface once again. Fear of Catholicism and the power of the Pope had been a national neurosis for three generations, and Charles himself was a crypto-Catholic; James, his brother and heir, was an open convert. For all his suave ingenuity, Charles had been incautious enough in 1670 to sign a secret treaty with that almighty Catholic, King Louis XIV, promising – with some cynicism, no doubt – the conversion of England. The ablest and most vigorous of his ministers then was Lord Ashley, a champion of the Dissenters and of Toleration, and within a few years he was at the head of a nation-wide opposition movement. When Shaftesbury – Ashley's final title – ferreted out the truth of Charles's promises to France, he was outraged and furious: furious that he had been tricked, for he was no inept trickster himself, and outraged as a patriotic, Protestant Englishman. In 1678 the master card fell into Shaftesbury's hand. Titus Oates, the nastiest liar in our history, a man whose morals were too low for life aboard ship, 'revealed' a Popish plot to kill the King and put his Catholic brother on the throne; a few days later a conspicuous champion of Protestantism was mysteriously murdered. Shaftesbury made out of the coincidence of this with the informations of Oates a full-scale Parliamentary campaign to exclude James from the succession, and between 1679 and 1681 England looked the same as she had in 1639–41: on the eve of an insoluble conflict and bloodshed. It was perhaps mainly because the terrible memory of the Civil War was so close to everyone that Shaftesbury failed, and died an exile in Holland in 1683. A year later James the Catholic did succeed to the throne, on a surprising wave of popularity for the Stuart Crown.

It did not last for long. By 1688 it was James II who was in exile – in France and not in Holland, for out of Holland came the expedition which dethroned him. With his successors, William and Mary, we approach the last phase of the Stuart story, but before we go into it we might look for a moment at the new generation of Englishmen who had grown up since the Puritan Revolution. We may take Shaftesbury himself as our example, together with his 'assistant pen', John Locke, one of the cleverest Englishmen who ever lived. They were both originally Puritans, and they were both born in the 1630's into the ranks of the English gentry of the south-west. Shaftesbury was rich and ambitious, endowed with every attribute for success in politics and in the vital business of making money out of trade and the colonies. He was successively a soldier for Charles I; a general, then a minister for Cromwell; one of the engineers of the Stuart Restoration; a baron; Chancellor of the Exchequer; the chief mover in the settlement of the colony of Carolina; Lord Chancellor, an Earl and a Whig – the founder of the Whig party, in fact. 'Sagacious, bold and turbulent of wit', John Dryden, the Poet Laureate, was paid to call him, and by his shrivelling satire blasted his reputation for ever. 'Resolved to ruine or to rule the State.' Dryden was a Tory – these imperishable party names were coined at this time – and Dryden, like Shaftesbury, was a turncoat and a Fellow of the Royal Society. Conspicuously able they both were, but their outlook and experience were nevertheless typical.

John Locke wore chamois-leather pants beneath his splendid, silken Jacobean breeches. These details are worth recording because they remind us that we have at last reached the time when we can begin to know about men in enlarged detail – almost talk with them, in fact – which we could never do before. He loved oranges, and had a man specially posted to tell him when the fleet from Spain was coming up the river to London, so that he could get them fresh. But his favourite fruit was a true exotic, one that Englishmen had only just got to know about: the noble pineapple from the Indies. He went to Westminster School as the son of a modest gentleman, and was there, within earshot of the frightened crowd, when Charles I was beheaded. From Westminster to Christ Church, Oxford, from there to Shaftesbury's political household in London, then to France for an extensive residence among the highly intellectual; back to London for the Popish Plot, then away after his dead master to Holland to exile with the rest of the hard core of the Whigs in 1683. He was in Holland when the Glorious Revolution of 1688 was brought about by a combination of exasperated Tories and Whigs.

The gentry of England, of all opinions, could no longer endure James II as a catholicizing king, nor face the prospect of a Catholic Stuart heir in the baby boy who was born to him in that year. Locke was not there in November 1688 to hear the young mothers of England singing over their cradles

> Hush-a-bye baby on the tree-top,
> When the wind [1] blows the cradle will rock,
> When the bough breaks the cradle will fall,
> Down will come baby,[2] and cradle and all.

But Locke came back in the very ship which brought in that unfortunate infant's elder half-sister Mary to reign as co-sovereign with William. It was only in the changed air of the final Stuart reigns that Locke could settle down to publish the theories of knowledge, of politics, of education, economics and religion which set the mould of English intellectual life, at home and in America, for hundreds of years to come. But he had worked them out in the years which saw the society of Milton and Cromwell change into the society of Newton and Sir Christopher Wren.

Political stability and war

Under William and Mary there was a state of political and constitutional equilibrium in England which has never since been upset. From being the least effective of the greater European countries, always liable to revert to civil strife and never able to put out her true strength for any length of time because her Government did not have the whole resources of the country behind it, England became the most stable, the best organized and, for her size, the most formidable of them all. It came about because after 1688 we were something quite new – not a despotism, not a republic, but a Parliamentary monarchy. The Crown accepted the rule of law and Parliament accepted political responsibility. These were years of war against France. King William commanded a coalition of Protestant European powers against her, and led their armies in the field. The method of raising money for this prolonged conflict was also new, and also most important; for in 1694 the Bank of England was founded to help in government finance. National administration began to change in the direction of our own standard of efficiency, and meanwhile Parliament was passing a great code of statutes to sanction the classic English freedoms: freedom of the Press, freedom of the person, freedom of worship. Mary died in 1694, and William ruled alone for eight more years. When he died in 1702 neither the struggle against France nor the Revolution Settlement was finally complete.

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[1] This wind was the Protestant wind which was to blow in William, the Protestant successor.

[2] This baby was the young Stuart who lived to be the Old Pretender.

William was succeeded by another daughter of James II: Queen Anne, the last of the Stuarts. In fact not one, but three people took over the task from him: Anne herself, and John and Sarah Churchill, Duke and Duchess of Marlborough. The Duke commanded the Protestant armies of Europe and the Duchess dominated the Queen, her bosom companion. The twelve years of Anne's reign were a story of glorious military success – Blenheim (1704), Ramillies (1706), Oudenarde (1708) – and of complicated strife between factions around the person of the sovereign. The Marlboroughs and the party for war against France were finally ousted by Robert Harley and the Tory peace party, acting in concert with an intriguing woman, unique in our annals, Abigail Masham. She rose from being Queen Anne's chambermaid to take Sarah's place in her affections and policy. But the work of saving Europe from French and Catholic domination was already done. The last important act of the Stuart dynasty was the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, when Louis XIV at last admitted that the English, the Dutch and the others had their rights in Europe and in the expanding European world overseas. Parliament – and after 1707 it was an Anglo-Scottish assembly of a united kingdom – had provided for a Protestant successor in George, Elector of Hanover, great-grandson of James I in the female line. When he came to the throne in 1714, the name of the Royal family was not Stuart, but Guelph. Georgian England had begun.

The English people and the English gentlemen

We have told the story of the Stuart century much as our school books told it, from the point of view of the King, as if the person on the throne and what he did were the things that mattered most. But we have been forced from time to time, and this increasingly towards the end, to talk about the English people, in particular the English gentlemen, as if they were the real actors in the drama. It may seem surprising that for the word 'people' it is in fact possible to read the word 'gentlemen'. Of the five or six million persons living in England at the end of the Stuart period, there were some 50,000 gentlemen, and yet for practically all historians' purposes, and particularly for our purpose in this volume, this one per cent of the population is really all that mattered.

It was the gentlemen – including of course the nobility, though there were scarcely two hundred of them – who took all the political action. It was for them, above all, that the houses were built, the pictures were painted, the glassware, the silverware, the carpets, the tables, the chairs and the cabinets were made. Only these people were either educated or cultivated enough to know much of style, or indeed rich enough to be likely to possess anything which is to be found today in our houses, museums, or shops as an 'antique'. The whole of the rest of the population, except the considerable merchants – counted as gentry in any case for these purposes – lived under the direction, and even as the dependants, of this ruling minority. The great mass of the yeomanry, or farmers as we might call them, and of the trades-folk, with the far, far greater mass of those who worked for them, have very little to do with an account of English art and decoration.

The gentleman's family

How, then, did the gentle-folk live? The answer here is simple: they lived in families – large families: much larger than the family we think of. In the 1690's one of our early statisticians calculated that the 160 peers of his day lived in families of forty people, the 800 baronets had families of sixteen, the 20,000 gentlemen proper had families of eight to ten. This was not because there were more children in each family: certainly many more were born than now, and more into each of these families than in those below them in the social scale; but so many died that this is not what made them big. It was the fact that grandfathers, uncles, aunts and cousins tended to live together with father, mother and children, especially when death had broken up the families from which they came. Moreover the family was not confined to those related to each other: it included the servants. They lived in – not simply the cooks and housemaids and the gentlemen's valets, but even the farm-hands and gardeners, at least until they were married. Of the thirteen people reckoned by the same writer to live in each knighted household, seven, eight or even ten would be servants, though the definition of servant was wider than it is now. For the Stuart family had many more social and economic functions than ours has: it could be anything from a commercial establishment to the headquarters of a political party, at the same time as being a household as we know it.

The first thing such a large family needed was a house, big enough to accommodate all these people and grand enough to express the status of the family head. Nothing indicates more clearly that this period was one of insistence on the importance of the individual family than the fact that by the middle of it – between the beginning of Elizabeth's reign and the Civil War – an impressive proportion of all the houses in the country had either been built new or remodelled and extended. This building and rebuilding went on throughout the century and all over the country, and their connexion with architecture, furniture and decoration is perfectly obvious. Very often the alterations were confined to ceiling over the raftered rooms on the ground floor – the only floor – to make bedrooms upstairs, and opening out the roof to provide windows for them. The motive for this was psychological: a consciousness of a need for privacy which was offended by the previous habit of sleeping in the parlour, often the only second living-room in the house. Here we seem to be faced with a change in fundamentals; but the urge to build bigger, and with more rooms for each person to live on his own, is connected with another historical movement: the one known as the rise of the gentry. But before we consider the relevance of this to our purposes, we may go a little further into the general shape of society.

A society of families

From what has already been said a simple picture of rural England can be drawn, and the country was seventy or eighty per cent rural. It was a landscape of villages each and every one of them with only one house of any size: the house of the local gentle family. Everything else and everyone else in that little locality were dominated by that house and household. This simple picture is familiar enough, and of course it is much too simple, though there were villages which conformed exactly to it, where every male inhabitant of military age would be described in the muster rolls as a 'servant' of the resident family. But the number of gentle houses in any village was frequently more than one, and there were also hamlets in which no gentleman's house was to be found. Each gentle family could have more than one house, often many miles apart. It made a considerable difference to the whole atmosphere of the community if the great family kept its main establishment at another house, or resided elsewhere for long periods.

But what was inside those houses is not much affected by these complications. What did affect it was the wealth and importance of the gentle family concerned, right down to the particular personality of its head. If he were a rich and successful nobleman, especially a nobleman who spent much of his time at Court or in the royal service, then he would have furnished and decorated his house in the village in imitation of the royal palaces he knew. He would have been abroad, and himself have seen the Flemish wall-hangings, the Venetian glass, the French cabinets, the Dutch printing the King had round him. And he might have bought such things for himself. He would certainly see that what was made for him showed signs of these foreign influences.

The number of these highly successful noble families was naturally small. We have in mind such surnames as the Cecils of Hatfield House, Earls of Salisbury and ministers to Elizabeth and James I; or the Wentworths of Wentworth Woodhouse under the Earl of Strafford, minister of Charles I; or the Ashley Coopers, of Wimborne St Giles, Earls of Shaftesbury, whom we have already mentioned; or the Osbornes of Yorkshire, whose fortunes were founded by Sir Thomas Osborne, successively minister to Charles II, James II and William and Mary and successively Earl of Danby, Marquess of Carmarthen and Duke of Leeds. We might add the family of Sir Winston Churchill, Comptroller of the Green Cloth to Charles II, and his son John Churchill, who ended as Duke of Marlborough and who has had some notable descendants. For the importance of this little knot of families was not confined to the Jacobean age.

The spread of fashion

Tiny as it was, this little group contained the key men in the process whereby the tone of the English style was struck. The high, cosmopolitan taste of the Court, varying as it did from king to king and influenced as it was from France, Holland and the rest of Europe, found its way from the royal residences to the country houses through this channel. The other nobles in the county where such a man had his seat could not fail to take note of what he imported, or had built, or had made for his splendid establishment, and the baronets, the knights and the gentry at large in that area would admire, envy and imitate too. This was how the high taste of the few became the fashion for the many. This is what it means to say that English decoration was to some extent inspired by France and by Holland in the seventeenth century. We must not forget that some of these men were foreigners by birth, like the Keppels, Earls of Albemarle, founded by a Dutch minister of William III.

The great country house, then, especially the new one set up by a family newly risen in the world, was the centre of growth and change, if only because its style both inside and out was necessarily new. But the extent to which it changed the taste of a local community – a county, above all, since the English gentry lived in county communities – depended on the personality of its owner. He might be a virtuoso himself – most of them were – with his own critical appreciation and an enthusiasm for the newly beautiful, but he might also be merely following a fashion he could not appreciate. The same thing applies with much more force to his neighbours, on his own social level and beneath. The anciently established noble house had a choice before it. It could keep the house and the accoutrements it had inherited, or it could rebuild and restock; it depended on the policy, taste and resources of its head at any one time. With the mass of the gentry, the choice was often even more difficult, and the variation greater. For them it was above all a matter of money – money possessed or money which must be made. A young gentleman could ruin himself and his family soon after he succeeded by spending too much on a new seat and new possessions. Or he could be content with what his ancestors had left him, improve his estate and let his descendants catch up with the times.

Stuart London

The process, then, was very irregular and uneven: whether a particular part of the country came under the influence of the newer forms of decoration depended on what great houses there were in the neighbourhood, and the attitude of their owners, together with the attitude of the local gentry to them and to the world at large. But there is one constant we must not overlook. All the gentry of Britain, especially those seated in the south and east, but even as far away as Northumberland and Wales, Cornwall and Ireland, and the American Colonies, had their connexions in London. They nearly all had occasions to visit London, on legal business most often, but also to go to Westminster to sit in the House of Commons. They nearly all had relatives there to stay with, since London was a tenth of the kingdom, and they reckoned kinship to the third or fourth remove of cousin. There, in the 'season', which began in early Stuart times, the gentry foregathered to make their marriage alliances and talk politics. And London, as we have said, was a cosmopolitan city, a European capital, fast becoming a world capital. The country gentleman during his stay in town met every day with the artifacts of continental Europe, and of the other continents too. He could, if he were rich or extravagant enough, order his next suit of clothes or a Tompion clock or a new set of chairs in the workshops of the best and most fashionable craftsmen in the country. He might well meet the Sovereign himself. The sights these men saw must have had a direct influence on many a remote manor-house: they were quite literal when they claimed on their return that they had seen the world.

London had always played this part in English life, and in the succeeding century it was even more important. But two things happened to London in the Jacobean age which intensified its effect on English cultural life, both of them of high interest to our subject. In 1666 the city was burnt. This gave Sir Christopher Wren his opportunity, as we all know, but the rebuilding which this disaster brought about would have transformed English architecture even if no presiding genius had been there to take advantage of it. The new style of domestic and church architecture of the reviving city was there in abundance for all the City to see in the three last decades of the seventeenth century. All these new buildings and houses needed new furniture and decoration: there is no need to dwell on the stimulus which this gave to the cabinet-maker and designer, or all the trades associated with the creation of new houses for the richest and largest city in the kingdom. The other development was much more gradual. It was the slow divergence of the social environment of London from that of other towns. Something of our own shopkeeping, commercial society, class-conscious in quite a different sense from the one we have been using, was already becoming apparent in London.

The bulk of what is to be surveyed in this volume has come from the houses of the gentry, or their London cousins. The contents of the great noble houses, the masterpieces and the museum exhibits, were important for their influence, but very few in number: far fewer than we should think from the proportion of things surviving, for it is natural that the very best should be preserved. But it is from the houses of the gentlemen that the vast majority of Stuart settles, stools, beadwork baskets and bedstead hangings have come, not from royal and noble households. The most important thing about the English gentry at this time is, in a sense, their number. Not only did they outnumber the nobility by hundreds to one, but their collective wealth was greater than that of the rest of the society put together – nobility, Crown and all. The general social process going on throughout the century, though most marked in the earlier generations, was the growth in the number and importance of the gentry, in social and economic weight as well as in political supremacy. This was what historians call the 'rise of the gentry'. It was not simply the sudden success of mere gentlemen, who, like Sir Thomas Osborne and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, became great nobles, but the persistent promotion of men of lower status to the status of gentry, in trade and industry as well as in agriculture.

The 'rise of the gentry'

It is important to realize what this meant. It distinguished English society from that of France and the rest of continental Europe. There the nobles were more powerful and the gentlemen much more subordinated to them, and those below far more distant, far less likely to rise into the gentle class. There also the merchants lived in their towns, apart from the nobility of the countryside. It was the ease with which families could move upwards into gentry and into and out of the towns in the society of Stuart England that gave it its relatively modern flavour. The climb up the rung in the social ladder from below into the gentle class was critically important. It is especially significant to us, because directly a Stuart family had reached the condition of wealth and distinction which made it fit to undertake the social responsibilities of gentle conditions, then it had to accept them.

It had to accept them even if its money was made in industry or commerce and in the towns. It had to turn its money into a manor-house with all its accoutrements, it had to send its sons to the university, it had to live a life of relative leisure – not actually working in the fields or at the bench, as the richest yeoman could do. It was obliged, in fact, to 'bear the port and mien of a gentleman'. Inevitably, then, the paraphernalia of living the gentle life were multiplied among us. Is it, then, surprising that so many houses were rebuilt at this time, or that there is so much Stuart furniture and utensils, as compared with what we have from earlier periods? Not only did the family have to acquire these things, and replace them with better and more fashionable ones when the neighbours or relatives did so, but it also had to maintain them. The family had to go on, and it could not go down; hence the placing of the younger sons in commerce or colonies, hence the great struggle to get into Parliament or into offices under the Crown.

This brings us back to the point where we began our consideration of Stuart society as it can be seen reflected in the material things which have survived to us. This period, from the age of Elizabeth to the age of George I, we have said was the great age of the family, and the family was, typically, the family of hundreds and thousands of Stuart country gentlemen. All these families, and all at the same time, had to put glass into the windows of their houses when it became accepted that a gentleman's residence was glazed. All of them had to possess and even to read books, when the possession of books and an interest in them became one of the distinguishing marks of life in a gentle household: this meant bookcases and what we call 'Bible boxes', and later bureaux. They had to replace benches and joint stools with chairs for the same purpose, or cloth hangings with panelling, or rushes on the floor with carpeting – carpeting which is to be seen in so many contemporary pictures of Dutch interiors, not on the floor, but still on the tables. All these things had to be done to maintain the family in the way of life to which it had become accustomed. Wealth was growing fast enough to make these things possible, and therefore the relatively large number of Elizabethan and Stuart family possessions which still survive.

The people who worked

Something of the same kind was at work among the yeomen in the countryside and the smaller trades-folk in the towns, only there the compulsion to live up to a certain standard was not so much the issue. Indeed, it was still true that for a man or woman of that quality to dress as their superiors did or to surround themselves with things which their superiors used was a social offence. 'Aping your betters' is the phrase we still use for it, but it must be recognized that this was wrong only if the family concerned refused to undertake the burden of actually becoming a unit in the superior order. But when it comes to less conspicuous things like furniture or bed-linen, the line was not firmly drawn. Many a wealthy yeoman family was eating as well as the gentlemen, and its articles of everyday use might be exactly the same. Indeed, it was said even before Stuart times that,

> A Knight of Wales
> A Gentleman of Cales [perhaps Calais]
> A Laird of the North Countrie [Scotland]
> A Yeoman of Kent
> With his yearly rent
> Will buy them out all three.

But this was the prosperous yeoman, frequently with resources outside his own little holding of land. Often a yeoman could not read; he might live on a pressed-earth floor, in a house with no upstairs: even at night he was among his cattle, if not in the same room (as he was in Holland as late as 1690), yet under the same roof. It was no disgrace for him to live like this, as it would be for a gentleman to live below his condition. Most yeomen were obliged to do so. Theirs was a life of working and getting, and from such surroundings as these nothing of elegance to interest us could possibly come. Far less so could it come from the much greater number even worse off than the yeoman. These people, the workers in the country and in the towns, were housed in flimsy hovels under conditions which we can only compare to those we know of in Asiatic countries. That is, when they were able to live at home, for these were the servants of their betters, and many of them lived as part of the families in the houses.

Not that they are unimportant to our subject. They made all the things we are interested in, and on their craftsmanship everything we prize depended. Moreover, they carried on the folk traditions of decoration, celebration and so on which survived unaltered, though perhaps diminishing, throughout the Jacobean age – but these things belong to folklore and folk museums rather than to our present purpose. But neither the yeomen nor they were likely to be able to afford many things elaborate enough to become the sort of 'antique' which we collect, though their candlesticks and warming-pans still interest us. In the richer cities it was different and particularly in London, whose differences from the rest of the country we have already hinted at.

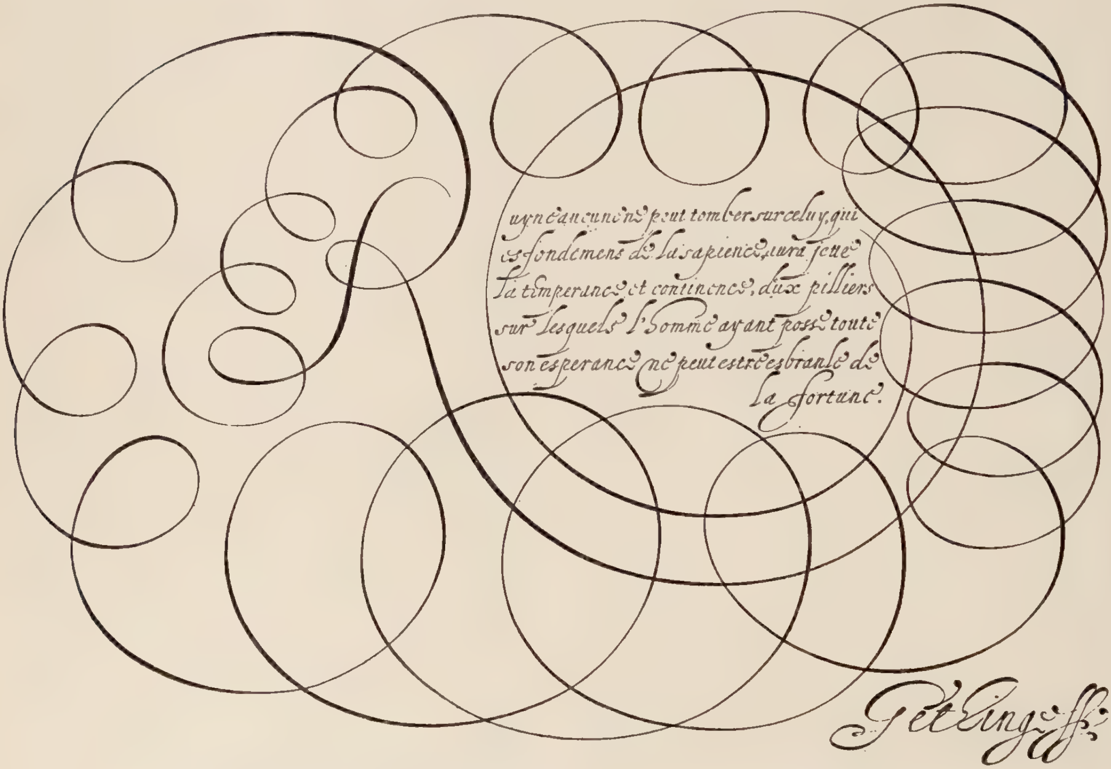
Nine stools for nine children

There is much more that should be said about the family in the Stuart age and the way in which its development and maintenance gave rise to our modern conceptions of what a house should contain. There is a great deal of evidence about it, evidence which is only now beginning to be used by the historian. When the ruling head of a family of gentry died and his property had to be disposed of according to his will, an inventory of his possessions had to be made. There are thousands and thousands of these, and they cover many yeomen, and people we have had no occasion to mention so far, like the clergy, as well as the gentry. From them we learn, for example, that a gentleman of the rich county of Kent who died in 1629, and who had had nine children, possessed nine joint stools for them to sit on. We also know how many beds he had and everything else the family used, including the instruments in his dairy and brewhouse – all part of the household establishment, of course. All that we can do is to mention such lists here. There are many more sources open to the use of people who want to know about the material possessions of that society in order to understand its domestic environment and style of decoration. There are lists of things ordered from home by settlers in the colonies, for example: the gentleman whose stools we mentioned was sent such a list every year by his brother in Virginia, ordering all the things which were necessary to stock his house in its tobacco plantation just as the Kentish manor-house itself was stocked.

Such, then, is the significance for the structure and development of English society in Stuart times of the objects of beauty and of use which this volume describes. When he looks at what remains of Jacobean architecture and decoration, the social historian interprets them in terms of the rising and consolidating gentry of that age. He thinks of rivalries between families, and all that it meant to politics, local and national; he thinks of the struggle to maintain each family, as generation gave way to generation, in the proper style of comfort and elegance, and the rebuilding and refurnishing which were necessary; he thinks of the expedients these gentlemen used to that end, and this brings in trade, colonies and the law. Above all, he has in mind what was being created: a way of living for a large community of substantial people, not nobles, but not men at work, not even a middle class, since that term has such deceptive overtones; but independent, small-scale gentry living indoors and outdoors in the classic English fashion.

Accident or design?

We must end with a word or two in justification of our claim that it is the life of the gentleman's family which explains what we want to know. Like the nobility, the gentlemen themselves decided how far they should modify the household equipment to keep pace with the changing times. The result of all the changes made by so many people was something which might be described as a conscious policy, a policy of arranging things in just the way which would make the life of the family as convenient and dignified as English standards required. The innumerable squires and squires' wives who made these changes were, of course, not themselves aware that they were creating a way of life, a particular environment. But there were exceptional men among them who did realize just this. Of the considerable number of them, we can mention only one: John Evelyn, of Sayes Court, in Deptford. Evelyn, as his well-known diary and famous books make clear, had an attitude to these things which is almost exactly what we understand when we see 'House and Garden' on the cover of a magazine. He took the whole tradition of gardening and planting as it had been practised in Europe and elsewhere since the fall of Rome. In his books and in his own garden at Sayes Court he blended it into that manner of creating a secluded and beautiful home which is the most conspicuous element of leisured life in England to this day. For some generations now a large part of the world has been trying to live as the English country gentry lived and live. They do so because of what happened in our island under the reign of the house of Stuart.


Ruyne aucune ne peut tomber sur celuy qui
es fondemens de la sapience aura jette
la temperance et continence, deux pilliers
sur lesquels l'homme ayant posé toute
son esperance ne peut estre esbranlé de
la fortune.
Gething ff.

A copperplate engraving (reduced) from a Stuart writing-master's book, *Calligrapho Technia* by Richard Gething, dated 1619. From Samuel Pepys's collection in Magdalene College, Cambridge.

Architecture

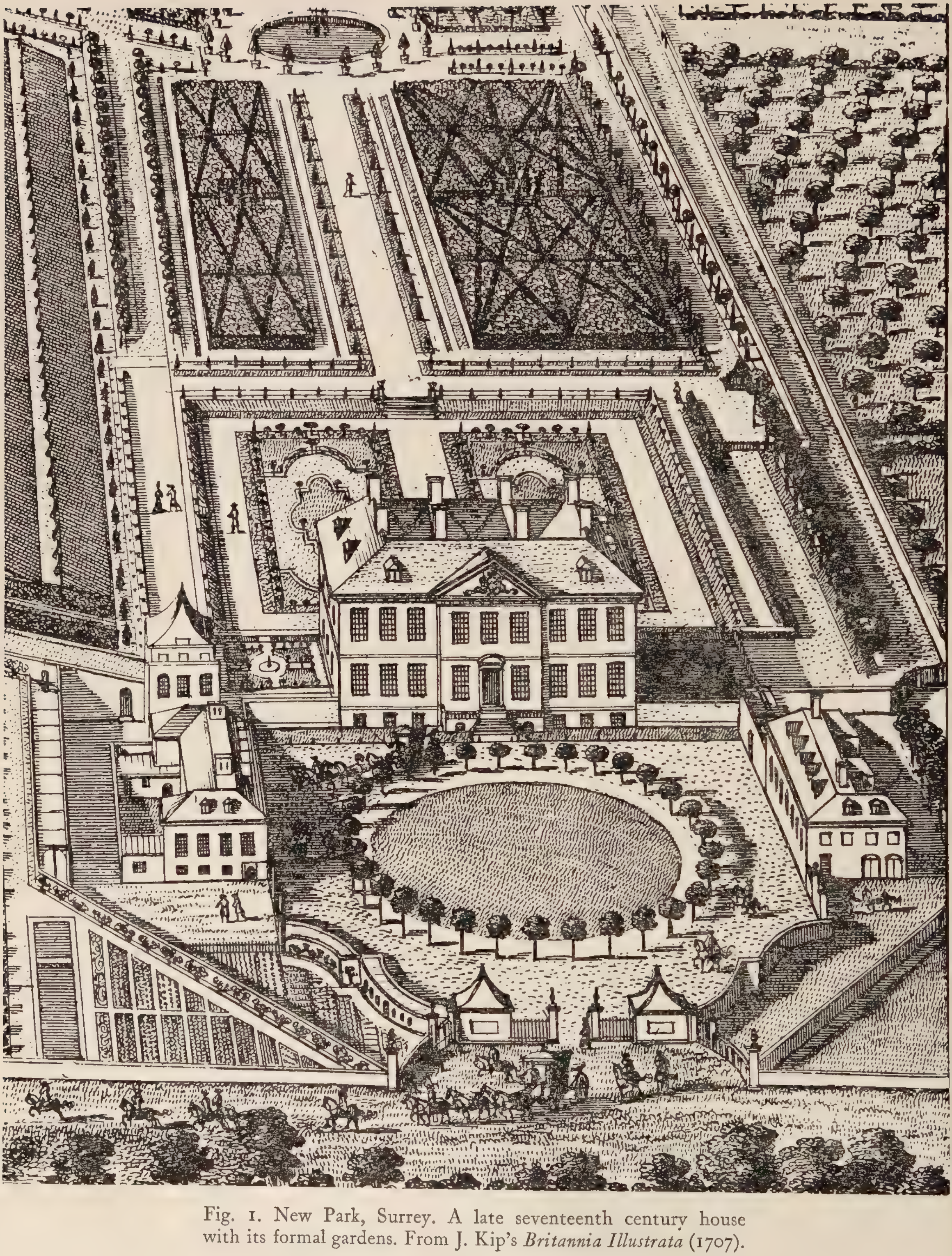


Fig. 1. New Park, Surrey. A late seventeenth century house with its formal gardens. From J. Kip's *Britannia Illustrata* (1707).

Architecture

MARGARET WHINNEY

'Houses are built to live in and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had.' Bacon's essay *Of Building*, which opens with these words, was written after 1612 and published in 1625, but its views were already largely out of date. For Jacobean houses reveal a consistent attempt at symmetry (i.e. uniformity) in their exterior design, though in most cases the interior was not symmetrically arranged. The great hall, entered through a screen at one end, still dominated the plan, and at Hatfield House, finished in 1611, it is still balanced on the other side of the entrance by a series of smaller service rooms. Experiments were being made, however, at for instance Charlton House, Greenwich (1607–12) (Pl. 5A) with placing the hall across, and not along, the main axis of the house, and thus permitting a more symmetrical arrangement of the rooms on either side of it. Lord Bacon's statement is, however, of interest for the attitude it reveals. Symmetry is agreeable, but use, or convenience, is more important. And even though most patrons in his day might have been reluctant to destroy the appearance of a house by unbalanced wings, they were very willing to vary the shape and size of their windows to suit the character and use of the rooms behind them. At Charlton House, where there is a saloon on the top floor over the hall, a great window, far larger than any other on the front, is uncomfortably placed on the upper storey of the porch. It is convenient, for it gives a good light in the big room behind it, but not happy in its relation to the rest of the façade, and is the clear result of designing from within outwards. It, and all the windows in houses of this kind, are divided into many lights, and are the direct descendants of medieval windows of the Perpendicular period. Their size can be varied at will by the addition or omission of some of the lights.

The new style of Inigo Jones

Four years after Charlton was completed, the first house in England which attempted the discipline of fitting the interior to the exterior was begun. This was the Queen's House at Greenwich (Pl. 5B), designed by Inigo Jones, who had recently returned from the last of his journeys to Italy. There he had learnt the theory of the great Italian architects of the Renaissance, a theory based on a system of strict mathematical proportions controlling plan, elevation, and indeed every detail of the house. Windows are no longer of varied shapes and sizes, but run in an even and scarcely broken rhythm along the front. The building is compact (it consisted originally of two rectangular blocks behind each other and joined by a bridge), simple and clear-cut in its outlines, with no projecting porches or bay windows, and no towers breaking the skyline. The rooms within are planned in small suites, each room carefully proportioned to the next, and the hall, which is a perfect cube, is no longer a living-room, as in the traditional English house, but has become something of a grand entrance vestibule. Inigo Jones's revolution in English architecture was not limited to the Italian character of his designs. He was, indeed, a new kind of man, a professional architect in the modern sense instead of a craftsman. Before his time, though a master mason or possibly a surveyor might have designed a house, he would not have been responsible for exterior and interior alike. The other craftsmen, carpenters, plasterers and smiths, would have made their separate contracts with the patron, and no one designer would have controlled the whole undertaking. Jones, who had absorbed Italian views about the prestige of an artist, was the first to introduce into England the idea of an architect as the single controlling mind, dominating the entire work. He is therefore a vitally important figure in the history of English architecture, and though little of his work has survived unaltered, the Queen's House, the Banqueting House, Whitehall (now the United Service Museum), and the Queen's Chapel at St James's, are enough to reveal his quality.

His position as a country-house architect is more difficult to assess. Many houses have been attributed to him on slender grounds, for since his reputation, particularly in the eighteenth century, was great, almost all Italianate building, good or bad, of the early seventeenth century, was ascribed to him. Some knowledge of Italian forms was, however, by now available even for Englishmen who had not been to Italy, for in 1611 a translation of the architectural treatise of Sebastiano Serlio was published by Robert Peake. Moreover, English gentry travelled to Italy more freely in the seventeenth than in the sixteenth century (though the number who did so was still small); many more became interested in Italian and French books on architecture. The Flemish books which had been mainly used as pattern books when James I came to the throne were gradually recognized as lacking in taste, for their florid designs were seen to be a distortion of the best Italian models. Such a work as the Italianate entrance front of Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire, built probably about 1630, may well be the result of an intelligent study of Italian books, though since it is fairly accomplished it may possibly have been built under the advice of Jones or someone who had worked with him. Much of Jones's time was taken up with work for the Crown, both on buildings and Court masques, and it has recently become known that even so important a member of the Court circle as the Earl of Pembroke could not command his full attention. For the south front of Wilton House was almost certainly built by a Frenchman, Isaac de Caux, in consultation with Jones. The executed building is only part of a larger design for a very long Italianate palace with a great columned portico in the centre.

These examples prove clearly enough that the new Italian manner fostered by Jones had caught the fancy of the builders of great houses by the 1630's. He also had an effect on more modest buildings. For there is little doubt he was responsible for the introduction of a new kind of house (Fig. 2): a simple box-like building with a sloping roof sharply separated from the walls by a deep projecting cornice, with plain rectangular windows all similar in design, running in straight rows across the front, with plain chimneys rising above the roof, and often with a balustraded platform between them. Unfortunately Chevening in Kent, which was probably designed by Jones himself about 1630, was altered in the eighteenth century, but the type is recorded in his drawings and was frequently copied and adapted by other architects. Thorpe Hall in Northamptonshire, built by Peter Mills, Bricklayer and afterwards Surveyor to the City of London in 1654, and Ashdown House in Berkshire (Pl. 6B), designed by an unknown architect probably after 1660, are variants of the same pattern. It was indeed to become the most usual type of medium-sized house in the middle years of the century, and persists almost to the end of the Stuart period, for Nether Lypiatt in Gloucestershire is as late as about 1700. Other late modifications of the type can be seen on Figs. 1, 3 and 4. The idea, as almost always in Jones's work, is derived from Italy, though it does not come, like the Queen's House, from the Venetian villas of Palladio or Scamozzi, nor from the works of Serlio, but almost certainly from Rubens's book, the *Palazzi di Genova*, published in 1622.

Sir Roger Pratt

The most beautiful house connected with the type was Coleshill in Berkshire (Pl. 7A), built by

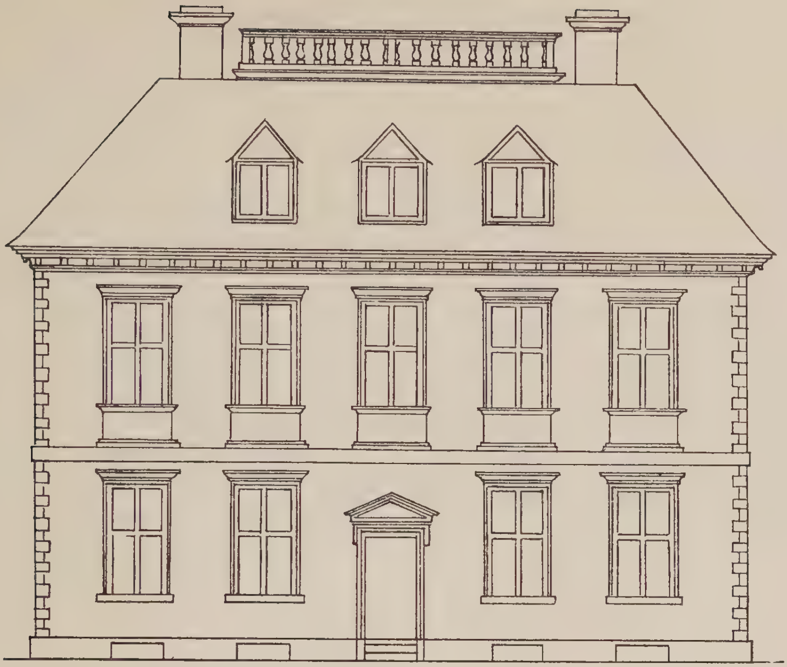


Fig. 2. Inigo Jones's new type of house; perhaps first used at Chevening, *c.* 1630.

Sir Roger Pratt between 1649 and 1662 and burnt in 1952. Pratt was a different kind of man from Jones, who came from artisan stock. The son of a country gentleman, he travelled widely on the Continent during the years of the Civil War, living in Rome for a time with John Evelyn, whose famous *Diary* tells us so much about seventeenth-century art. Pratt, like many men of his class, had a taste for architecture; he looked at foreign buildings with an intelligent and critical eye, and the notes which he made about them and about his own ideas of good and practical designing suggest that he may have been planning a treatise on architecture which was never completed.

On his return from Italy in 1649 he eagerly undertook the supervision of his cousin's new house at Coleshill, though Inigo Jones and his assistant John Webb were also in some degree concerned with it. Coleshill is a longer house than the Chevening type already discussed, but the general pattern is similar. It shows, however, skill and sophistication in the handling of the nine windows in each storey, for though they are regular in size, monotony has been avoided by varying the spacing, the three in the centre being set more widely apart than those on either side of them. And the great chimneys, rising high above the sloping roof, are carefully proportioned with the same restraint and beautiful cutting of the mouldings which characterize the whole house. The interior decoration was equally fine, and will be discussed later.

Most of Pratt's other houses have disappeared, though Kingston Lacy in Dorset still exists much altered. He was an influential figure just after the turn of the century, and the house which he built for Charles II's chief minister, Lord Clarendon, in Piccadilly was freely copied by other country-house architects. Clarendon House itself was a development of the Coleshill pattern, with a pediment above the entrance, and two wings projecting in front of the main façade. It was closely followed at Belton House, Lincolnshire, as late as 1684. Here the architect is unknown, and there may not indeed have been one, for the master mason, William Stanton, was a London man with a big business, making tombs as well as carrying out building contracts, and was possibly capable himself of adjusting the Clarendon pattern to his patron's, Sir John Brownlow's, requirements.

Traditional buildings

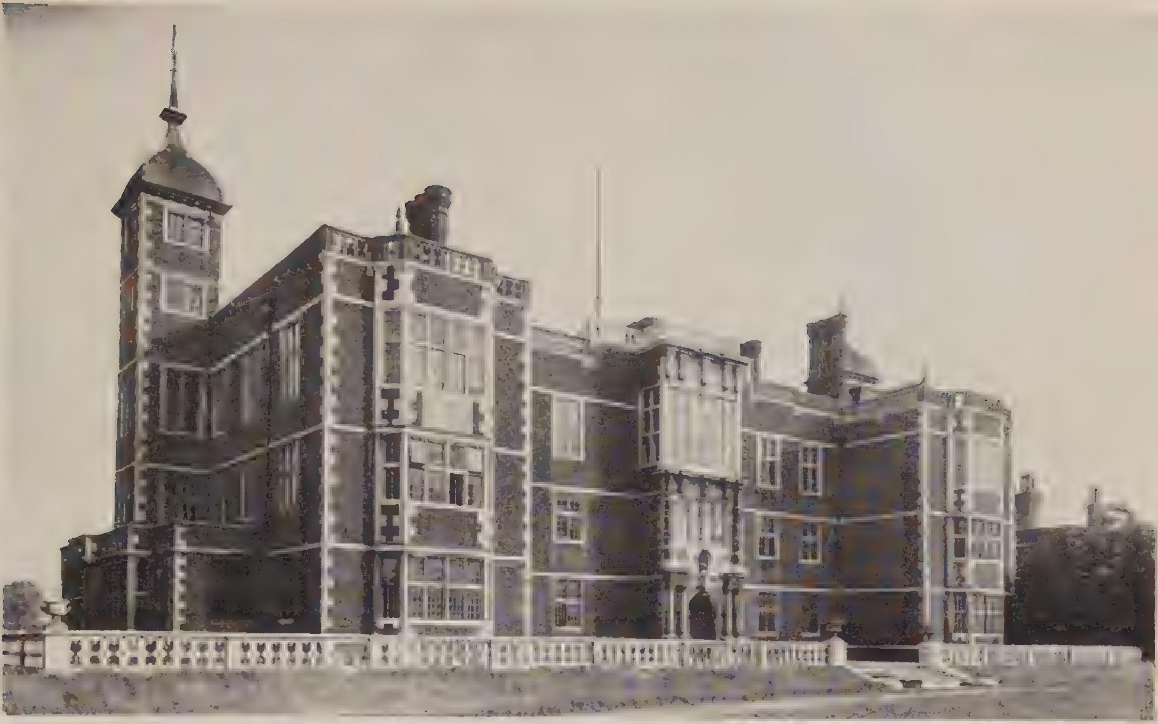
The new ideas of complete symmetry in design, with elevations built up from a balance of horizontals and verticals and with detail copied from Italian sources, did not, however, oust the older tradition immediately. Many modest houses built between 1630 and 1650 show little appreciation of the new manner. The curved gables, derived from the Low Countries, which were common at the beginning of the century are still a major feature of the design of Broome Hall, Kent, and the Dutch House at Kew (now known as Kew Palace), which date from about 1630. Swakeleys in Middlesex (Pl. 6A), begun in 1638 for Alderman Sir Edmund Wright, is a good example of the more conservative taste of the merchant classes. The traditional hall and screen are retained; on the outside the picturesque skyline, the gables running up and masking the division of wall and roof, the windows of varying shapes and sizes, all afford the strongest possible contrast to the simple, clear-cut lines of the Chevening type. A similar conservatism can be seen in many Cotswold houses, a good stone-producing district where tradition was clearly handed on from father to son, and where it is often hard to date a house with any precision. In East Anglia, too, the Dutch gable survives very late, and in buildings of the almshouse type appears right up to the early eighteenth century.

Interior decoration

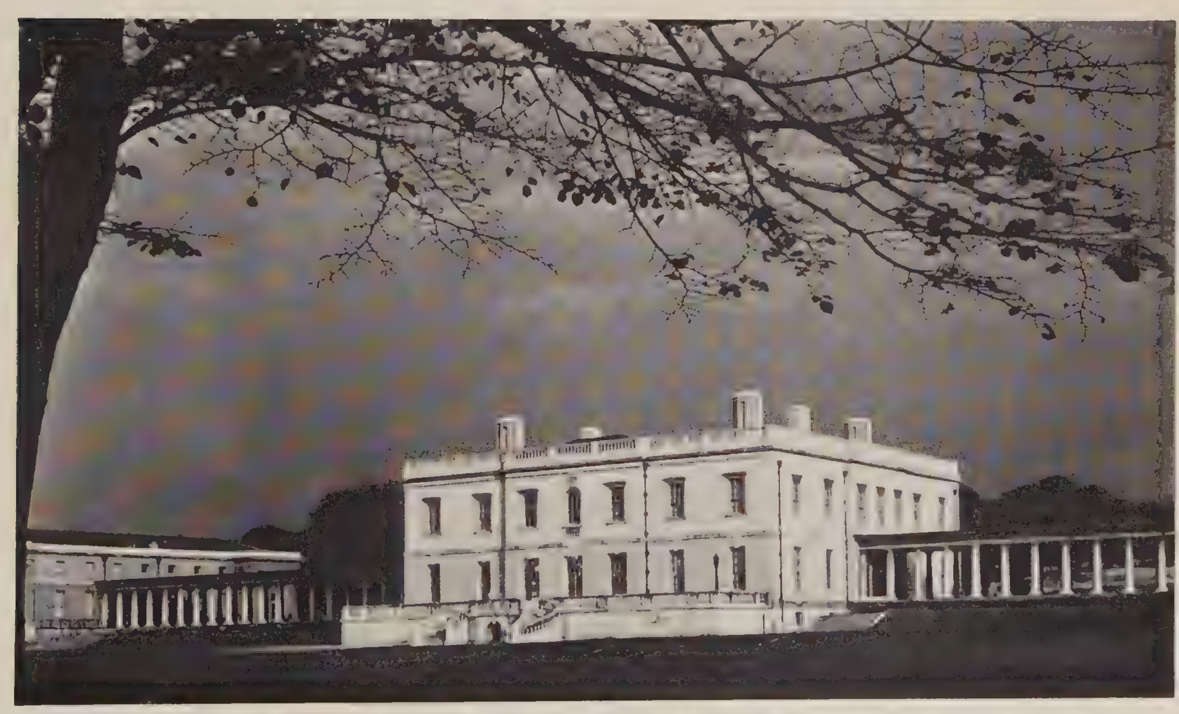
Changes in interior decoration in the first sixty years of the seventeenth century were as great, and perhaps even more complete, than those already discussed in exterior design. At the beginning of the Stuart period rooms were wainscoted, generally in oak, and the panels were small, their width being governed by the size of the plank that could be cut, vertically, from the tree. Sometimes the panels were arranged in sections, divided by wooden pilasters running the whole height of the room; more often the small rectangular panels covered the whole wall surface.

During the lifetime of Inigo Jones, and perhaps under his influence, English joiners increased their practice of cutting wood across the grain and fitting it together with fine joints in larger panels. Unfortunately very little decoration by Jones has survived, for nothing remains of his wall treatment at the Queen's House, and the rooms he redecorated for the Queen at Somerset House were destroyed in the eighteenth century. His many drawings, however, and the work which he and John Webb carried out at Wilton (Pl. 9A) after a fire in 1647 prove that the richness of his interiors must have provided a marked and deliberate contrast to the restraint of his exteriors. Richness of interior decoration was not new in England. Jacobean houses are notable for the overloaded decoration of their chimney-pieces, with motives taken from Flemish, German and occasionally French pattern books, thick curling strap-work, grotesque herms at either side, and occasionally a scene carved in stone or moulded in plaster. Jones introduces a new elegance. His fireplaces have a picture frame above (occasionally as at Wilton flanked by figures), the mantelpiece is usually supported on consoles, and there is sometimes a finely designed band of carving below it. Such fireplaces were in use in France in the reign of Louis XIII (the brother of Queen Henrietta Maria) and it seems almost certain that here Jones looked to French rather than to Italian models.

Ceiling design also changes. The all-over patterns of interlacing strap-work of the Jacobean age disappear, and ceilings take on a more architectural quality. Simple geometrical patterns are traced by heavily moulded beams, with a flat interlace on the underside, and there is often a circular or oval wreath in the centre of the ceiling composed of a tightly packed rope of fruit and flowers. The surfaces of the ceiling between the beams are plain, though Jones sometimes planned to fill them

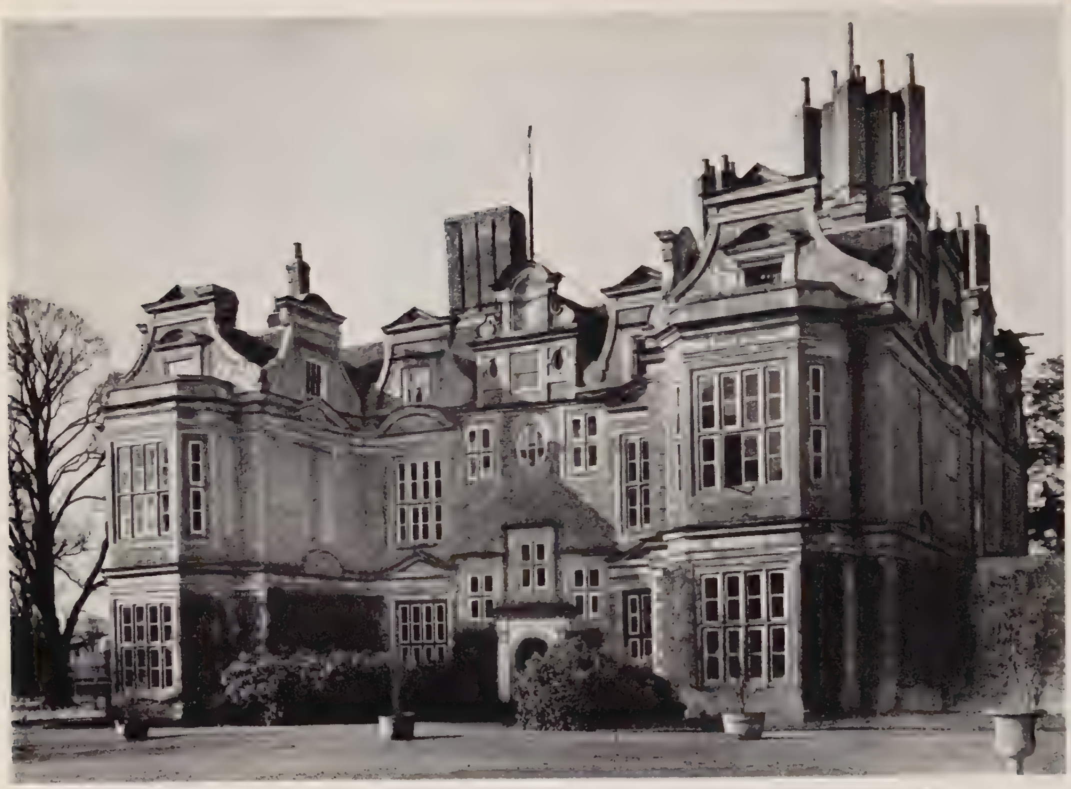


(A) Charlton House, Greenwich (1607–12). A Jacobean house with windows of many sizes.
Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.

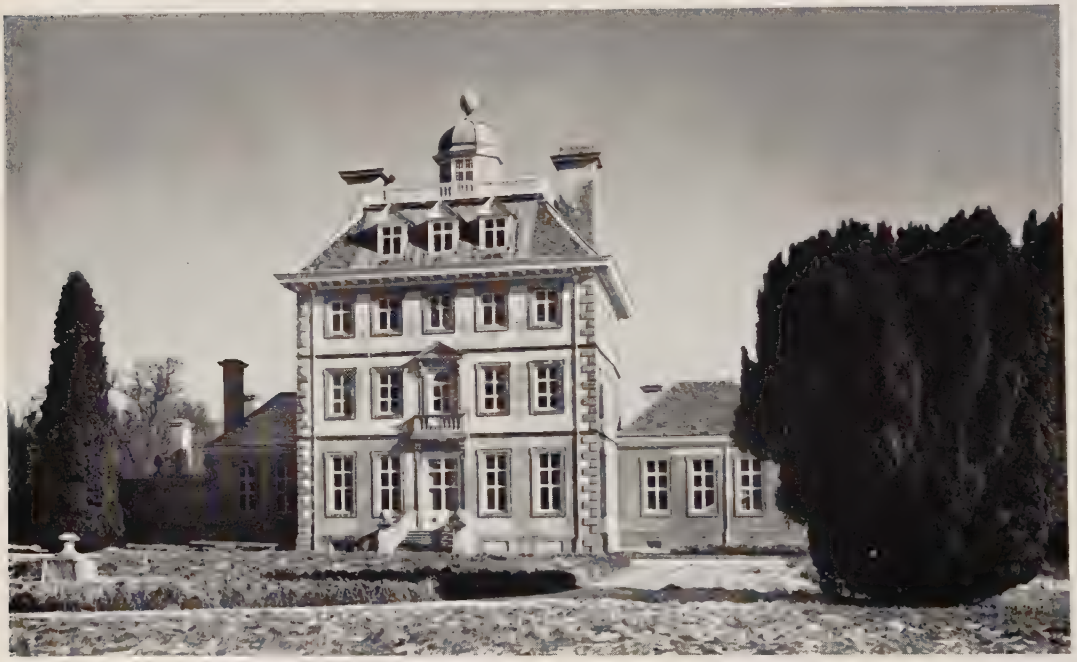


(B) Inigo Jones. The Queen's House, Greenwich (1616–35). An Italianate villa with a regular façade.
Ministry of Works.

PLATE 5

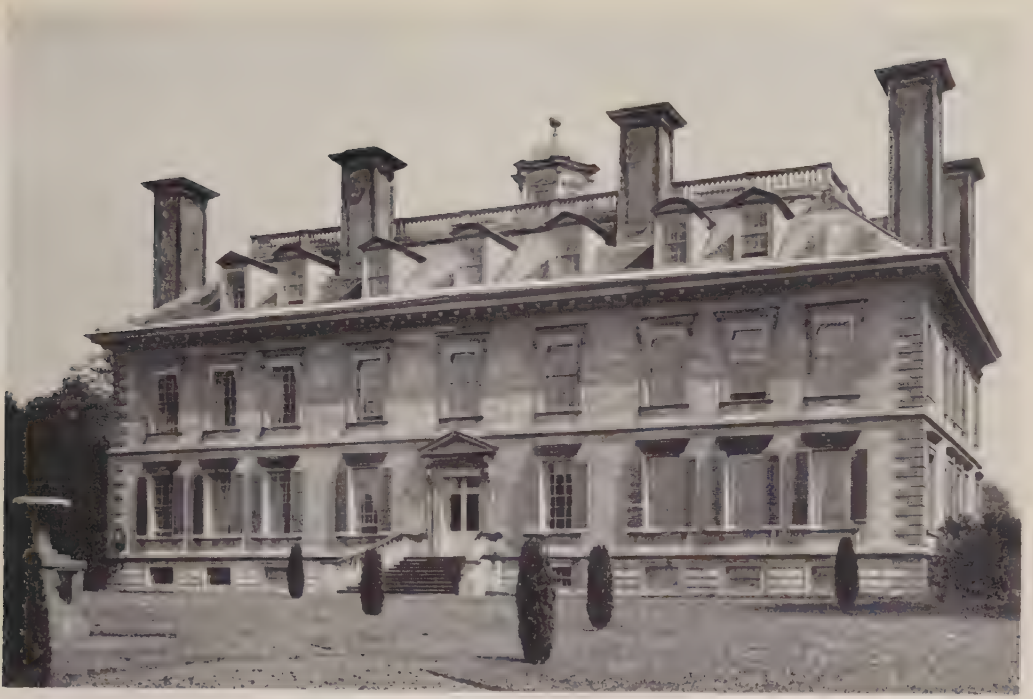


(A) Swakeleys, Middlesex (1638). Built in a conservative style for Alderman Sir Edmund Wright. *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.*

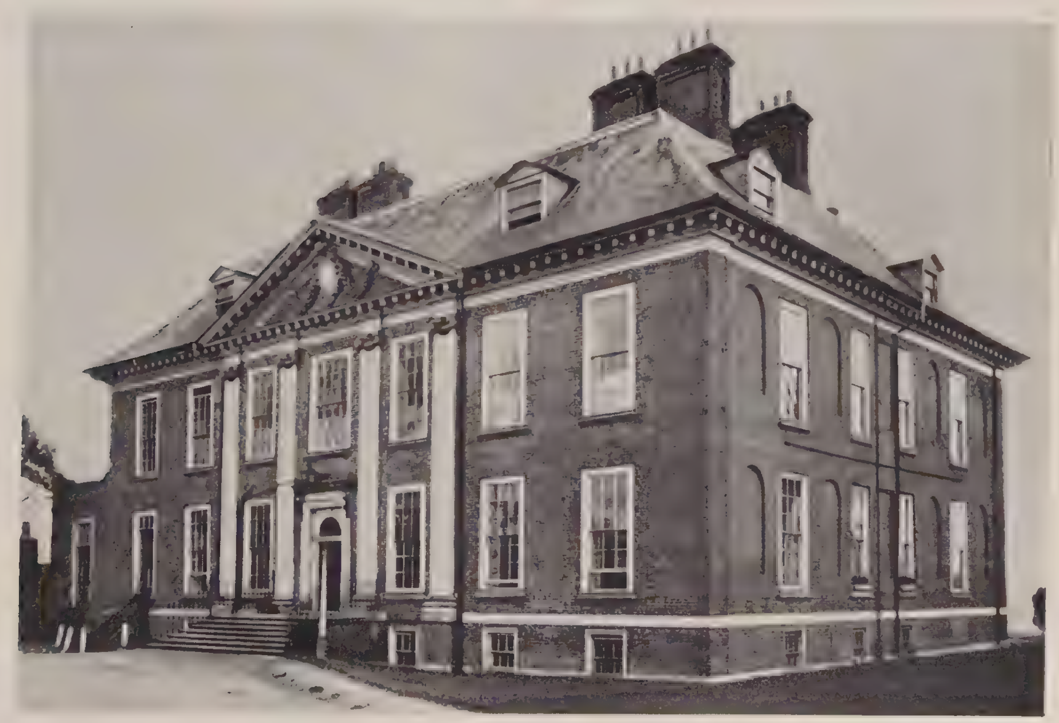


(B) Ashdown House, Berkshire (after 1660). A variant of an Inigo Jones type. *A. F. Kersting.*

PLATE 6

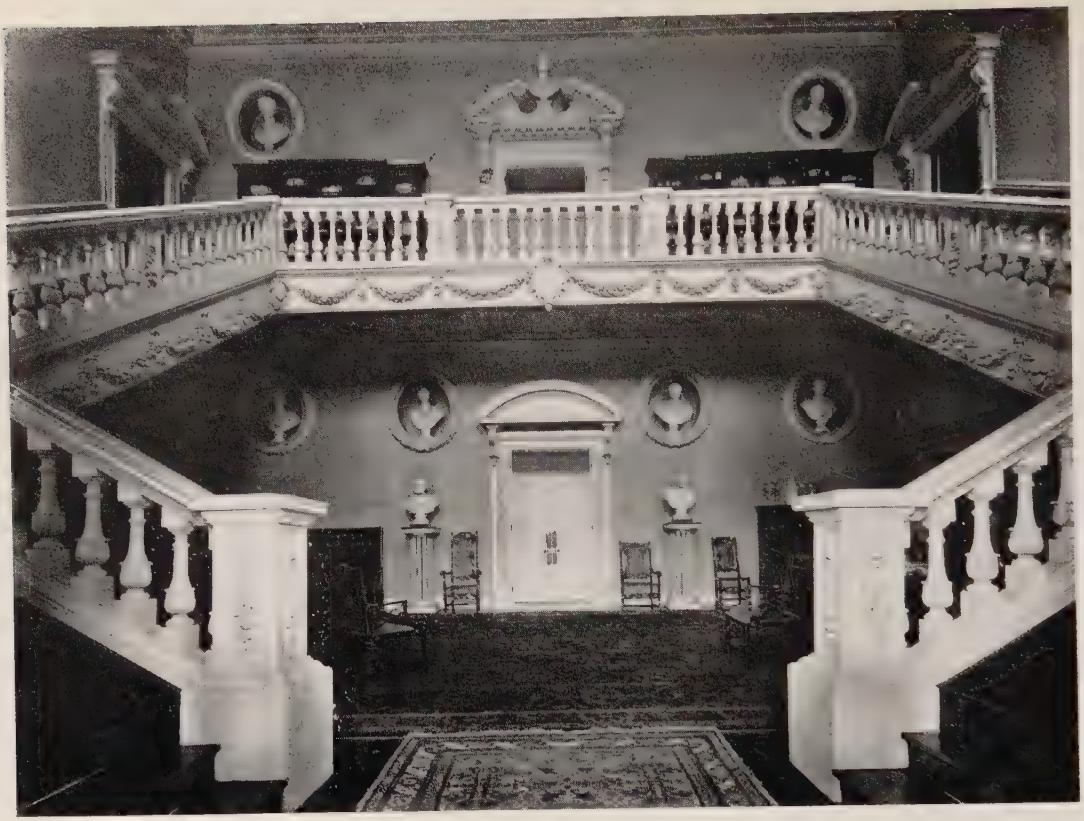


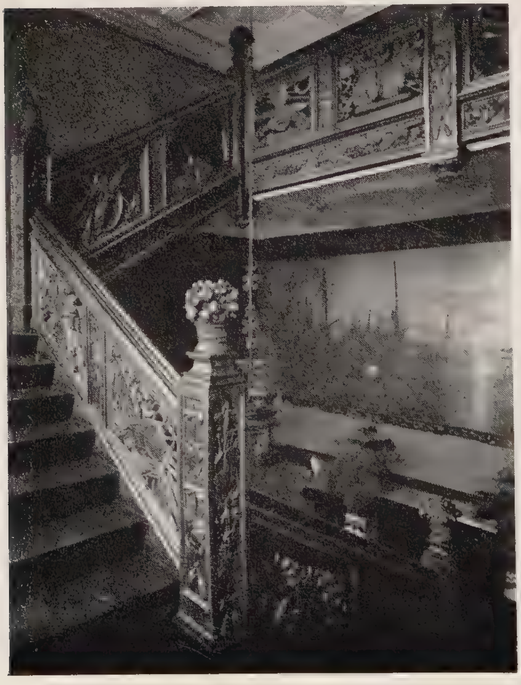
(A) Sir Roger Pratt. Coleshill, Berkshire (1649–62, burnt down 1952). The assimilation of Italian ideas. *Country Life.*



(B) Hugh May. Eltham Lodge, Kent (1663–65). Showing strong Dutch influence. *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.*

PLATE 7

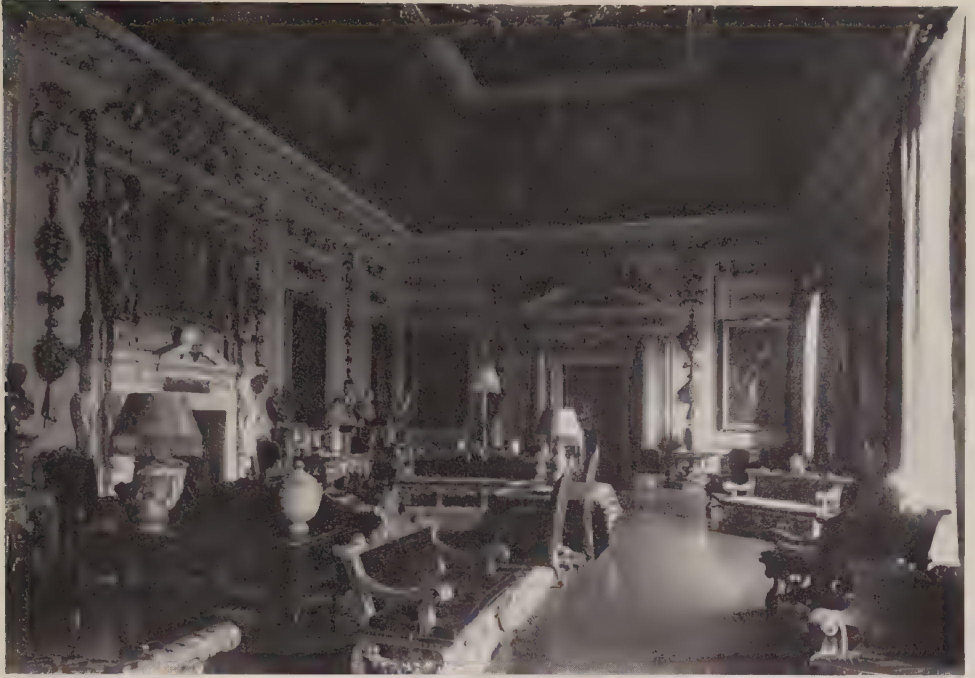




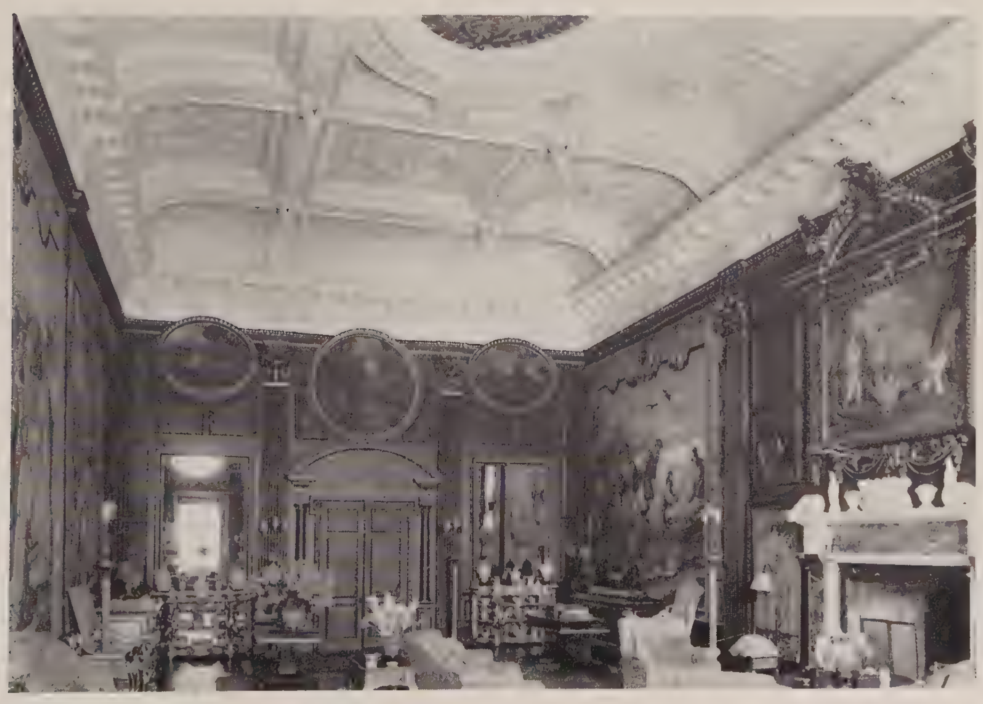
(A) Sir Roger Pratt. Coleshill, Berkshire (1649–62, burnt down 1952). The Hall, with Italian influence in design and decoration. *Country Life.*

(B) Ham House Surrey (1637). The Staircase, with carved and pierced panels instead of balusters. *National Buildings Record.*

PLATE 8



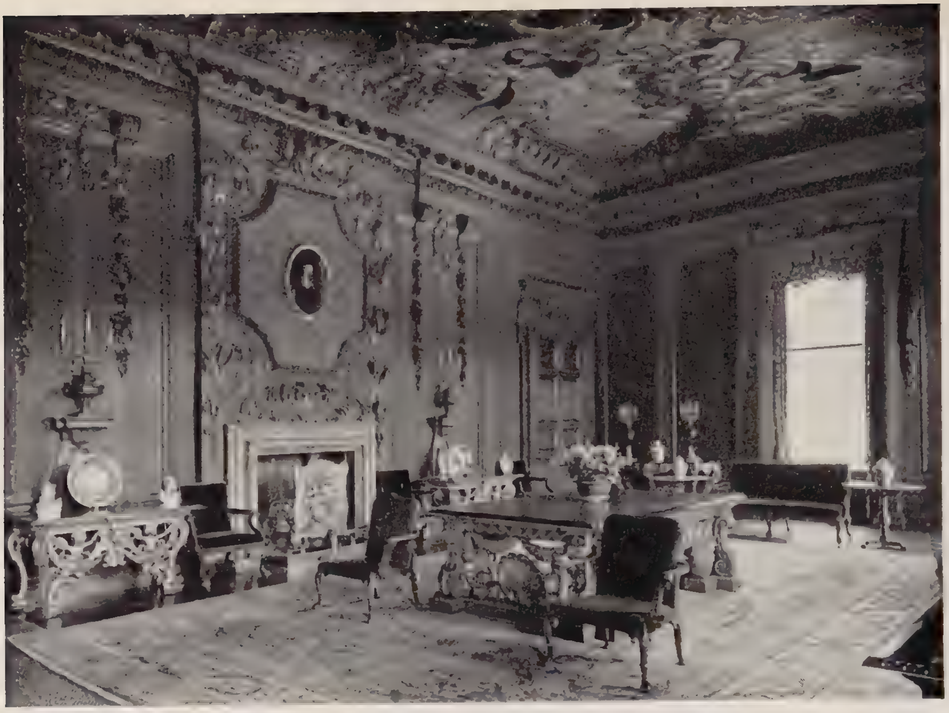
(A) Inigo Jones. Wilton House, Wiltshire (1649–52). The Double-Cube Room, the only surviving interior by the architect. *National Buildings Record.*



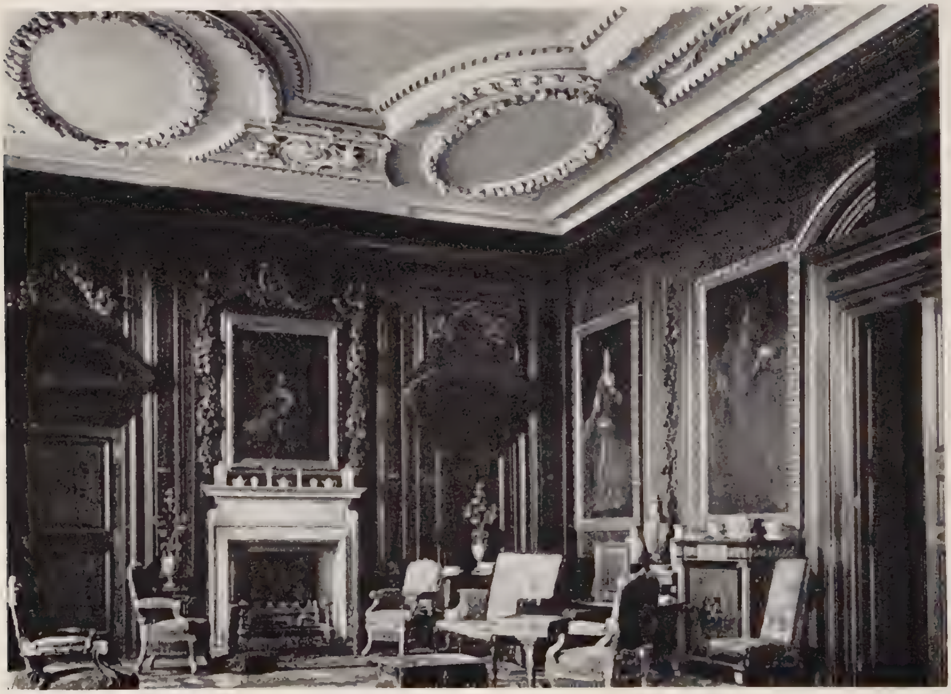
(B) Forde Abbey, Dorset (1658). The Saloon, showing new trends in woodwork, but an older type of ceiling. *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.*

PLATE 9

To face plate 8

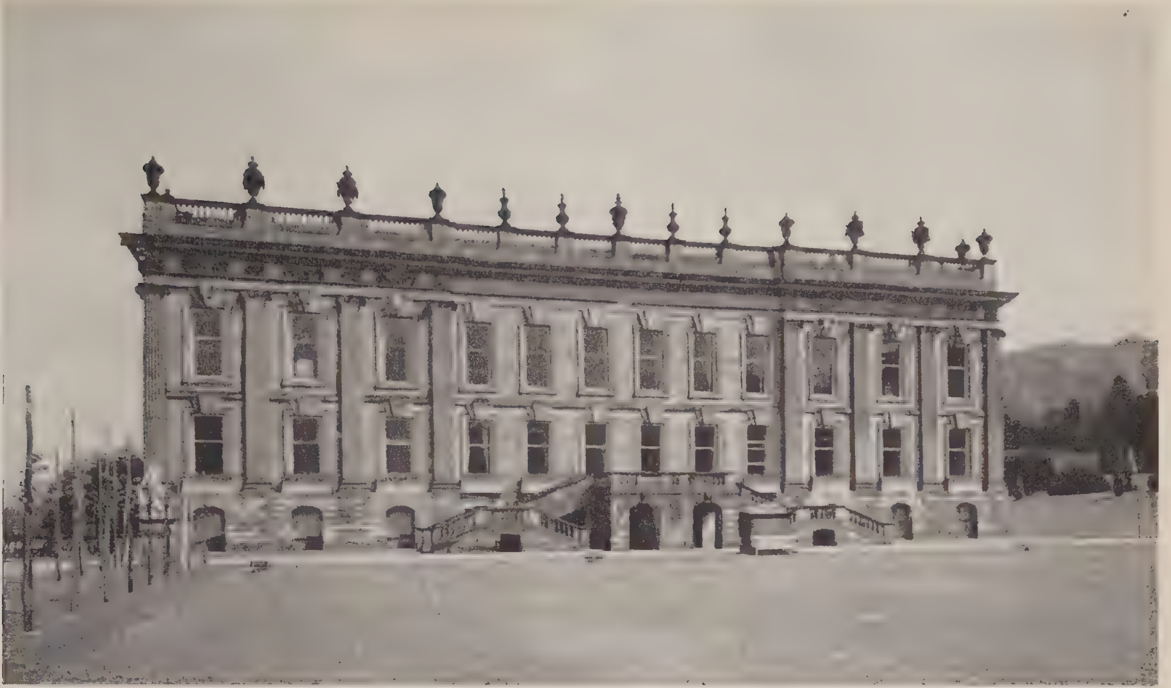


(A) Chatsworth, Derbyshire. The State Dining-Room, painted by Louis Laguerre and carved by Samuel Watson (about 1690). *National Buildings Record.*

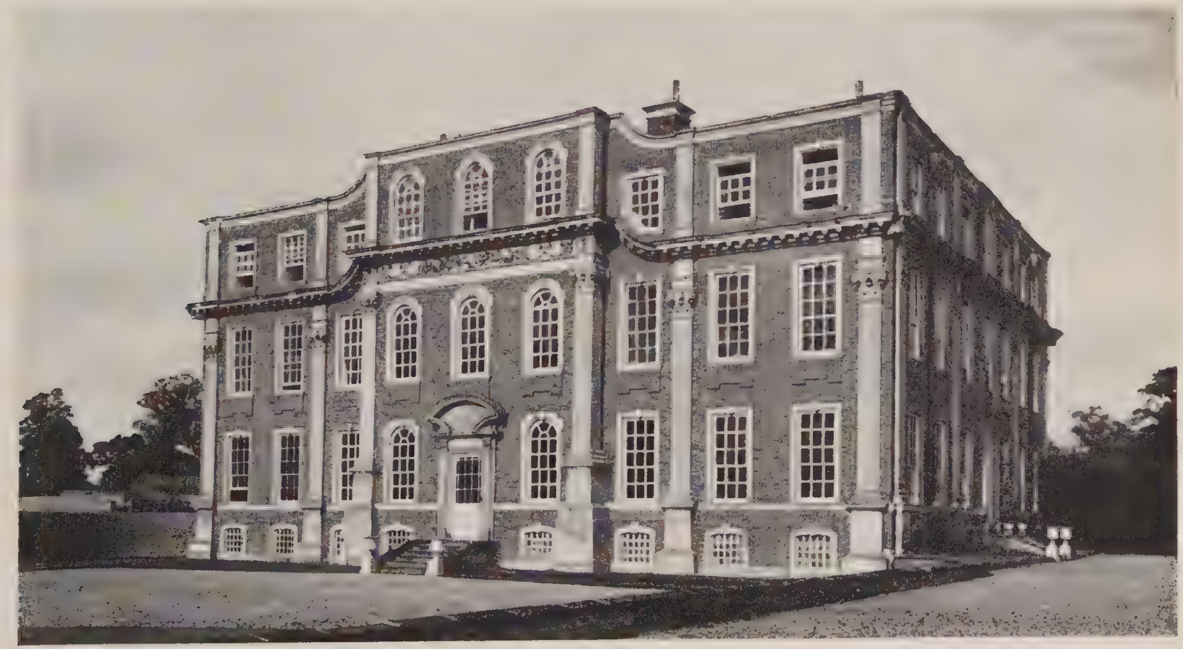


(B) Belton House, Lincolnshire (1684). The Hall, with naturalistic carving and plaster work. *Country Life.*

PLATE 10

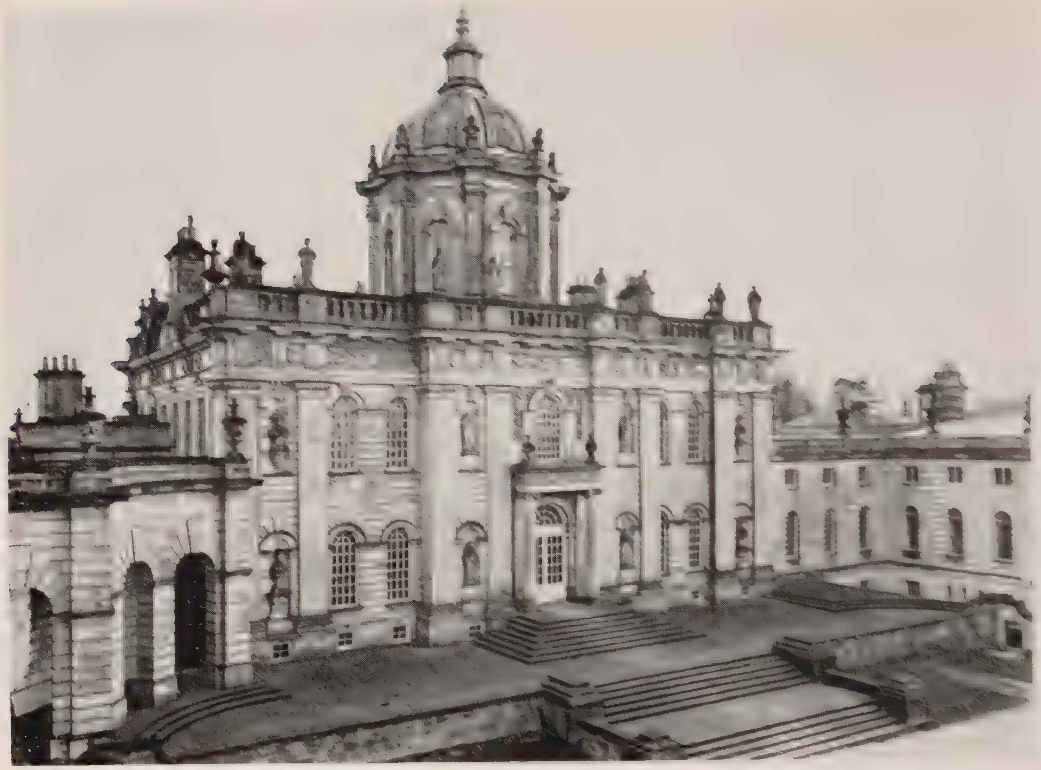


(A) **William Talman.** Chatsworth, Derbyshire (1686–96). The South front, baroque in its sense of mass. *National Buildings Record.*

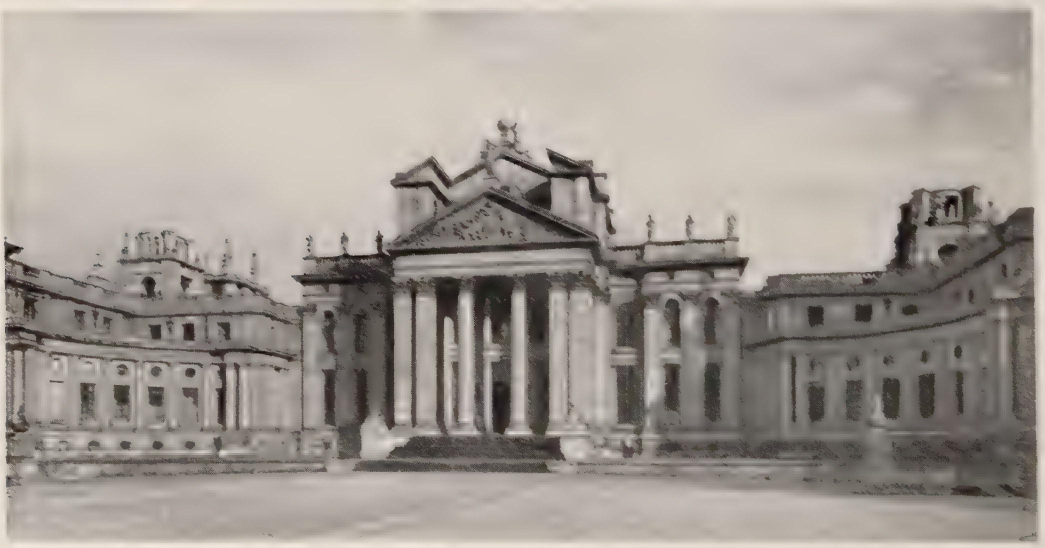


(B) Chicheley Hall, Buckinghamshire (*c.* 1703–21). A modified baroque theme. *A. F. Kersting.*

PLATE 11



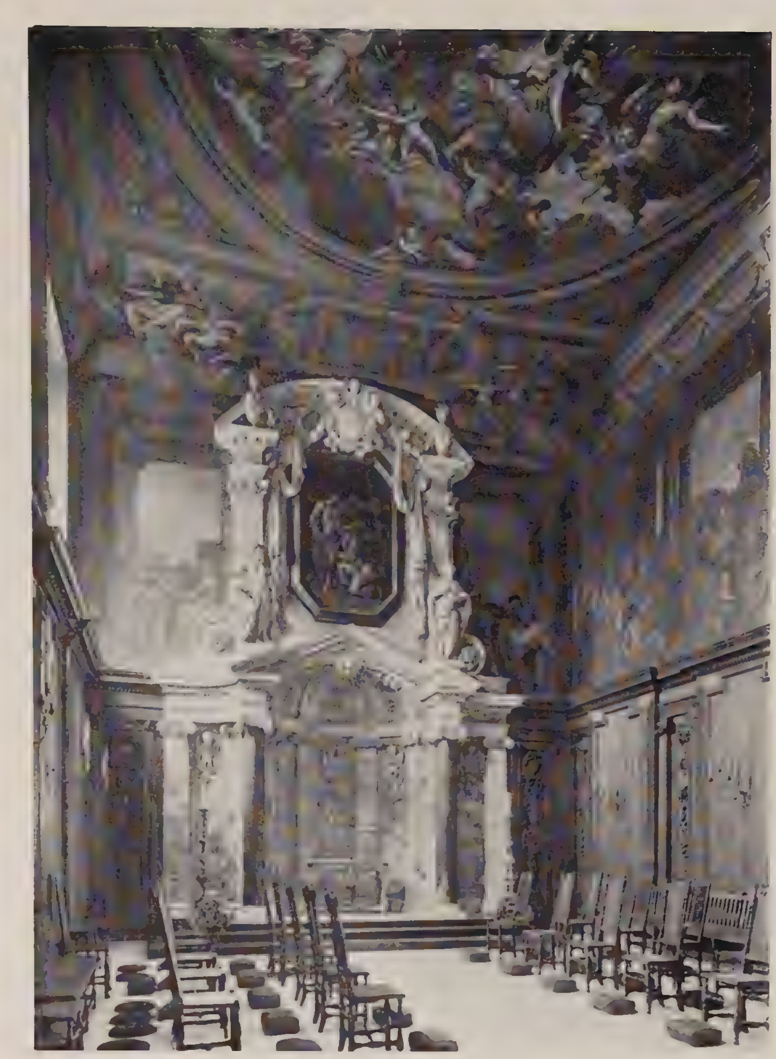
(A) Sir John Vanbrugh. Castle Howard, Yorkshire (begun 1699). *Country Life.*



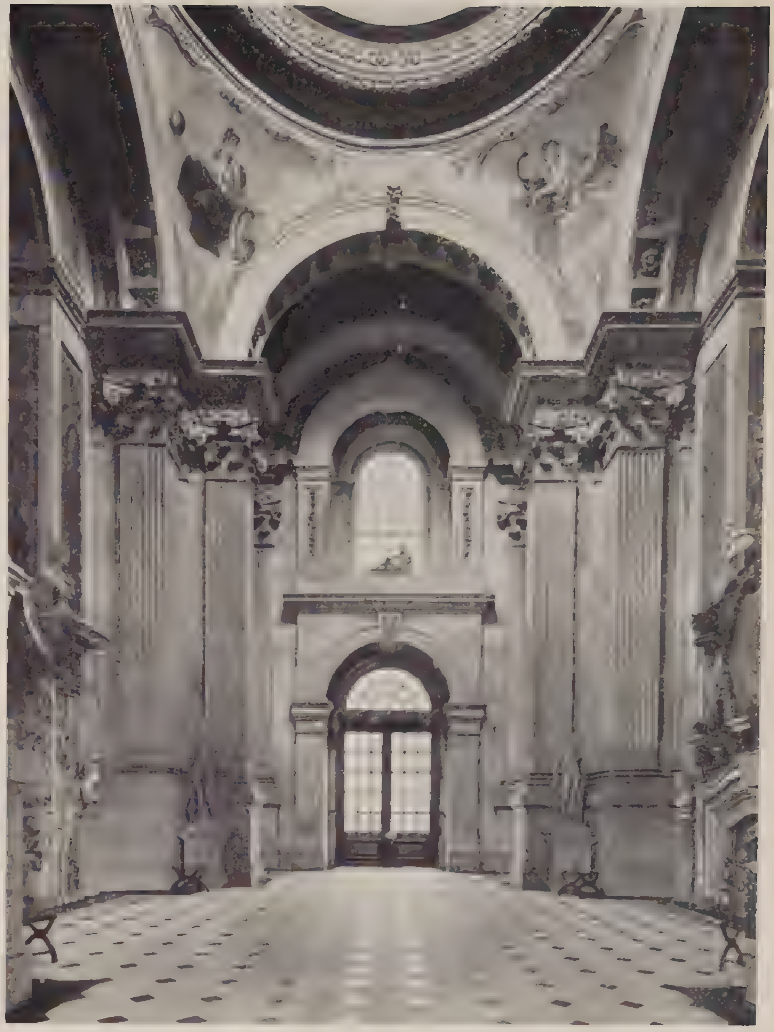
(B) Sir John Vanbrugh. Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire (begun 1705). Heroic in theme and treatment. *A. F. Kersting.*

PLATE 12

To face plate 13

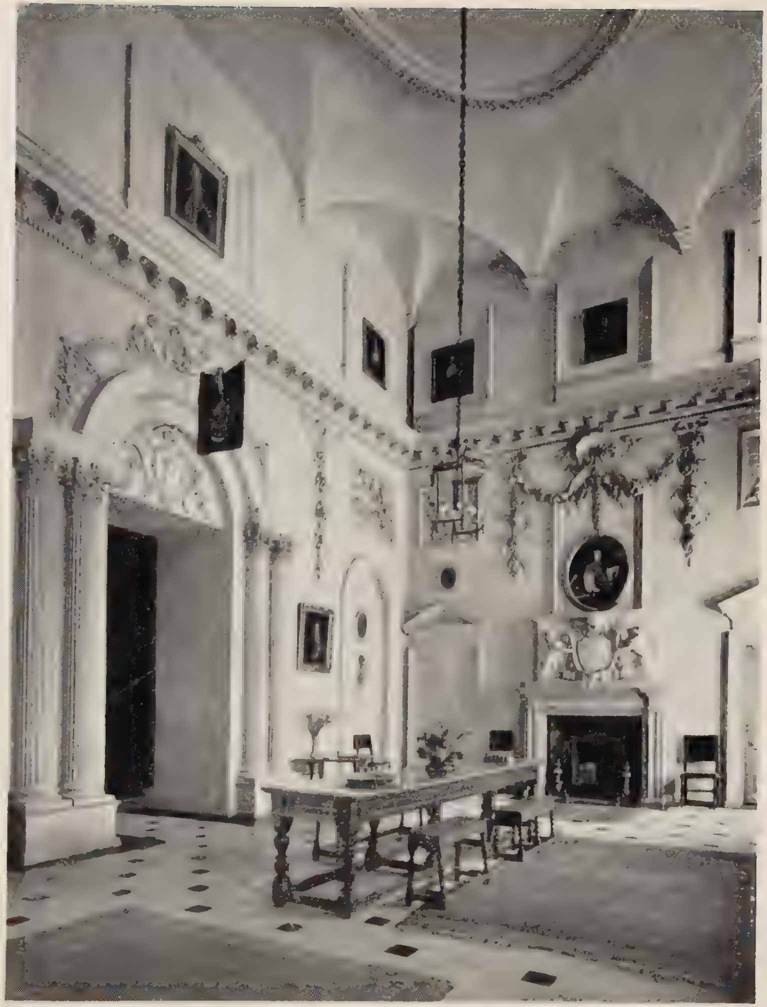


(A) Chatsworth. The Chapel, a combination of architecture, painting and sculpture. *A. F. Kersting.*

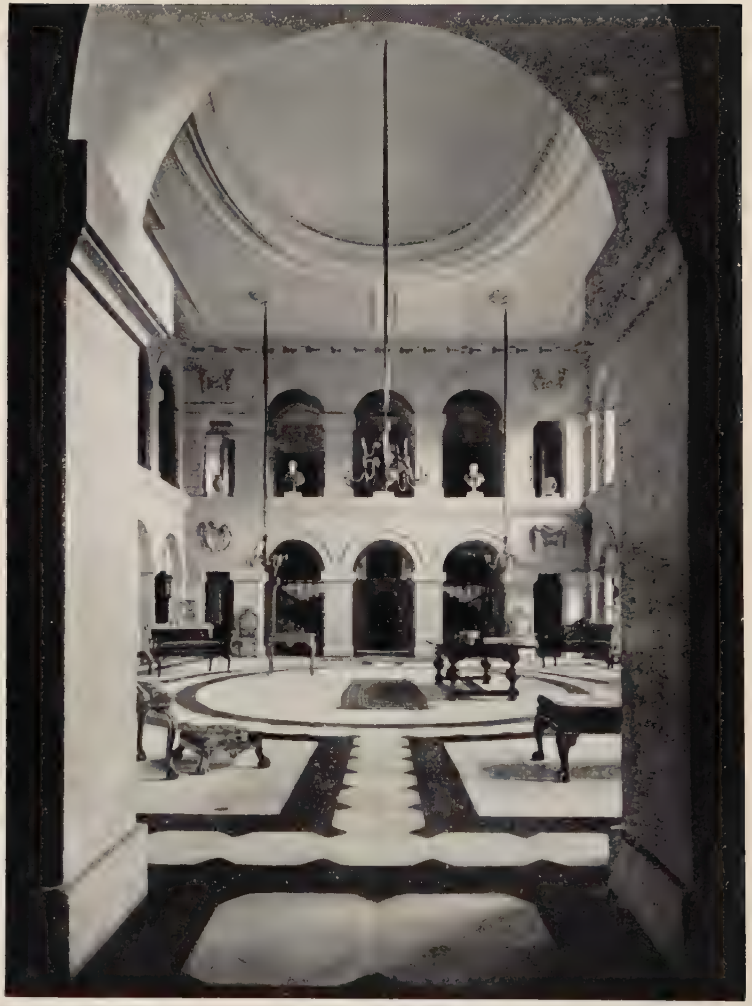


(B) Sir John Vanbrugh. Castle Howard. The Hall, a monumental interior. *Country Life.*

PLATE 13



(A) Gilling Castle, Yorkshire (*c.* 1715). The Hall, with some echoes of Vanbrugh's style. *Country Life.*



(B) SIR JOHN VANBRUGH. Grimsthorpe, Lincolnshire (1723). The Hall, which stresses the simple grandeur of stone. *Country Life.*

PLATE 14

with painted canvases. His full intention can be judged from the ceiling, with Rubens's splendid paintings glorifying the Stuart dynasty, still in the Banqueting House at Whitehall. Other drawings for ceilings for Wilton show an increasingly free decoration of acanthus scrolls in high relief. Indeed, the Double Cube Room at Wilton (Pl. 9A) proves that by the end of his life Jones had established an entirely new form of interior decoration. The large panels with carved palms at the top are designed for the series of portraits by Van Dyck and his school, and are separated not by pilasters but by drops of fruit and flowers in tight bunches joined by ribbons. The cornice is richly carved, the coved ceiling is painted and the door is framed by columns carrying a broken pediment. Rich in white and gold, with the reds and blues of the ceiling, and the fine eighteenth century furniture, it is without doubt the most splendid room now remaining of the first half of the seventeenth century, and the only place where Jones's ideas of interior decoration can now be judged.

It is less easy to assess his influence on staircase design. By the time he began to work, English craftsmen had developed a type of wooden staircase with richly decorated newels, running up in straight flights round the sides of a square staircase hall. Jones's only remaining staircase, that at the Queen's House, departs completely from this tradition, and is a circular stone stair, unsupported in the centre, with a fine iron-work balustrade. It does not seem to have been copied elsewhere, but London workmen who were certainly influenced by him in ceiling and panel design, employed the open wooden stair at Ham House, Surrey, in 1637 (Pl. 8B), but instead of the flat balusters and decorated newels of the Jacobean staircase they introduced pierced panels of carved trophies below the rail. This type of staircase was further developed in the middle years of the century: many examples can be found in which the trophies are replaced by a beautiful scrolling acanthus.

Coleshill was discussed as an especially accomplished elaboration of a Jones type of house. Its interior decoration was no less beautiful than its exterior, and since we know that Jones's pupil, John Webb, produced at least one drawing for its decoration in the 1650's, it is reasonable to assume that it carries on some of Jones's ideas, though the novel staircase (Pl. 8A) is almost certainly due to Sir Roger Pratt. It rises on both sides of the entrance door, running up the sides of the hall to a balustraded landing crossing the hall at first-floor level. It was extremely Italian in character and was probably derived from Baldassare Longhena's staircase in the Convent of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, which bears the date 1643, and which Pratt is likely to have seen when he was in Italy. The whole decoration of the staircase hall, with its antique flavour given by the busts of Roman emperors in roundels, its simple and finely designed door-cases, its beautiful plaster-work with wreaths in very low relief beneath the landing, and its ceiling, which echoes that of the Banqueting House, was in the best Jonesian tradition.

After the middle of the century the motives used by Jones are copied by other designers, though sometimes mixed with older traditions. For instance, the saloon at Forde Abbey (Pl. 9B) in Dorset has a picture-frame fireplace, but the ceiling has pendants and Old Testament scenes in high relief in a manner Jones would surely not have tolerated. Thorpe Hall has at least one ceiling based on a John Webb drawing for Wilton, and panelling which can also be paralleled in his drawings. In the mid 1660's he was designing a palace for Charles II at Greenwich, his fireplace designs being similar to those he used at Drayton and Lamport, both in Northamptonshire, while a small room at Stapleford Hall, Leicestershire, has decoration which is very close to the Greenwich drawings.

Restoration architecture

By now, however, new trends were appearing in English architecture and decoration. During the eleven years of the Commonwealth Charles II and his supporters had spent their exile partly in France, but mainly in Holland, and their taste had shifted from the Italianism of Jones. Partly perhaps for this reason, but chiefly because Charles II rewarded his supporters by the grant of public offices, Webb was not given the post of royal Surveyor which had been promised to him by Charles I.

The appointment went to Sir John Denham, the poet, who, like most of the gentry (according to Webb), had 'some knowledge of the theory of architecture, but none of the practice'; Webb was made his Assistant and the Paymastership (that is, the second senior post in the Office of Works) was given to Hugh May. May, a friend of Sir Peter Lely the painter and cousin of Baptist May, Charles II's Keeper of the Privy Purse, had certainly been in the Low Countries, and his most complete remaining country house, Eltham Lodge in Kent (1663–65) (Pl. 7B), bears evidence of his knowledge of Dutch architecture. For the Chevening pattern is transformed into something new. The house is of fine brick-work, with giant stone pilasters carrying a pediment in the centre of the front. The angles of the house are no longer emphasized by stone quoins, as was the case at Chevening itself, Ashdown, and even Coleshill. The roof, which is not a straight slope, but which sags a little, rises from a cornice decorated with wood modilion blocks. Shallow niches in the brick-work are a feature of the ends of the house. All these motives can be found in Dutch architecture of the middle of the seventeenth century; all are characteristic of the type of house which is commonly, but wrongly, called 'Queen Anne'; and the Dutch influence which is generally associated with the reign of William III is in fact far stronger in the early years of Charles II.

Grinling Gibbons and interior decoration

The somewhat flat surface treatment which is Dutch rather than Italian, and which is characteristic of Eltham, is also to be seen in stone in the work May carried out for Lord Clarendon at Cornbury Park, Oxfordshire. His most important private house, Cassiobury Park, Hertfordshire, no longer exists, though some of its interior decoration is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Its interest lies partly in the fact that it was probably the first house in which Grinling Gibbons worked as a decorator. Born in Holland of English parents, he had been discovered working near Deptford by John Evelyn the diarist in 1671. Evelyn's quick eye was caught by the technical brilliance of the young carver's work, and an introduction to the King followed. In spite of Evelyn's hopes this seems at first to have proved fruitless, and it may have been Sir Peter Lely and not Evelyn who persuaded Hugh May to employ him. In the dining-room at Cassiobury Park the tight festoons and bunches of the Jones type of decoration had been replaced by trails of fruit and flowers, cut in the round and applied to the ground, treated with the utmost naturalism and rich in their profuse variety. It is hard to find carving of such extreme realism in Holland itself, though there are hints of it in the Royal Palace at Amsterdam. Gibbons must have known and deeply admired Dutch flower paintings, for his carvings closely parallel them in wood. Both arts appear to be an artless arrangement of natural forms; both are equally deceptive, for the grouping is most carefully planned.

From now until the end of the century many houses were decorated in the new manner, though in relatively few cases is there any documentary proof that the work is by Gibbons himself. Indeed it seems probable as Sir Christopher Wren was later to note that: 'English Artists are dull enough at Inventions but when once a foreigne patterne is sett, they imitate soe well that commonly they exceed the originall.' While it would be going too far to say that English carvers exceeded Gibbons in virtuosity, there is evidence enough to show that they could produce a close imitation of his work, and it is therefore necessary to be cautious in attributing carving to his hand. At Belton House, which has already been discussed as an example of conservatism in exterior design, the carving (Pl. 10B) is in the manner of Gibbons, though there are no payments to him. Moreover, it is not only in the woodwork that Belton shows the new advance in decoration. The fine plaster ceilings echo the naturalism of the carving. The controlled forms and tight wreaths of the Jones school have been superseded by a freer, looser type of decoration, like Gibbons carving worked in the round and applied to the ground. Although some of John Webb's drawings for Greenwich Palace suggest that work in very high relief was contemplated there, the naturalistic flowers do not appear and would probably not have appealed to him, for it is

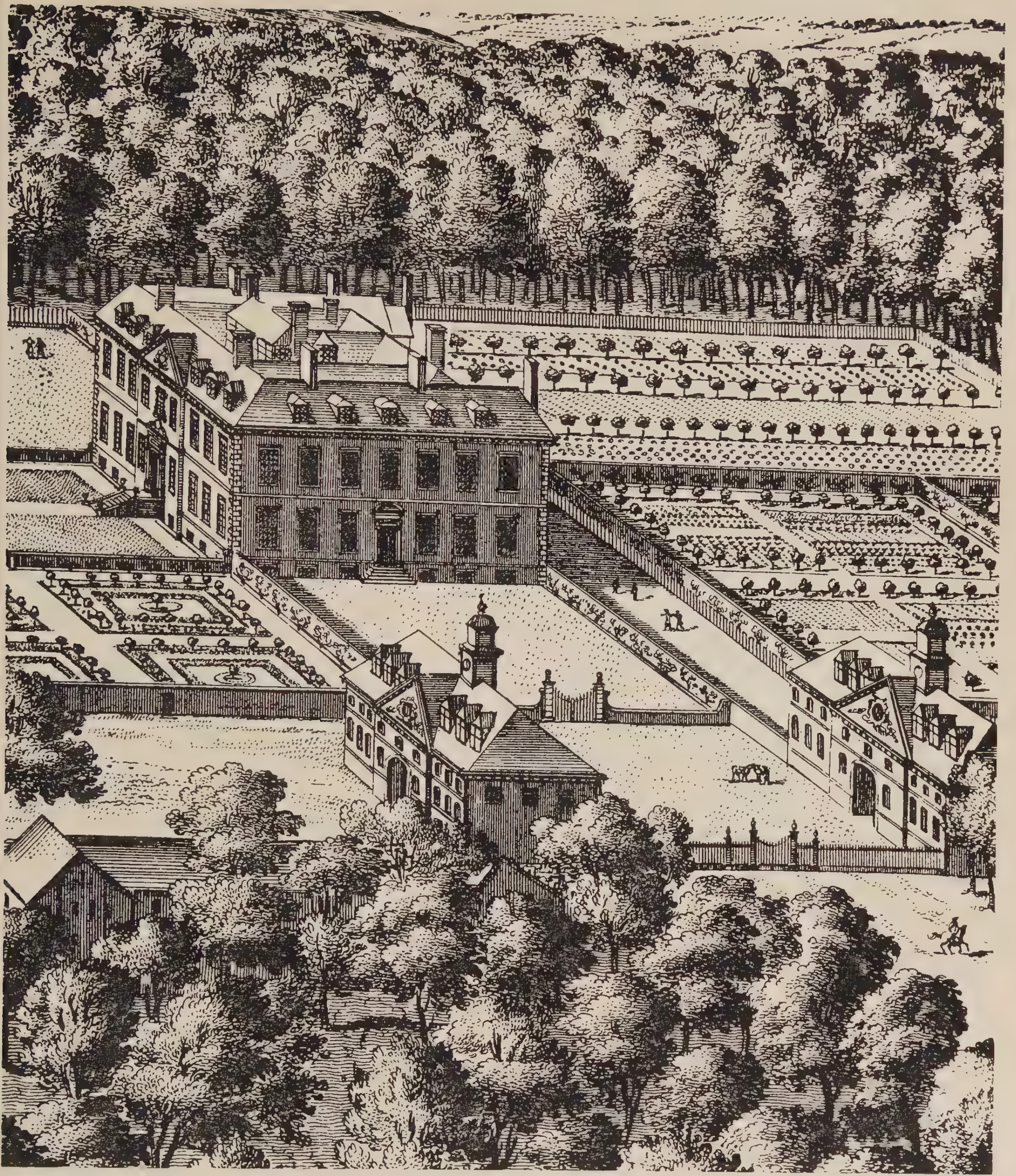


Fig. 3. Stansted, Sussex; built in 1686 perhaps by William Talman. From J. Kip's *Britannia Illustrata* (1707).

likely that here, as in other arts such as silver, the inspiration for this rich naturalism comes from Holland.

The influence of France in the reign of Charles II was less widespread than that of Holland. Indeed it appears mainly in two royal undertakings, the new Apartments at Windsor built by Hugh May between 1675 and 1683, and the Palace at Winchester begun by Sir Christopher Wren in 1683, but never completed. The importance of the work at Windsor was very great in the development of the baroque style in England. The great painted interiors, St George's Hall and the Chapel Royal with wood carving by Gibbons (which is now re-used in the Waterloo Chamber), can more properly be discussed with the history of decorative painting, but the first appearance of painted staircases is part of the history of architecture. The Queen's Stair was of the usual pattern of straight flights running round the sides of the staircase hall, but was covered by a painted dome; the King's Stair, with flights running off to right and left, was of an entirely new pattern based on the Escalier des Ambassadeurs recently completed at Versailles. In both there was a new sense of display, and in the Queen's a dramatic movement from a dark columned vestibule to the spacious and richly coloured staircase hall which can, alas, now be deduced from descriptions only, since both staircases were swept away by George IV.

One other minor fact concerning Windsor is of interest. It seems to have been the first English building to have sash windows. Before then all windows had been of the casement type, usually divided into two large and two small panes by a transom cutting the central mullion at about two-thirds of the height of the window. Most early seventeenth century buildings have had their windows altered to sashes, but occasionally the original effect can still be seen.

Baroque developments

Although Wren's work at Winchester Palace, where the plan is linked with that of the original Versailles and much of the detail was French, was less immediately influential than Hugh May's work at Windsor, it was not without significance, for here and at Chelsea Hospital of about the same date, Wren was making his first experiments in large-scale planning, using great blocks of buildings ranged round three sides of a court, with strong accents given by giant porticoes or small cupolas, at the sides and centre. Schemes of grouped buildings were to occupy much of Wren's time during the next twenty years, though he was hardly ever able to carry them out as he desired. The early scheme for Hampton Court with a 'Grand Front' on the entrance side surmounted by a dome; the first scheme for Greenwich Hospital with long blocks of buildings running back to a hall and chapel with a domed vestibule between them closing the vista; the elaborate layout (which included a Parliament House) for Whitehall Palace after the fire of 1698 are clear enough evidence of his increasing desire to plan on baroque lines, with a cumulative effect rising to the major focal point. None of these belong, strictly speaking, to the story of English domestic architecture, but the development of the great baroque houses designed by Sir John Vanbrugh and Nicholas Hawksmoor at the end of the Stuart period cannot be understood without reference to them, for Wren's ideas clearly meant much to the younger men. He himself, with his vast programme of ecclesiastical, royal and public building, had little time for domestic architecture, but the impetus given to craftsmanship, as well as to large-scale planning, by his undertakings must not be forgotten.

William Talman

The first steps towards the baroque house appear to have been taken by William Talman. His training is unknown, but since in his first house, Thoresby in Nottinghamshire (now destroyed), he seems to have taken ideas for interior design at least from Hugh May's Windsor, it is possible that he had some connexion with it. His next and most famous house, Chatsworth in Derbyshire (Pl. 11A), where he worked from 1687 to 1696, introduces a new theme. For instead of the plain walls, sloping roof and dormer windows of Belton, begun only a few years earlier, the south front (Talman's most important contribution) has a new

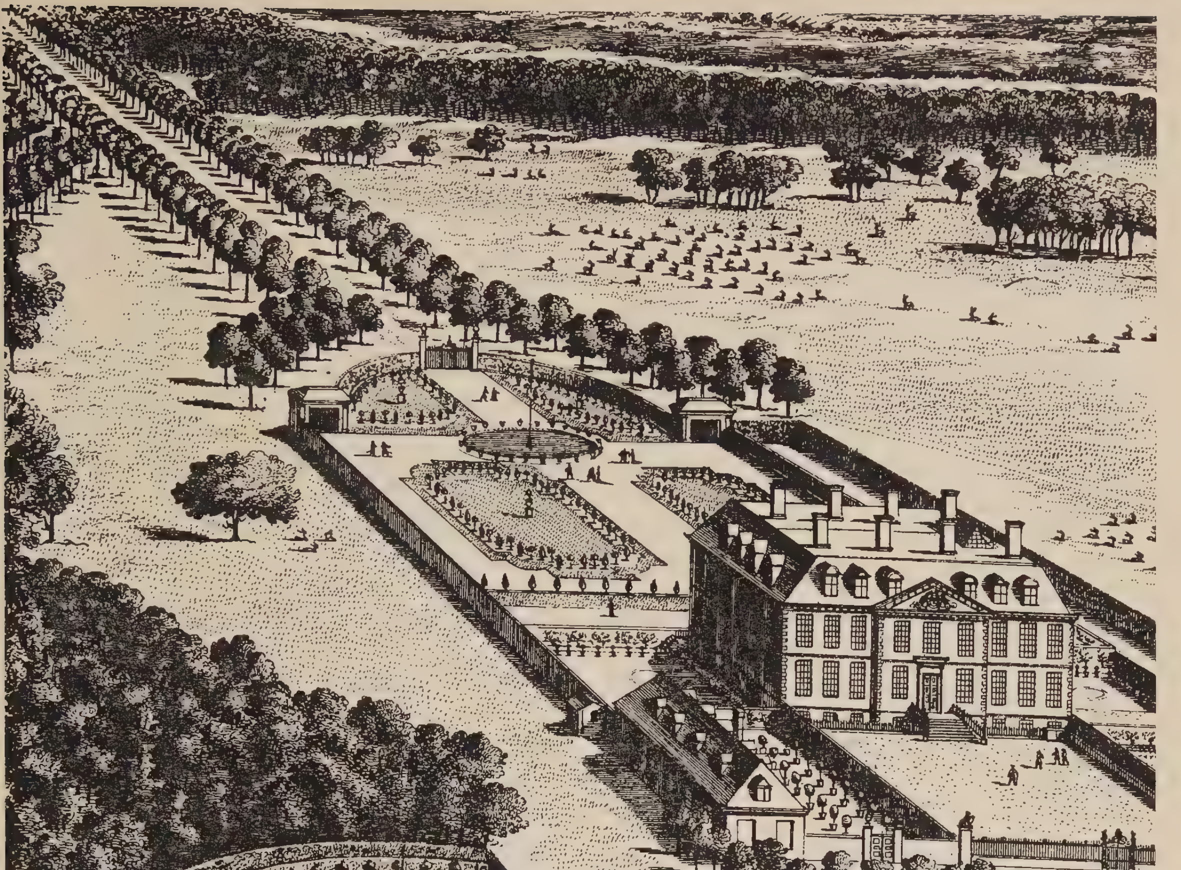


Fig. 4. Uppark, Sussex; probably by William Talman about 1690. From J. Kip's *Britannia Illustrata* (1707).

monumentality. The two-storied façade, set on a rusticated basement, is adorned with giant pilasters at both ends, and the whole is topped by a straight balustrade. The idea is almost certainly borrowed from Bernini's last design for the east front of the Louvre, and indeed throughout his career Talman was to make free use of French engravings. The interior of Chatsworth, which is confused in plan owing to the Earl of Devonshire's method of rebuilding his house piecemeal, also shows a development towards the baroque. The chapel (Pl. 13A) combines architecture, painting and sculpture in a single, rich entity, though the figures by Caius Gabriel Cibber are static and a little dull compared with Continental standards. The great stone staircase leading to the State Rooms on the upper floor has a fine iron-work balustrade, the work of the Huguenot smith, Jean Tijou. The State Rooms themselves are adorned with painted ceilings by Louis Laguerre and carving in the manner of Gibbons, executed by a local craftsman, Samuel Watson (Pl. 10A).

It was no doubt Talman's success at Chatsworth which obtained for him in 1689 the Comptrollership of the Office of Works, vacant since Hugh May's death in 1683. In spite of his quarrelsome nature he seems to have got on well in King William's circle, and the exterior design of Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire, built for Mr Blathwayt, William's Secretary at War, is almost certainly his. Like Chatsworth it is a massive block, ending in a straight balustrade. It is less grand, for there are no giant pilasters, but much of the detail seems to come from French engravings. The clearest example, however, of Talman's dependence on France lies in the little hunting-lodge – a kind of *Trianon* – which he designed, but never executed, for King William at Thames Ditton, across the river from Hampton Court. Here both the plan, with its small oval vestibule, and the exterior design can be traced almost exactly to French engravings. Some of the interior decoration which appears in the drawings is from a slightly different (though ultimately French) source, for it follows designs carried out for William in Holland by Daniel Marot, a Huguenot refugee whose influence can be seen elsewhere in certain types of English furniture. Sometimes, however, Talman designed houses which are more traditional in type, and are indeed developed from the houses of Jones and Pratt. The engravings from Kip's *Britannia Illustrata* (1707) of Stansted and Uppark (the latter now the property of the National Trust) (Figs. 3 and 4) show two such houses; while the view of a similar house, New Park, Surrey (Fig. 1) gives a good idea of the formal gardens of the period.

Hawksmoor and Vanbrugh

It was perhaps Talman's use of the pilastered house at Chatsworth (or its appearance in French engravings of Louis XIV's building at Marly) that influenced Nicholas Hawksmoor in the design of his beautiful house at Easton Neston in Northamptonshire. It is dated 1702 on the parapet, but had been under consideration in Wren's office since at least 1686. Hawksmoor was Wren's chief assistant, and the commission was probably passed on by Wren. A wooden model still in the possession of the owner shows a house in two sharply separated storeys, with small superimposed columns as a porch. The executed design has giant pilasters right along the front; and the sense of scale is enormously increased. The handling of the detail and the cutting of the mouldings is extremely fine; the arrangement of the staircase in a confined space is masterly, and by skilful introduction of mezzanine floors Hawksmoor has managed to insert a considerable number of rooms into a relatively small space.

Easton Neston is the only house which Hawksmoor carried out independently. By the time the exterior was completed the support of his sound architectural training and long practical experience was being given to that gifted amateur, Sir John Vanbrugh, in the evolution of Castle Howard, Yorkshire (Pl. 12A). Lord Carlisle, the patron, had at first employed William Talman, who had produced two fine plans and an interesting lay-out for a different design composed of linked blocks. Talman, however, asked inordinately high fees, and by 1699 Vanbrugh, a playwright with no experience of architecture, was providing a model for the house. It is likely that the drawings for this were made by Hawksmoor, and that the scheme consisted of a balustraded centre block decorated with giant pilasters, and side blocks joined to it by quadrant arcades. The final design, in which it is known that Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor collaborated, was far more spectacular. The pilastered centre block was retained, but was surmounted by a cupola on a high drum. The side buildings were greatly increased, spreading round subsidiary courts, and in the engraving which shows the full conception (which was never completed) many smaller cupolas break the skyline, and echo in little the dominant accent of the central dome. The compact rectangular central block has given place to a far more complex building, with long, low wings running off from the centre on the garden side, and quadrant colonnades leading forward to the massive side blocks. There is a new sense of display hitherto unknown in English country-house design, and only so far seen in England in Wren's palace designs. But this building, with its heavily rusticated side courts, its rich surface decoration on the main block, its broken and exciting skyline, is more dramatic, and therefore more fully baroque, than any of Wren's buildings. That a new powerful imagination is here brought to bear on English architecture is certain; and that the conception is Vanbrugh's seems almost sure. It is, however, an open question whether, at this early stage of his career, he would have been able to translate his ideas into stone without the assistance of Nicholas Hawksmoor.

The novelty is not on the exterior alone. Within the centre block is a great hall (Pl. 13B), flanked by staircases, with a saloon behind looking on to the garden. A state suite is contained in each of the long wings running off from the centre, with a corridor on its inner side, so that the rooms at the end of the wings could be reached without passing through those nearer the hall. This corridor is new in English planning (though something like it appears in some of Talman's drawings) – and indeed it is hard to find its counterpart abroad – for in all great houses of the late seventeenth century it was normal to pass from room to room, and privacy and convenience were little considered. The other major innovation lies in the character of the hall, for it is no longer panelled in wood, in the English traditional manner, but is entirely of stone, with the painted cupola above (destroyed by fire in 1940), and has something of the grand monumentality of Roman baroque architecture.

Not long after Castle Howard was begun, Vanbrugh, who was favoured by the Whig aristocracy, superseded Talman as Comptroller of the Office of Works. In 1705 he was given the greatest commission of his life, the creation of the palace to be presented to the Duke of Marlborough by a grateful nation. At Blenheim Palace (Pl. 12B) Vanbrugh attempts, and indeed achieves, heroic architecture. The scale is vast (too vast to please the Duchess), the forms are massive, and though the age in which he lived compelled Vanbrugh to express his ideas of the heroic by using the forms of classical architecture, he uses them with a unique effect of strength. The whole conception is grander than that of Castle Howard; it does not build up to the centre in the same way, but depends on the grouping of the massive towers, on the sheer extent of the masses of honey-coloured stone, on the constant emphasis on weight and soilidity. The rich surface carving which gives a certain elegance to Castle Howard has disappeared; the motive of a contrast between plain and rusticated wall surfaces, which he was to develop still further in his later houses, is chosen to give a greater impact of strength. The house was never completed according to his conception, for only one of the side courts flanking the great forecourt was built, and he fell out so irrevocably with the formidable Duchess that the later stages of the house were left to Hawksmoor. To him is due the beautiful library in the west wing of the house and probably much of the detail elsewhere, but the force which created the most original of the great houses of England is certainly Sir John Vanbrugh.

After Blenheim, Hawksmoor was mainly engaged on work in London and at the Universities, and Vanbrugh designed several houses without his help, Kings Weston near Bristol, Eastbury in Dorset, Seaton Delaval in Northumberland and a new wing at Grimsthorpe in Lincolnshire being the most important. All show an increasing control of his medium. They are much smaller than Castle Howard or Blenheim, and are relatively compact in plan. Eastbury no longer exists, and Seaton Delaval was burnt in the early nineteenth century and is only a shell. Even so, it is of incomparable grandeur. Vanbrugh had before this made it clear, in letters and in a variety of small houses that he built at Blackheath, that he was strongly attracted by medieval architecture. As early as 1707, when he altered Kimbolton, he 'thought it best to give it something of the castle air, but at the same time to make it regular'. At Seaton Delaval he manages to combine medieval angle turrets and side towers containing circular staircases with his great Doric entrance columns. At Grimsthorpe the medieval element is less obvious, but the composition depends for its effect on the balance of small towers on the entrance screen with the great towers of the wings, and in the façade itself, on the contrast between smooth and broken surfaces. Within Vanbrugh's wing at Grimsthorpe is a single great hall (Pl. 14B) in which the maximum emphasis is laid on the simplicity of the stone, and the minimum on decoration.

Vanbrugh's influence can, however, be seen in a number of houses, some of them undoubtedly created by men who had worked under him. He is perhaps the most original of all English country-house architects and his romantic, individual interpretation of baroque was to be admired by Robert Adam and Sir Joshua Reynolds, and detested by Horace Walpole.

His contemporary, Thomas Archer, betrays more immediate dependence on seventeenth century Roman models, though little of his work has survived unaltered. Heythrop Hall, Oxfordshire, a great Roman palazzo, has been rebuilt, though it follows the original design. The north front of Chatsworth has also been mutilated, and the charming oval windows surrounded by a rich cartouche have disappeared. The basic baroque motive of a curved front can, however, still be seen. Several other buildings – Chettle House, Dorset, Marlow Place, Buckinghamshire, and Chicheley Hall (Pl. 11B) in the same county – have been attributed to Archer, largely on their resemblance to his designs for houses that no longer exist. The last, even if it is not by him, can be taken as a good example of the baroque theme modified to suit a brick-and-stone house of medium size. The bold proportions, the great pilasters, the treatment of windows and door, the curves sweeping up to the centre – all these are baroque, and form an interesting contrast with the treatment of Eltham Lodge, built some fifty years earlier. Other houses – Frampton Court in Gloucestershire, which is as late as 1730, Duncombe Park and Gilling Castle in Yorkshire (Pl. 14A) – betray the influence of Vanbrugh. The last two were carried out by William Wakefield, though perhaps not from his own designs. In both, however, the interior decoration combines something of Vanbrugh's monumentality with a new richness of plaster-work. The next chapter in the history of English architecture, which is purely Georgian, shows on the one hand the dramatic baroque exteriors replaced by the dry elegance of the new Palladian manner, while interior decoration, under the influence of William Kent and the Italian plasterers, becomes increasingly lavish.

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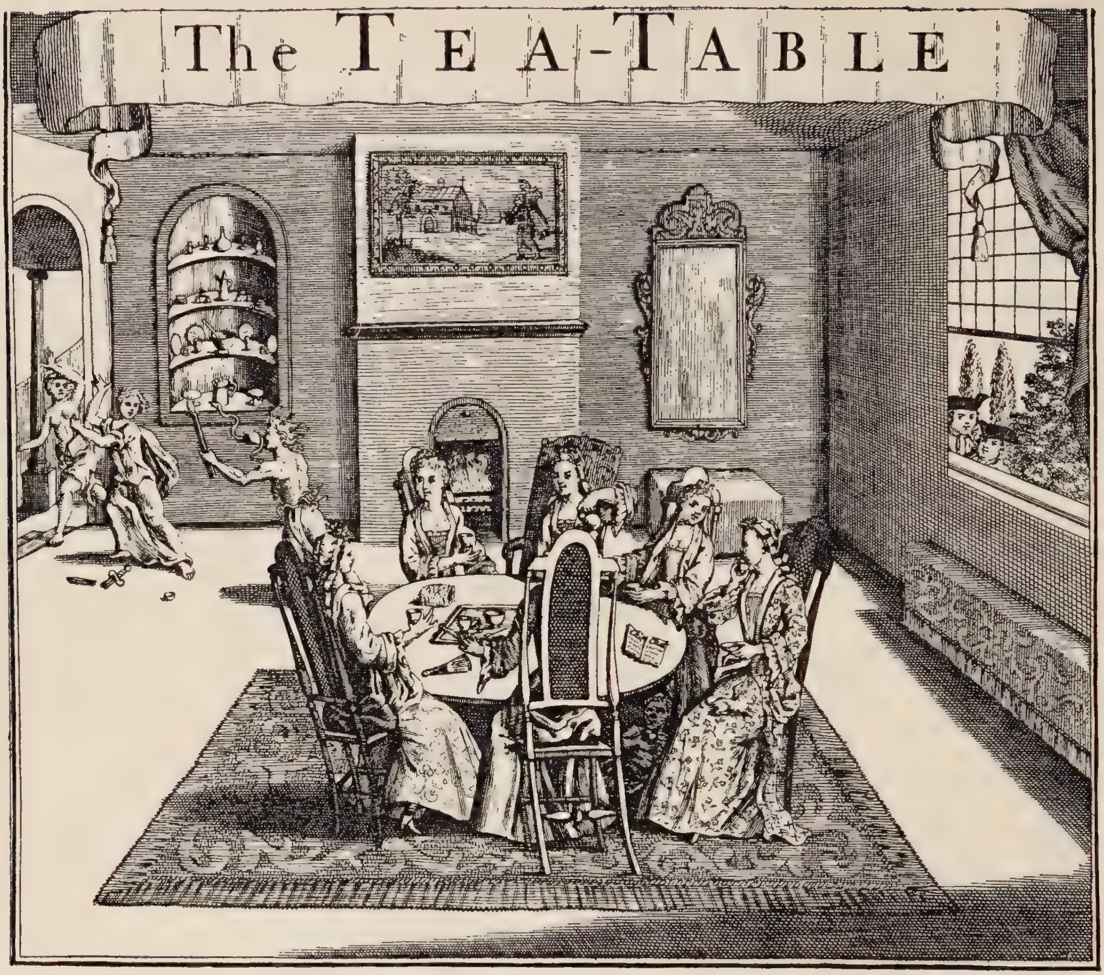
Furniture


The TEA-TABLE

An early eighteenth century interior. From a print sold by John Bowles at Cornhill, London, *c.* 1710. See p. 44 and note.

Furniture

RALPH FASTNEDGE

Introduction

Stylistically, English seventeenth century furniture falls into two main groups: first, joined furniture, which developed slowly on established lines from that in use during the Elizabethan period, comprising useful, solid, enduring articles, such as long tables, press cupboards, settles and joint stools, made usually of oak or indigenous woods; and secondly, post-Restoration furniture, the design of which was strongly influenced by contemporary models from France and Holland. This latter furniture, first made for the Court in London, resulted from the revolution in taste which followed the restoration of the monarchy in England in 1660. Some reaction against forms which had had their being under the Commonwealth was perhaps inevitable. There was a demand for luxury evidenced by the introduction of new specialized pieces, such as the scrutoir and bureau, dressing-glass and candle-stand. Fashionable post-Restoration furniture represented a break with tradition and was the work of new craftsmen, many of whom were Huguenot refugees, employing new techniques (veneering, marquetry, japanning and subsequently gesso) and new woods – in particular, walnut. Their productions were decorative and their standard of skill very much higher than that possessed by the native joiners. Their presence here was quickly felt. 'Joyners, cabinet-makers, and the like … from very vulgar and pitiful artists', wrote Evelyn, in a familiar passage, 'are now come to produce works as curious for the fiting, and admirable for their dexterity in contriving, as any we meet with abroad.' [1] Such furniture, however, was not in general supply under the late Stuarts. The provincial or country joiner was but little affected at this date by London fashions in furniture; he worked by usage and was incapable of making pieces other than those of familiar design and construction. Thus, much surviving furniture of late seventeenth-century date is in the style of the preceding period. Compare the oak box (Fig. 1), inscribed 'I.S. 1682', decorated simply and in accordance with tradition, with punch work and gouge carving (at the ends), with a veneered walnut and marquetry counterpart of comparable date. The disparity of style and execution is remarkable.

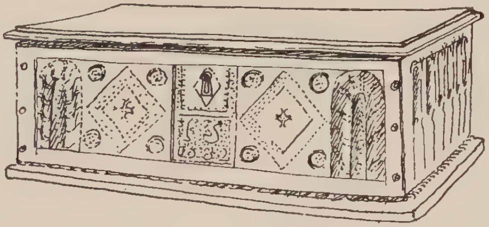


Fig. 1. Box of oak, with punch work ornament. Dated 1682.

A reliable account of the proper furnishing of a provincial gentleman's house in the late seventeenth century is provided by a contemporary writer, Randle Holme.[2] His *Academy of Armoury*, published at Chester, contains definite instructions on this matter, as much else. The dining-room, he stated, is to be

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[1] *An Account of Architects and Architecture*, by John Evelyn. *The Miscellaneous Writings of John Evelyn*, ed. by William Upcott, 1825, p. 361.

> 'well wanscoted about, either with Moontan [3] and panells or carved as the old fashion was; or else in larg square panell.
> The Rome hung with pictures of all sorts, as History, Landskips, Fancyes, &c.
> Lang table in the midle, either square to draw out in Leaves, or Long, or Round, or oval with falling leaves.
> Side tables, or court cubberts, for cups and Glasses to drink in, Spoons, Sugar Box, Viall and Cruces for Viniger, Oyle and Mustard pot.
> Cistern of Brass, Pewter, or Lead to set flagons of Beer, and Bottles of win in.
> A Turky table couer, or carpett of cloth or Leather printed. Chaires and stooles of Turkey work,[4] Russia or calves Leather, cloth or stuffe, or of needlework. Or els made all of Joynt work or cane chaires.
> Fire grate, fire shovell, Tongs, and Land Irons all adorned with Brass Bobbs and Buttons.
> Flower potts, or Allabaster figures to adorn the windows, and glass well painted and a larg seeing Glass at the higher end of the Rome.'

Holme's list of items, printed at a time when new building and the 'politer way of living' had already exercised a great effect on furniture styles, is informative. He was prepared, seemingly, to compromise between the claims of old and new fashions and to allow considerable freedom of choice to the householder.

I. FURNITURE OF PRE-RESTORATION CHARACTER

The great houses: the Lumley inventories

Surprisingly few varieties of domestic furniture existed in England at the beginning of the century, even in the richest houses. This is sufficiently clear from the inventory of the possessions of John, Lord Lumley, taken by his steward of household, one John Lambton, in 1590.[5] The inventory is of considerable length and details the 'monumentes of Marbles, Pictures and tables in Paynture, with other... howseholde Stuffe and Regester of Bookes' at Lord Lumley's three houses – Nonesuch Palace, the London house on Tower Hill, and Lumley Castle. The pictures may here be disregarded, as also the statuary. The fantastic marble objects (tables, screens, and fountains), which are recorded by the several pages of drawings prefacing the inventory, have not survived. (It is likely that these pieces were the work of Italian craftsmen.) A table, now at Aston Hall, Birmingham, with polychrome marble top inlaid in an elaborate perspective design, is, however, representative of this small but fashionable class of Italian or Italianate furniture; the table is certainly of Italian inspiration, although its square wooden frame, carved with strapwork decoration, is English work of about 1600. The unusual and interesting chair reproduced in Fig. 2 is, too, strongly Italian in style. There is good reason to suppose that it was made to the design of the elder Francis Cleyn,[6] master of the tapestry works for Charles I at Mortlake. Cleyn is known to have been in Italy for some four years. The chair is almost identical with those 'carved and gilt, with large shells for backs' which were noted by Horace Walpole as being in a room decorated by Cleyn at Holland House, and remarked as being 'undoubtedly from his designs, and evidences of his taste'.[7]

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[2] *The Academy of Armory, or, a Storehouse of Armory and Blazon*, by Randle Holme, Chester, 1688. Roxburghe Club edit., 1905, Vol. II, pp. 15–16. The MS. is dated 1649, when Holme completed his 'first colleccions and draughts' for the work.

[3] *Mountan* or *Muntin*. A vertical member of the framing of wainscot or other panelled woodwork.

[4] A coarse wool needlework, made in imitation of a Turkey carpet.

[5] *The Lumley Inventories* by Lionel Cust, and *A Lumley Inventory of 1609* by Mary F. S. Hervey, *Walpole Society*, Vol. VI, 1917–18, pp. 15–35, 36–46.

[6] Francis Cleyn was born at Rostock in 1582. He studied in Rome and Venice. Court Painter to Christian IV of Denmark. Cleyn was in England from 1625, and died in London, 1657–58.

[7] *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, by Horace Walpole; 1st edit. Strawberry Hill, 1762–71.

See *English Decoration and Furniture of the Early Renaissance*, by Margaret Jourdain, 1924, wherein C. J. Richardson's lithographs of Holland House are reproduced, Figs. 16, 127, and *The Baronial Halls ... of England*, by S. C. Hall, F.S.A., 1858, Vol. I, p. 7.

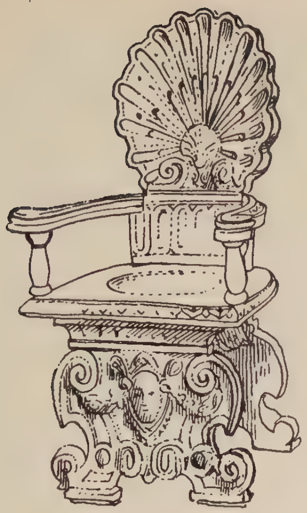

Fig. 2. Painted armchair, made probably from the design of Francis Cleyn, after an Italian model. Height 3 ft. 7½ in. *c.* 1625.

It is difficult now to conceive a true idea of the splendid character of the furnishing of the rooms of these houses: their brilliance derived largely from valuable fabrics, and gold and silver plate. Many 'sutes of hanginges of arras, sylke and tapistre' (fifty-seven), 'Turkye carpettes of sylke' (eleven) and 'other Turky Carpettes' (ninety-five) were listed in the Lumley inventory, with 'carpettes of velvet for tables and wyndowes' (twenty-five) and 'coveringes and Quyltes of sylke' (forty). There were 'quisshins [cushions] of clothe of gold, velvet and sylke' (one hundred and nine); indeed many chairs (seventy-six) and stools (eighty) were covered with these materials, and a few with red Spanish leather, or with crewel needlework. The essential wooden, and un-upholstered, furniture by comparison showed small variety and comprised only chairs (seventeen), stools (one hundred and seventy-five), forms (twenty), tables (seventy-five) and cupboards (fifty-two), which were distinguished as of 'walnuttre and Markatre' (walnut decorated with an inlay of woods), of 'walnuttre' and of 'Waynskot' (imported oak). Oak furniture, of course, preponderated over walnut, but not to the extent that was general in most houses. Bedsteads were 'gylt' (four), 'of walnuttre and markatre' (twenty-three) and 'of weynskot' (forty), and there were, besides, the 'pallet beddes with their bolsters' and 'lyvereye beddes' which were in common use. Curiously, there is no mention of the chests, which must have been numerous; they were not here valued.

A second Lumley inventory taken for probate in 1609 ('a trew Inventarie of all such moveables as were found in Lumley Castle after the decease of the Lord John Lumley ...') is as to furniture more explicit. We have such entries as these: 'Itm two long drawinge [draw] tables of walnottree one folding table of wainscott & a little table of wainscott'; 'Itm two fyne merketree cupbords & two livere cupbords'; Itm x square oake & elme tables & liverie Cupbords sutable'; and 'Itm one old iron chist & a firre chist'. This inventory applies only to Lumley Castle; consequently the number of entries contained in it is greatly reduced.

Upholstered seat furniture

Upholstered seat furniture of a luxurious character existed in quantity by the earlier seventeenth century in many of the great houses of England. This furniture, because of its perishable nature, has almost entirely disappeared. (Knole, Kent, where early upholstered chairs, stools, and couches remain still in untouched condition, if sadly worn and faded, provides a notable exception.) [8] The 1590 inventory, it may be noticed, listed as many as seventy-six 'Chares of Clothe of gold, velvet and sylke' but seventeen only 'of walnuttre and markatre' (i.e. Joined Chairs, see below).

These pieces, which were the products of the upholsterer,[9] were in general 'covered all over' (i.e. all exposed surfaces were covered with fabric), 'garnished with nails', and 'fringed with gold'. They were constructed with frames of beechwood – a wood particularly liable to attack by worm. It is probable that numerous suites of upholstered seat furniture were made under the early Stuarts, comprising chairs, couches and stools. At this time the single chair, or 'back-stool', with stuffed seat and back first emerges. The low-backed farthingale chair, said to have been designed to accommodate ladies wearing the farthingale, which attained extravagant proportions under James I, was too made without arms and is distinguished by a wide and very high, stuffed seat (Pl. 17A). It was supported usually on columnar legs and covered frequently in 'Turkey work'.

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[8] See *The Upholstered Furniture at Knole*, by R. W. Symonds, *The Burlington Magazine*, May and July 1945. The illustrations include a chair of early X-shape design, one of rectangular form with low stuffed back, and couches.

[9] And, at first, of the coffer maker.

Comparatively few upholstered stools have survived, although they would seem once to have been plentiful. According to Sir John Harington, writing in the later sixteenth century, upholstered stools were to be seen 'in every merchant's hall'. Indeed, men could 'scant endewr to sitt upon' the hard plank forms and wainscot stools 'since great breeches were layd aside'.[10]

At the time of the Commonwealth, leather coverings were introduced; strips of hide were strained over seat and back panel and secured by large brass-headed nails.

Joined chairs, stools and benches

Joined chairs are listed in most early seventeenth century inventories, and evidently were owned by all but the poorest sections of the population. They were not numerous, at least in the houses of yeomen and country tradesmen, and were reserved for the master of the house and his guests. John Osburne, for example, a yeoman of Writtle, in Essex, whose goods and chattels were appraised in 1638, kept: 'In the Hall – one great ioyned table, eigght stooles and one forme, 1 *li.* 10*s.*; one litle ioyned table, 2 stooles and one great ioyned chayer, 8*s.*; one cubbard & one settle with 3 boxes in it, 1 *li.*' While Robert Jackson, also of Writtle, the inventory of whose goods was taken that same year, possessed: 'In the Hall One table, 2 formes, one Joyned stole, 1 *li.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; 2 little tables, 2 chayres, 8*s.*; 1 bench bord, 4 cushens ... 13*s.*;' and, 'In the Porler – One Joyned bedsted with all that belongeth to it, 5 *li.*; 2 chayers, 1 little table and one Joyned stole, 1 Cuberd, one warming pan, 1 *li.* 15*s.*'[11]

At the beginning of the century, joined chairs with open arms and panel backs were still of very substantial construction. They were at that time rarely made of walnut. Ordinarily, the back panels were arched and, in some finer specimens, decorated with a floral inlay. Such inlay was of holly, bog oak, box, yew, the fruitwoods and other woods, such as ash and poplar. The legs were baluster turned or of columnar form, and tied by moulded stretchers.[12] Chairs tended to be more lightly made as the century advanced. Certain stylistic changes may be remarked: first, in later chairs, the downward slope of the arms is more pronounced; secondly the top rail of the chair back (which bears a scrolled cresting) later often rests on the uprights, and is not contained within them, and pendant brackets, or 'ear-pieces', are attached at the sides, below the cresting; and, finally, the thin wooden seat, conforming to a lighter pattern of chair, is narrower (Pl. 18B). In many post-Restoration chairs of this panel back type the decorative area of the back is thinly but profusely carved with strapwork, scrolls or floral arabesques. Such features as the foregoing provide some indication of the date of construction. But panel back chairs were supplied to farmhouses and cottages at least until the middle of the eighteenth century; and modifications in their design made over many years in any one locality were often slight. The variety to be found in surviving chairs is due in large part to the stylistic differences which existed between the furniture of one region and another. The carved oak single chair, dated 1641, which is illustrated in Pl. 17B, is, for example, from the north country. The influence of region on furniture style was considerable.

Joined stools and benches were in common use as seats, particularly at the dining-table, and innumerable sets of stools, and benches, were made; they were often 'sutable' (i.e., designed *en suite*) to the table. (Stools were ranged under the table when not in use, and rested on its stretcher rails.) Stools, like chairs, developed towards lightness, and the somewhat massive carved and fluted legs found in late Elizabethan examples, were, too, succeeded by those of columnar or turned baluster form. These supports were slightly splayed, so as to give stability to the seats (Fig. 3). Three-legged or 'cornered' joined stools were also made. Benches and forms, less used in the seventeenth century, developed on similar lines, being, by construction, no more than heavy elongated stools, purposed to seat several persons.

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[10] *Nugae Antiquae*: being a collection of original papers in prose and verse by Sir J. H. and others, 1804 edit., Vol. 1, p. 202.

[11] *Farm and Cottage Inventories of mid-Essex, 1635–1749*, ed. by F. W. Steer, 1950.

[12] See *The Dictionary of English Furniture*, revised edition by Ralph Edwards, 1954, Vol. 1, p. 231 – *Chairs*, Figs. 18, 19 and 21.

Settles

Settles resembled in form contemporary chairs, but were made with very high backs. They were either movable or fixed; and were extremely popular pieces, particularly in poorer households, where they offered comparative comfort as seats, both by virtue of a position by the fireside and as providing protection against draughts. Most late settles, supplied to farmhouses and cottages, were of a serviceable and composite nature. In many, a locker was contained beneath the seat, which was hinged and opened as the lid of a chest. Some settles, constructed with a hinged back, combined the functions of seat and table (Pl. 18A).

Cupboards

Cupboards figure prominently in inventories of the period, but seldom are particularized, and while it is clear that cupboards of several types existed in most houses of substance, and were to be found in hall, parlour and bedrooms, it is yet difficult exactly to identify the purpose served by many of the numerous surviving specimens.[13]

The court-cupboard, introduced by the third quarter of the sixteenth century, or earlier, and possessed by manors and the larger farmhouses by about 1600, had, however, a definite place in the dining parlour and was used for the display of plate and as a service table. (Those which were made under Elizabeth and James I were often of walnut and were richly carved and inlaid, as befitted ceremonial pieces.) The function of the court-cupboard remained the same throughout the course of the century. It was specifically listed by Randle Holme[14] in his work of 1688, as being among those 'things necessary for and belonging to a dineing Rome'. The court cupboard was of open construction, in three tiers, and rarely exceeded 3 ft. 10 in. in height. The tiers were supported at front, at the corners, usually by bulbous columns. These were a distinctive feature, and were at first of pronounced 'cup and cover' form, but later modified and attenuated, and, towards the end of the century, undefined, except sometimes by grooving. Drawers were contained behind the upper and middle friezes, and 'carpets' or cloths were laid on the shelves. The late court-cupboard, particularly after 1700, is usually of comparatively poor quality, the design stinted, and the character of the carved decoration inferior. It was at that time the unfashionable product of the country joiner, and had been superseded by the side table.

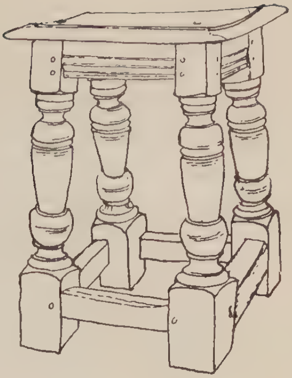

Fig. 3. Oak 'joint' stool; the seat has a moulded edge and is supported on turned legs united by plain stretchers. Height 1 ft. 9 in. Mid-seventeenth century.

Two other types of cupboard, related closely structurally to the open court-cupboard, but each formed with an enclosed upper stage, were also in common use. First, a splay-fronted cupboard, with central door, which presumably served much the same purpose as an open 'cup-board' (there is adequate room for the display of 'flaggons, cans, cups, and beakers' on the shelves) and may also have been described as a 'court cupboard'. Its dimensions are much the same; and, often both friezes open as drawers. And secondly, a straight-fronted cupboard enclosed by a door or doors above and flanked by panels, which, although of similar proportions to the court-cupboard, must be regarded as a piece distinct from it, more akin to the press. An example of the former type, dating from the second half of the seventeenth century, is illustrated in Fig. 4.

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[13] See Edwards, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 156 ff.

[14] See Holme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 15.

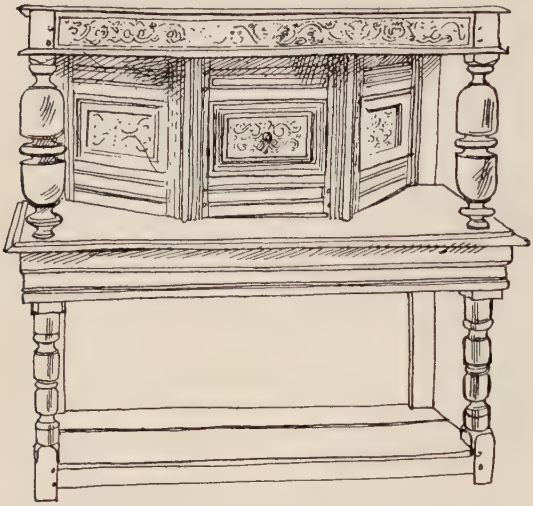


Fig. 4. Cupboard of carved oak, in two tiers; the upper part containing a recessed central cupboard with canted sides. Second half of the seventeenth century.

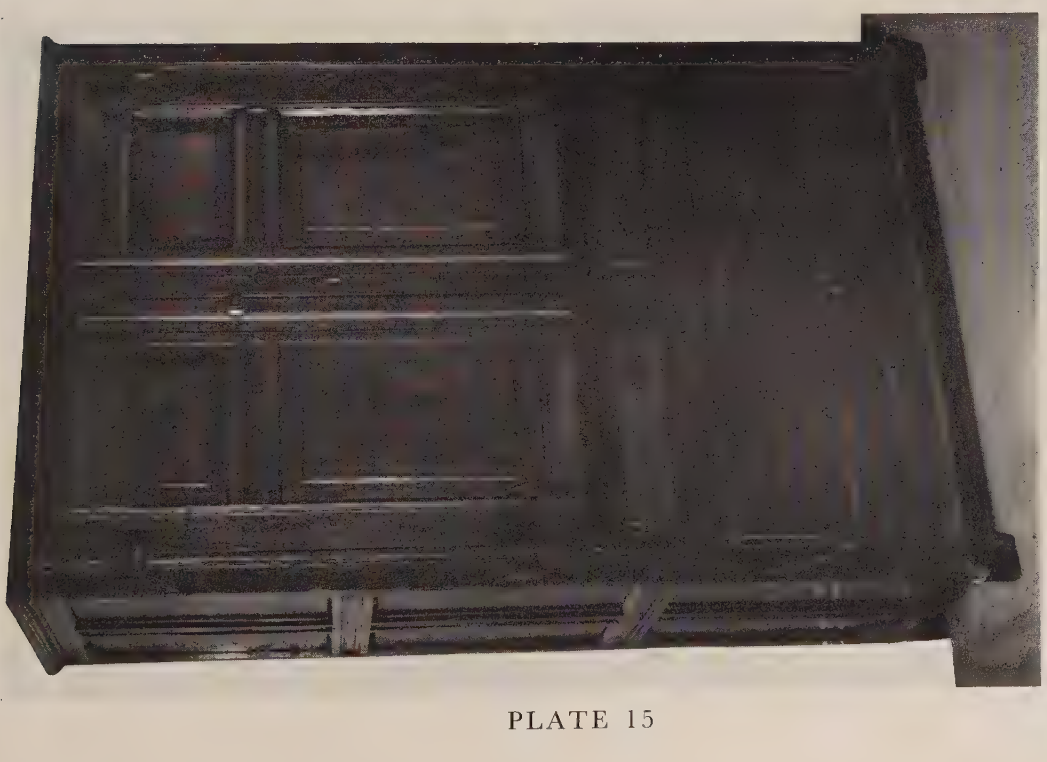
Here, bulbous columns in front have given way to vase-shaped and squat baluster turned supports. The flat posts at the back corners are standard as, too, is the moulded edge to the central shelf. The carving, decorating the upper frieze and bordering the panels of the front of the enclosed stage below, is shallow and recessed – another late feature. Sunk or recessed carving was much employed on post-Restoration provincial oak furniture, and was utilized by the country joiner as a comparatively easy method of carving. Often, the ground was punched, so as to throw the design into relief.

The press or 'close' cupboard was to be found throughout the century in the living-rooms and bedrooms of most houses, large and small. The press was an extremely useful piece of furniture, and plain specimens of oak or a native wood were made in country districts well into the eighteenth century. Many late presses are dated. In some, the upper stage was recessed; the frieze was supported by turned bulbous columns (which later were replaced by pendant bosses) framing the upper doors and resting on a narrow shelf (Pl. 15B). The large cupboard doors of a substantial lower stage were often divided into one horizontal panel with two vertical panels below. Other presses, with a plain front, and fitted with shelves, were designed for use in the bedrooms, or as storage pieces. There survive also a number of interesting specimens which were made with cupboard doors and drawers in the lower portion; the combination was not unusual (Pl. 15A). In general, presses were between 5 and 6 ft. high, and tended to develop towards greater width. They were not fashionable by the late Stuart period, and it is significant that few walnut or marquetry examples have survived (but see Fig. 5). Three-tiered cupboards – distinctive in appearance and of Welsh origin – are known as *tridarns*.

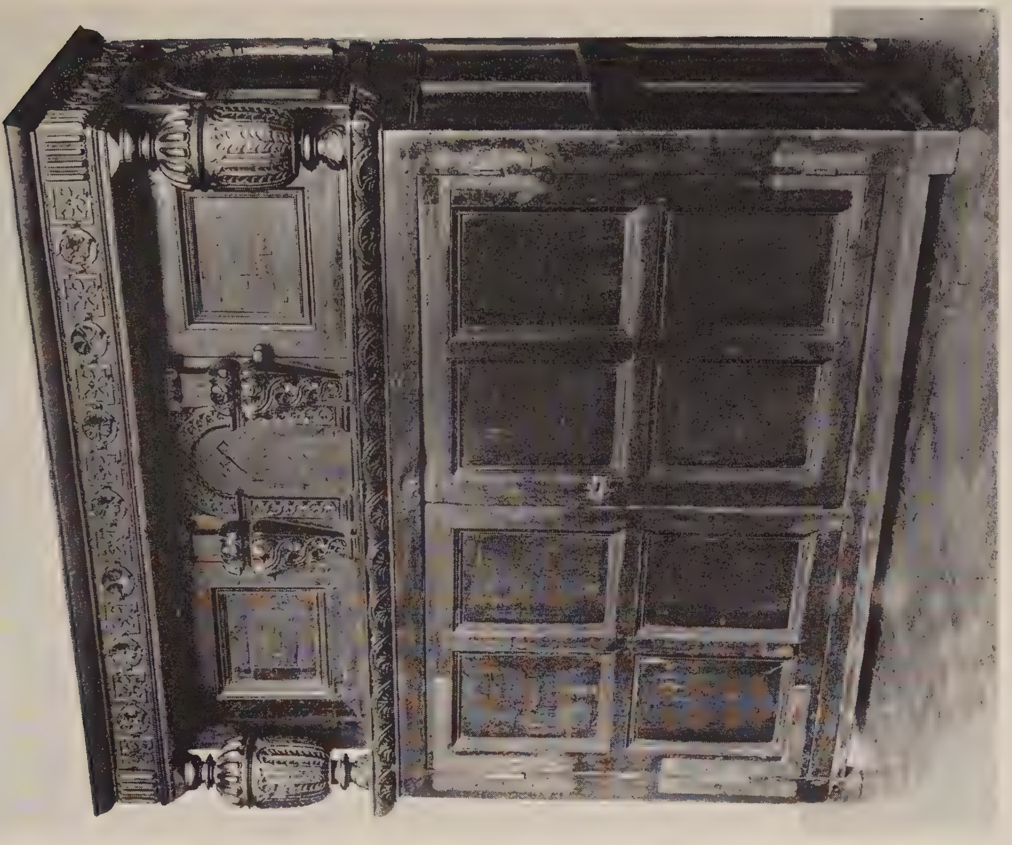
Small hanging cupboards, for food, enclosed by doors each with one or more open rows of turned spindles, which provide the means of ventilation, date for the most part from the first half of the century (Pl. 16B). Later examples are more roughly made, but sometimes still very decorative.

Long tables

The long framed tables and draw tables of this period were substantially made; and were, by Evelyn's phrase, 'as fixed as the freehold', intended to endure and give service to many generations. They were used for dining, and were to be found in hall and parlour; and they have survived in large numbers, often in good condition. Some smaller varieties of table, however, which are listed in most contemporary inventories, and which must have been plentiful from an early date (since they would be required for many different purposes), are comparatively scarce. Indeed, a 'square table', of which there is frequent enough mention, is not certainly to be identified with a known existing type. Small round and oval tables, and tables with octagonal or polygonal tops, of sixteenth century date, are known, and specimens are often of very decorative appearance, with an elaborately arcaded underframing. Many tables were constructed with a folding half-top and some form of gate support, and from these latter derived the small gate-leg tables with hinged flaps ('falling' tables), made in increasing numbers, and size, under the Stuarts (see *Gate-leg Tables* below).



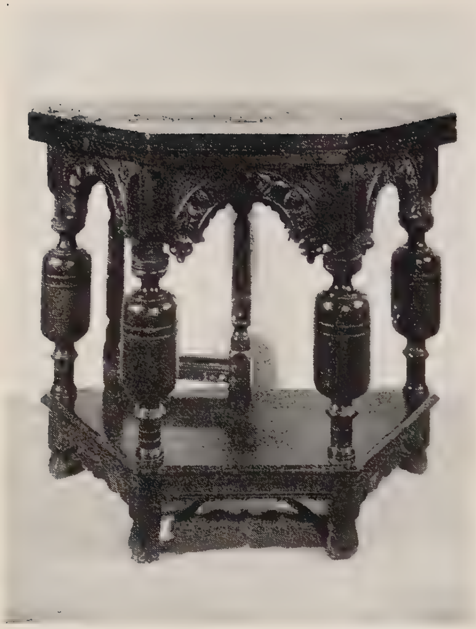
(A) Oak press cupboard, with drawers below, and panelled sides. Late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. *Private Collection.*



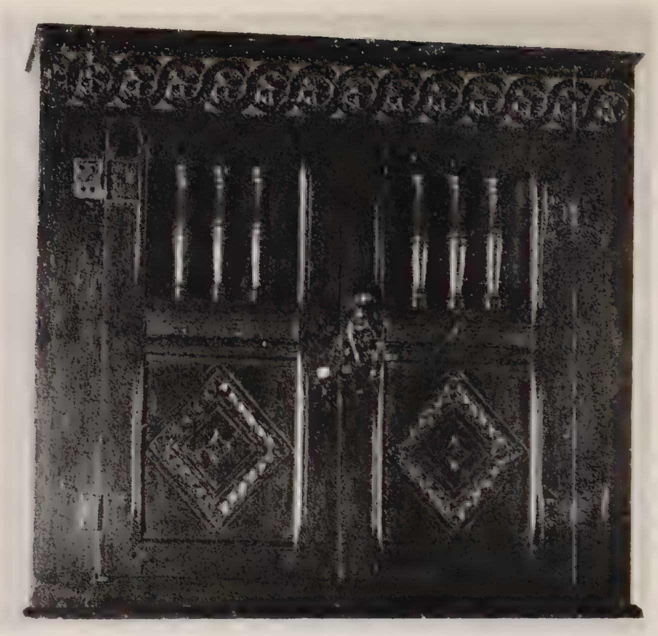
(B) Oak press cupboard, the recessed upper part containing two cupboards, separated by pilasters framing a central panel with carved round-headed arch, and the lower part a cupboard with shelf, enclosed by panelled doors. Dated 1610. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

PLATE 15

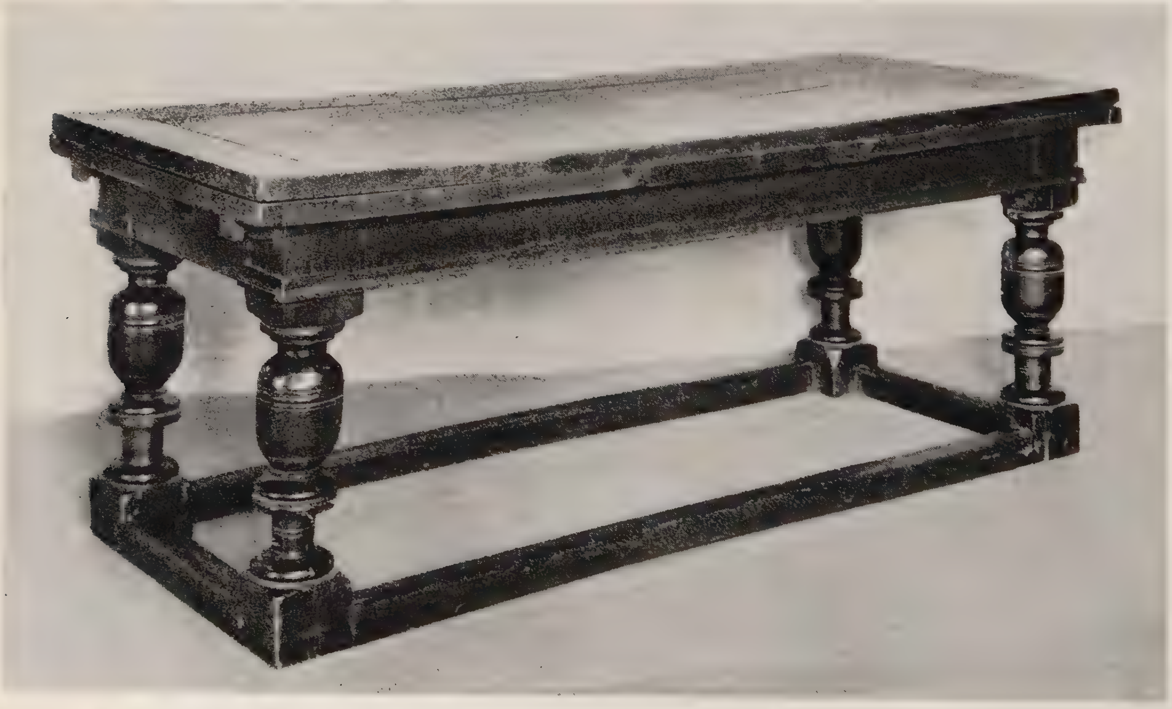
To face page 36



(A) 'Folding' table of oak, with one movable gate. *c.* 1650. *Hart Collection.*

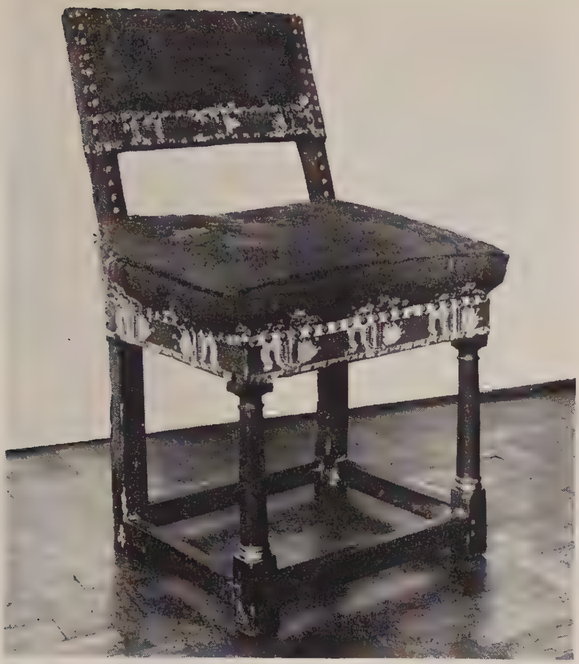


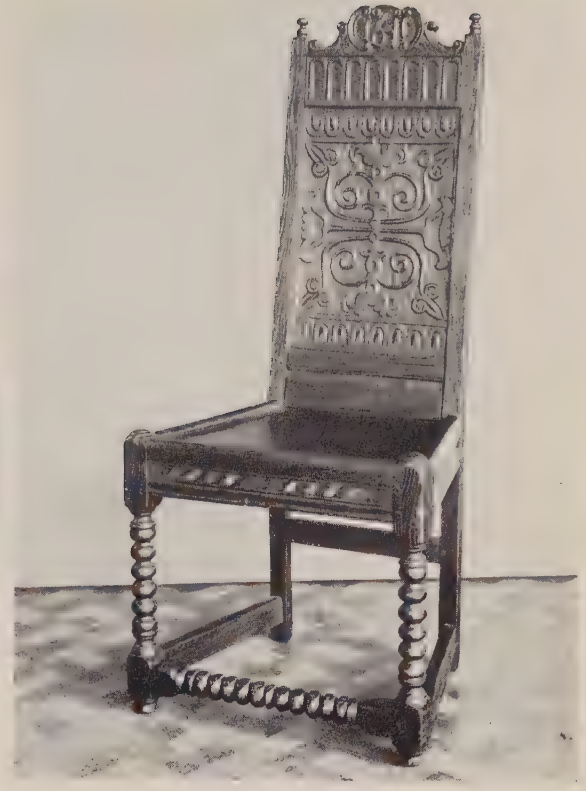
(B) Hanging livery or food cupboard, enclosed by doors each with a row of turned balusters above a panel decorated with lozenges; the frieze carved with guilloche ornament. Mid-seventeenth century. *Private Collection.*



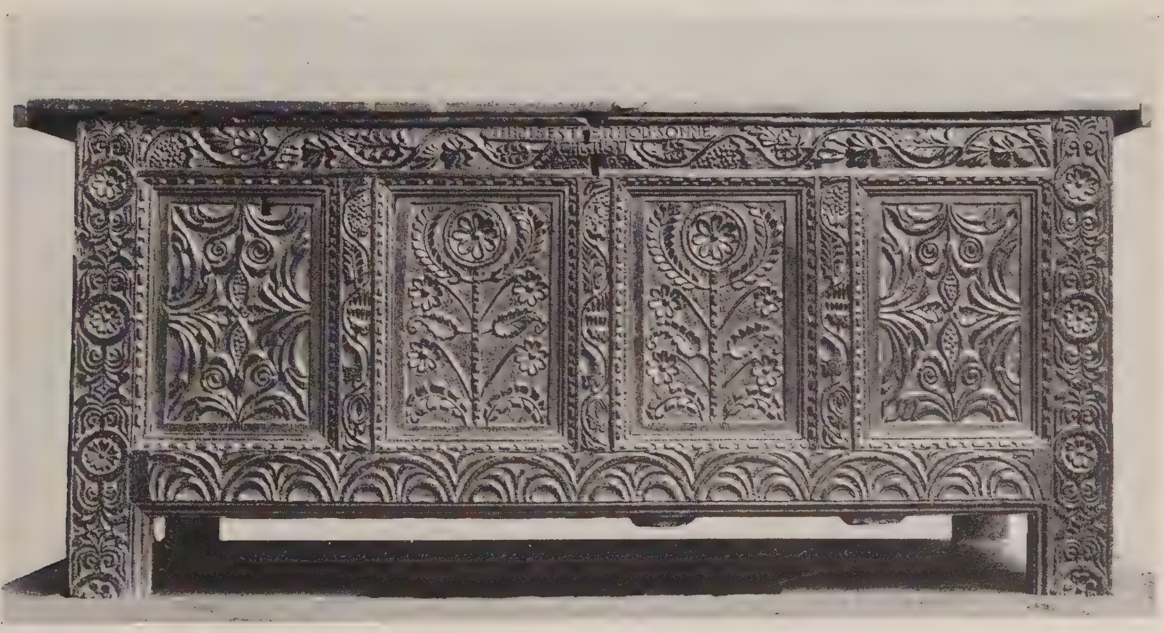
(C) Draw table, the legs of bulbous form, tied by plain stretchers. Length (unextended) 6 ft 9 in. Second half of seventeenth century. *The Oak House Museum, West Bromwich, Staffs.*

PLATE 16

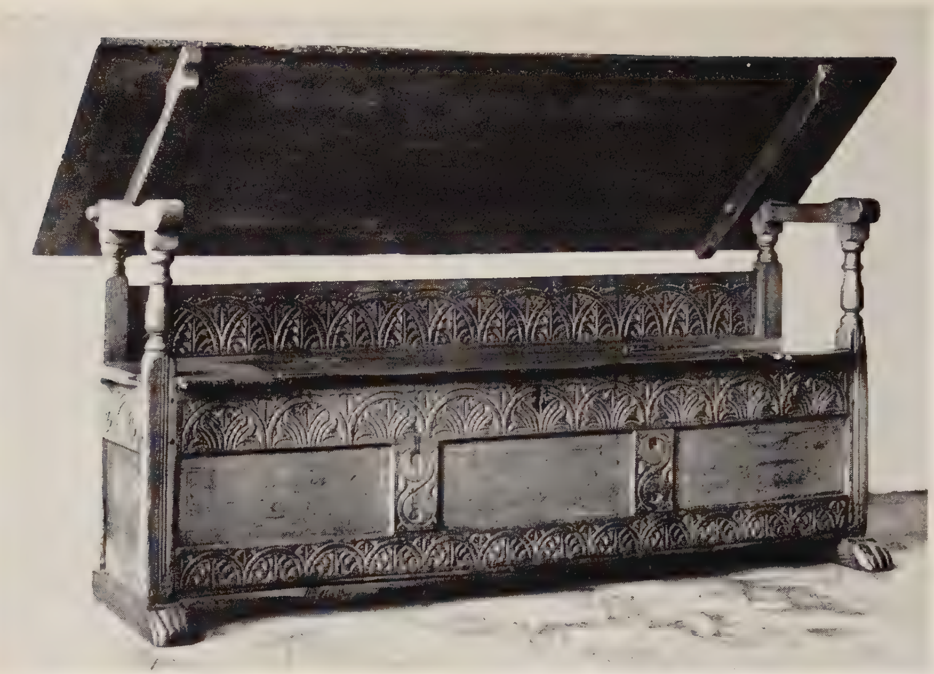




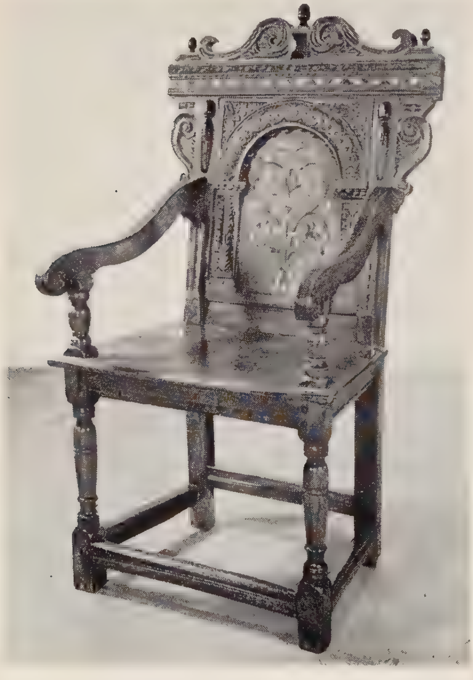
(A) 'Farthingale' chair of walnut, the front legs of columnar form. Height 3 ft; width 1 ft 10 in. First quarter of seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.* (B) (*right*) Carved and turned oak chair, Lancashire type. Dated 1641. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



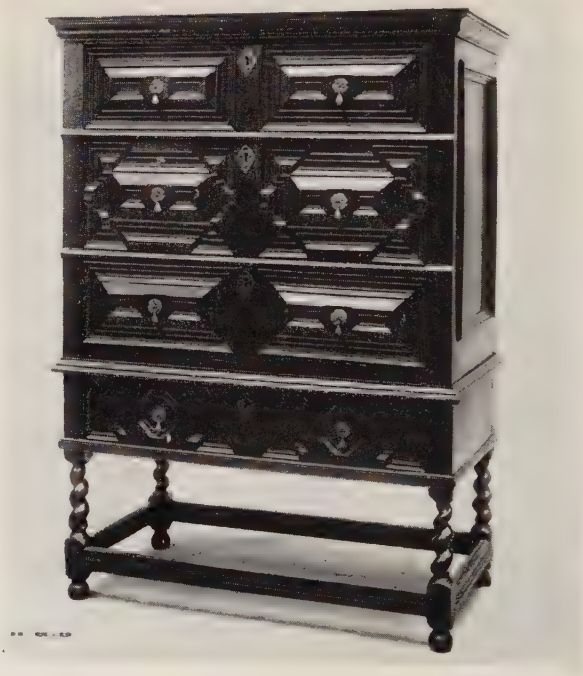
(C) Chest, panelled and elaborately carved with conventional ornament. Height 2 ft $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.; width 5 ft 6 in. From Lincolnshire, dated 1637. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



(A) Settle-table, the lower part in the form of a chest. The table top is attached to the backs of the arms by wooden pegs, and serves, when raised, as a back to the settle. Length 5 ft 11 in. Mid - seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



(B) Oak armchair, the panelled back inlaid with a floral arabesque design within a carved arch and surmounted by a heavy scrolled cresting; the framing uprights decorated with applied split balusters, flanked by scrolled 'ear-pieces', the front legs and arm supports turned. Mid-seventeenth century. *V. and A. Museum.*



(C) Oak chest of drawers, on a low stand with twist-turned supports tied by stretchers; the drawer fronts decorated with panels of raised mouldings. Height 4 ft 4½ in. Late seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

PLATE 18

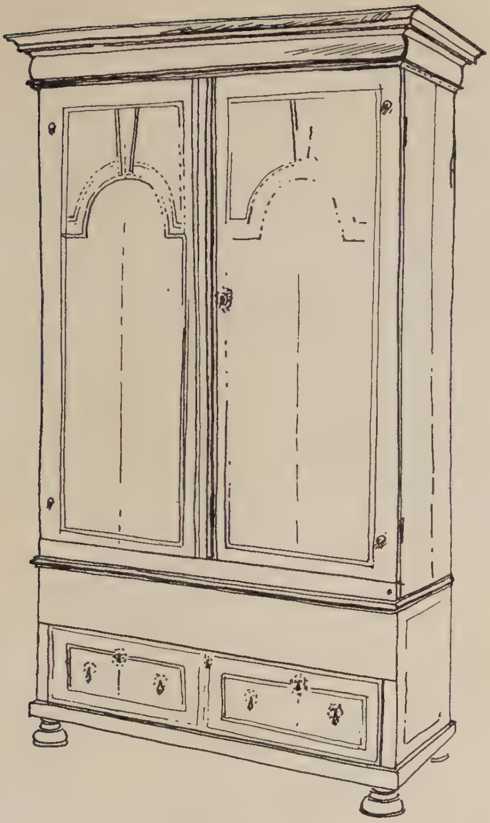


Fig. 5. Clothes press of walnut; door, drawer fronts and sides veneered and decorated with herring-bone inlay and cross-banding. Height 6 ft. 7 in. Early eighteenth century.

Most of the long framed tables of seventeenth century date which remain are of oak or, less commonly, of elm or yew; walnut was rarely used at this period. During the reign of James I these tables were supported on columnar legs or on massive carved legs of an exaggerated bulbous form, and were tied by moulded stretchers. The supports are a distinctive feature. The bulb, Flemish or German in origin, built up from several sections and sometimes ornately carved with acanthus and gadroons was of a well-defined 'cup and cover' form, with ionic capital above a thin turned neck. The bulb became much modified in the course of the first half of the century. Some later tables had a graceful vase turned leg, but a coarse form of turning (reminiscent of bobbin turning) was to be found in many of those made during the Commonwealth, or the period immediately succeeding.

Tables were frequently of great length, and many of those with fixed tops had six or eight legs and intermediate cross stretchers. Draw tables, however, which were fitted with two subsidiary leaves (attached to raking bearers and situated under the main board), and might be extended to almost double their length, were supported only at the four corners.[15] Their height, when closed, was generally about 2 ft. 9 in. Draw tables and long tables with fixed tops were made contemporaneously and their stylistic development followed a parallel course.

A draw table now at the Oak House Museum, at West Bromwich (Pl. 16c), is a good late specimen and, characteristically, is simple in design, with a mimimum of carved decoration. The frieze, which noticeably in many earlier tables dating from the first third of the century was used as a field for a decoration of inlay, often of chequer pattern, or was elaborately carved with strapwork, with flutings, gadroons or lunettes, is here plain. The bulbous supports of the table are much attenuated and their 'cup and cover' form is barely defined by a carved grooving. There are ring mouldings above and below the bulbs. The top consists of two narrow boards, set in a mitred surround. The length of the table, unextended, is 6 ft. 9 in.; and with both end leaves fully drawn out, 11 ft. 6 in. As is so often the case with these tables, the feet, which finished in square blocks, have been cut by some 2 or 3 in. The table stands now at 2 ft. 7 in.

Long tables with fixed tops, the friezes of which are decorated on one long side only, clearly were designed for use as side or serving tables. Tables of trestle construction, which were still made in the seventeenth century, may have been put to the same use.

Gate-leg Tables

Gate-leg tables are among the most useful and pleasing pieces of seventeenth century furniture readily to be acquired by the collector. Tables of this class have survived in surprisingly great variety, and are dissimilar in construction, size and shape, and in the character of supports and stretchers. Gate-leg tables when extended were round, oval, square, oblong or polygonal; and the number of supports ranged from three to twelve. They were jointed by mortice and tenon, secured by dowel-pins. Most of these tables were made in the post-Restoration period, when the habit of dining at separate small tables became fashionable, and when a very considerable demand existed.

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[15] See Edwards, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 130 – *Construction*, Fig. 7.

The early type of gate-leg table (a 'folding' table) was of semi-circular form, with a single gate. It was designed to stand against a wall when closed, and was supported on three legs tied by a semi-circular stretcher. One of the two back legs was halved vertically and framed to the stretcher (also halved) so as to form a single swinging gate. The table when open was circular and was then supported at four points. In other types with hinged double tops, the gate was formed as a complete section. Tables with a triangular framing and a semi-circular overhanging top often were constructed with four legs, one of which was attached to the gate, and was movable. A number of tables of this sort, with a triangular top (which opened to a square form), were intended to stand in the corner of a room. This is evident from the fact that the side to which the gate was attached, and the gate itself, frequently was decorated with carving. Tables of polygonal form were often provided with four fixed supports, in addition to those of the movable gate. The 'folding' table, with carved and arcaded underframing and gate supported on a ground shelf, which is shown in Pl. 16A, is of this description. The character of the decoration, in particular the applied ornament, suggests that the piece dates from the middle years of the century.

Oval tables with 'falling' tops and a gate on either side made their appearance early in the century. The centre portion of these tables was fixed, and usually was supported either by solid trestle uprights pegged into a base-board at each end, or by turned balusters, finishing in trestle feet, tied by a double stretcher, or by turned legs at each of the four corners (Pl. 19A). The last type is that most commonly to be seen. The legs on either side, four in number, two of which compose the gate, were baluster turned or twist turned, and the stretchers, square or turned; the hinged flaps of the fixed top were upheld by the gates. Often a drawer was fitted in the underframing. Some of these tables which were made after the Restoration were of exceptional size (between 7 and 8 ft. long) and provided with four gates; they were therefore furnished with twelve legs. However, these tables did not provide a satisfactory solution to the problem of seating a large number of people at one table, because of the lack of leg room, and few consequently were made; but they are very handsome pieces of furniture. Occasionally they were made with square tops.

An ingenious and singularly attractive type of small gate-leg table, with a single pivoting gate, so constructed as to uphold both flaps, was also made.[16]

Gate-leg tables were generally of oak, particularly the larger specimens, but yew and the fruit-woods were employed with good effect by country craftsmen. Walnut is found used in some tables made after the Restoration.

Beds

The Elizabethan and early Stuart great bed was of very substantial proportions. The panelled head-board, usually of architectural character, with arcaded decoration and pilasters sometimes in the form of terminal figures, was elaborately carved and inlaid with floral ornament. The massive bulbous foot-posts, supported on pedestals of square section, were free standing (i.e. were clear of the bedstock), and served to carry a heavy, panelled tester. The hangings were of velvet or other rich materials. Beds of this type were of considerable consequence and were handed down from one generation to the next.

'Joined' beds figure largely in inventories of the time. They are not in general to be identified with

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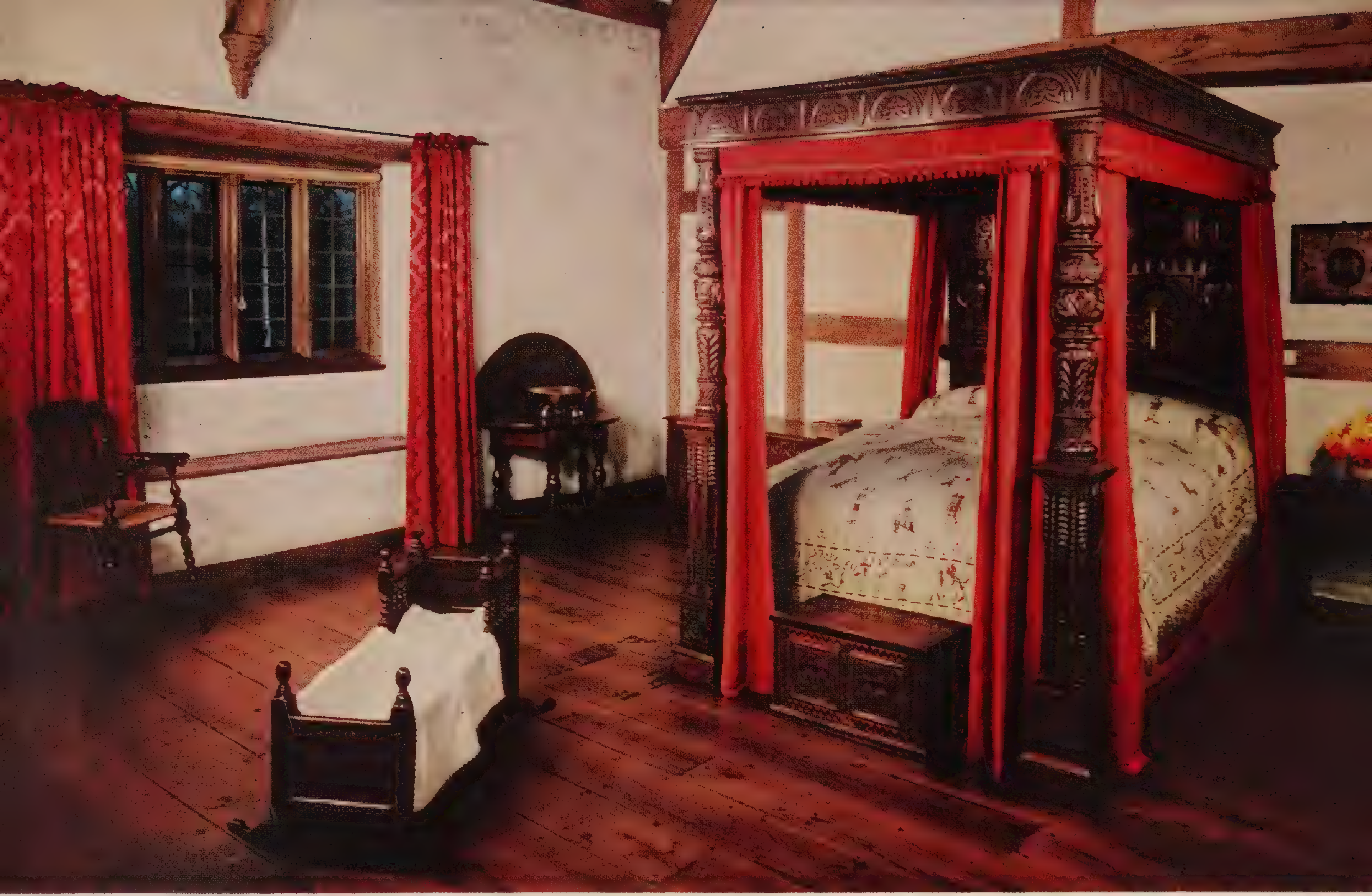
[16] See Edwards, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 239 – *Tables, gate-leg*, Fig. 20.



The Large Bed Chamber, Sulgrave Manor. The massive four-post bed, which came originally from Battle Abbey, was presented to Sulgrave by the Stars and Stripes Club of Manchester.

the great beds of the foregoing description, but rather with beds of box-form, with panelled head, foot and canopy, which in construction resemble those made contemporaneously on the Continent (many, presumably, were fitted with enclosing side curtains); or with the low 'stump' beds, of panelled construction, with short corner-posts and an open foot which were in common use, and which continued to be made throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Chests

The very numerous chests made throughout this century were mostly of framed and panelled construction. 'Boarded' chests (i.e. chests wherein the solid front is rebated into the ends, which form the supports) were comparatively rare.

Many early seventeenth century chests were decorated with a floral inlay used in combination with carved ornament. Some specimens were arcaded in front, the stiles framing the arches being carved with conventional ornament, or, occasionally, faced with terminal figures. An all over decoration of carving in low relief is often found in chests dating from the second quarter of the century, particularly those coming from northern and eastern districts (Pl. 17C).

2. THE POST-RESTORATION STYLE

Veneered cabinet furniture

From the reign of Charles II, new methods and materials were largely employed in the making of cabinet furniture. The period from the Restoration to the reign of George I is distinguished by an extensive use of walnut, both in the solid and as a veneer. *Juglans regia*, the English variety, pale brown in colour, with brown and black veining, and *Juglans nigra*, the 'black wood', which resembles mahogany, were both being grown in England by the later seventeenth century, but in insufficient quantity to meet the increased demand. 'Were the timber in greater plenty amongst us', remarked Evelyn, 'we should have far better utensils of all sorts for our Houses, as chairs, stools, Bedsteads, Tables, Wainscot, Cabinets, etc., instead of the more vulgar beech, subject to the worm, weak and unsightly: – I say if we had store of this material we should find an incredible improvement in the more stable furniture of our houses. ...' [17] The scarcity of walnut was met in part by importations from the Continent (especially from France) and from Virginia, and by the use of other decorative woods such as olive ('highly in request' as a veneer), laburnum and kingwood (then described as 'princes wood'). The cuts of these woods possessed the variety and richness of figure desired by the veneerer.

Veneering 'whereby several thin slices or leaves of fine wood of different sorts are applied and fastened on a ground of common wood',[18] hitherto had been practised to a very limited extent in England. From the Restoration, however, veneered furniture, inspired by foreign example, and workmen, became fashionable. Veneered work was the product of a cabinet maker. Veneers were laid by means of glue on the flush prepared surfaces of a carcase wood. Panel construction, long employed by the joiner, was by this technique in the main discarded. Joiners, of course, and craftsmen in the country, continued to make pieces in 'wainscot', that is in imported oak; and some attempted to adapt their designs to new fashions. And 'wainscot furniture', of joined construction and unveneered, was cheaper and popularly supplied to all classes throughout the 'Walnut period'.

Equally, many of those workmen employing new styles and techniques were dependent to a more or less considerable extent on tradition. The walnut clothes-press (Fig. 5), a rare and interesting piece dating from the early eighteenth century (the design of its cornice and convex frieze is characteristic, and is found on the veneered walnut and marquetry 'scrutoirs' fashionable under the late Stuarts), illustrates the complexity and variety of production throughout the period. Compare this piece with the oak press of framed construction (Pl. 15A).

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[17] *Sylva*, by John Evelyn, 1664.

[18] *New and Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, 1756.

Lacquer and japanning

Soon after 1660, oriental lacquer furniture was imported in quantity by the East India Company, and offered for sale in many of the 'curiosity' shops at that time existing in London. Oriental lacquer was of two varieties: incised lacquer, known as 'Bantam work', which was shipped in the form of screens, or plain boards, often subsequently made up into mirror frames (Pl. 21A), table-tops or cabinets, sometimes with curious effect; [19] and a lacquer with raised gilt ornament on a hard, smooth, polished ground, in colour generally black. (The numerous lacquer cabinets of late seventeenth century date, and later, which have survived are of this latter sort; they were mounted on decorative carved and gilt stands of English manufacture.) By the 1680's the 'Indian' wares, as they were called, were being very commonly imitated in England, both by professional workmen and by amateur decorators, and a *Treatise of Japaning and Varnishing* produced by John Stalker and George Parker in 1688, which gave instruction in the art, enjoyed markedly substantial success. Certainly, the directions given by the authors of this work are technically sound and would seem to have been followed closely by contemporaries. The European imitations of oriental lacquer (see Pl. 21B and Fig. 6) properly are to be termed 'Japan' rather than 'lacquer' and were produced by a method which was akin to varnishing.[20] This distinction however was not observed in the seventeenth century; the term 'Japann' was then applied indiscriminately to furniture of Eastern origin or home manufacture.

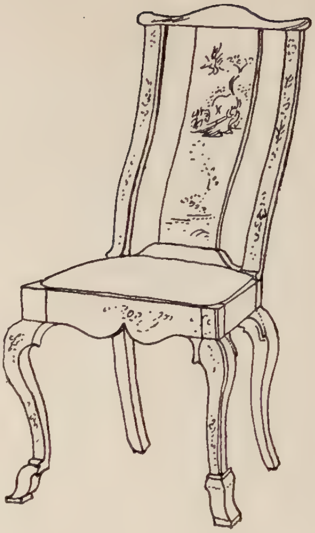

Fig. 6. Chair of beechwood, japanned green and gold on a red ground. Height 3 ft. 9 in. Early eighteenth century.

Gesso

Gilt furniture enjoyed considerable popularity at this period. The fashion for gilding first appears under Charles II in the many floridly carved and gilt stands which were made for imported oriental cabinets, and in elaborately decorative side-tables, mirrors and stands dating from late Stuart times. These latter are magnificent pieces, strongly influenced by French models.

Gesso furniture, which may be regarded as a subsidiary branch of gilt furniture, is found in England after about 1690. The technique is distinctive. Gesso ornament is executed in very low relief and follows the lines of an intricate and symmetrical traced pattern, usually 'arabesque' in nature. The gesso, a composition of chalk and parchment size, was applied in successive thin coats to the surface (already roughly carved) of the piece to be decorated, and when hardened was re-carved, sanded or punched, and gilded. Gesso was most suitable for the decoration of large flat surfaces, such as table-tops (Pl. 19B). During the reign of Anne, gilt gesso was frequently applied to the mirror frame.

Marquetry

Furniture of 'markatre' is recorded in numerous inventories of early seventeenth century date. The term 'markatre' then was descriptive of inlaid furniture. Marquetry, however, as we now know it, was not introduced into England from the Continent until shortly after the Restoration. (Evelyn, in *Sylva*, which was first published in 1664, refers to certain exotic woods used in marquetry decoration.) The technique was distinct from that of inlay, and comparable with veneering. Small veneers of different coloured woods, cut to various shapes, were assembled, according to a prepared design, and set in a veneer ground. This composite veneer overlaid the carcase wood. Patterns were usually floral, or of flowers with birds, and at first were brightly coloured. Certain of the woods used for the patterns (these included fruitwoods, yew, beech, holly or sycamore) were stained. The marquetry decoration was in many cases reserved in panels, usually oval in shape.

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[19] The mirror frame (Pl. 21A) was carelessly constructed, and illustrates the contemporary statement that 'Bantam work' was 'obsolete, and out of fashion ... no person fond of it ... except some who have made new Cabinets out of old Skreens. And from that large old piece, by the help of a Joyner, made little ones ... torn and hacked to joint a new fancie ... the finest hodgpodg and medly of Men and Trees turned topsie turvie.' *A Treatise of Japaning and Varnishing* ... (1688) by J. Stalker and G. Parker.

[20] Japanning consists in 'covering bodies by grounds of opake colours in varnish; which may be either afterwards decorated by painting or gilding, or left in a plain state. ...' (Robert Dossie, 1758).

'Seaweed' or arabesque marquetry, which was a later development, particularly fashionable in the first years of the eighteenth century, was conceived on a smaller scale and was subdued in colouring. The delicate and intricate scrolling patterns were executed in two woods only – box, or sometimes holly, on a walnut ground. In the character of the decoration the influence of André Charles Boulle and other French artists working under Louis XIV is clearly discernible. The woods of the pattern and the ground were sometimes reversed, as in the *partie* and *contre partie* of Boulle. 'Seaweed' marquetry was used sometimes in conjunction with parquetry.

Many of the small walnut tables with twist – or baluster-turned legs which came into favour after the Restoration were decorated with marquetry. The 'little table with a drawer' illustrated in Pl. 19c is characteristic in design of this type. The panels of arabesque marquetry of the table top are bordered by broad bands of oyster-shell veneer; and the supports are tied by a flat stretcher with Y-shaped ends connected by an oval platform. The stretcher, like the edge of the top, is veneered in cross-banded walnut.

Cane furniture

Cane chairs first were produced in England early in Charles II's reign, as is evident from the wording of a petition to Parliament by the cane-chair makers in the 1680's, wherein it was stated:

> '... That about the Year 1664, Cane-Chairs, &c. came into use in *England*, which gave so much Satisfaction to all the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of this Kingdom, (for their Durableness, Lightness, and Cleanness from Dust, Worms and Moths, which inseparably attend Turky-work, Serge, and other Stuff-Chairs and Couches, to the spoiling of them and all Furniture near them) that they came to be much used in *England*, and sent to all parts of the World. ..' [21]

The early examples resembled in form, if not in materials, leather covered chairs in use under the Commonwealth; and indeed for some years the two types were produced contemporaneously. The low square back, set rather high above the seat rail, and the seat itself, were filled with a coarse-meshed caning; the legs, uprights and stretcher rails were twist turned; and the arms were flat, very slightly shaped, and horizontal (Fig. 7). At this time the frame bore no carved decoration save for an incised lozenge pattern which is sometimes found.

Cane chairs were not expensive, and in London within very few years there was a strong demand for them, usually in sets comprising perhaps two armchairs with six or more single chairs. Construction was in the solid. Polished French walnut was used for the frames of the finer chairs; while beech, painted or japanned, or stained to resemble walnut, served as a (cheaper) substitute wood. (The manufacture of cane chairs, even at a late stage of their development, when they were no longer fashionable, would seem largely to have

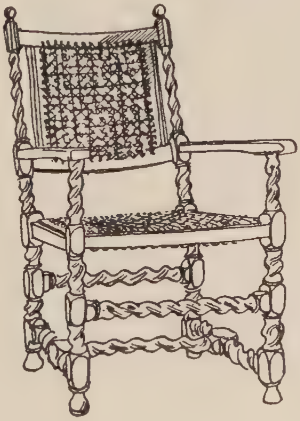

Fig. 7. Arm-chair of turned walnut with caned back and seat. *c.* 1665.

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[21] Quoted in full in *English Cane Chairs – Part I*, by R. W. Symonds, in *The Connoisseur*, March 1951.

been confined to London. Defoe, in a well known passage, describing the furniture of a country tradesman, stated: '... The chairs, if of cane, are made in London; the ordinary matted chairs, perhaps in the place where they live.') [22]

The stylistic development of cane chairs is complex, and was very rapid. By about 1670 the height of the back was increased, and a broad flat top rail, or cresting, which was carved in low relief, was tenoned between the uprights. Then a deepened front stretcher rail was carved to correspond with the cresting, and the framing of the back panel was similarly enriched, usually with a decoration of scrolls, flowers and foliage. The device of cupids supporting the crown was particularly popular and the description 'carved with Boyes and Crowne' figures repeatedly in contemporary accounts. The motif, although associated with the Restoration of the monarchy was, in fact, in fashion until as late as about 1700. Arms were swept, and finished in deep scrolls, and an exuberant S-scroll form was incorporated in the design of front legs. By the end of the reign of Charles II, the carving was frequently pierced and executed in comparatively deep relief, with great gain in effect. Baluster turning was re-introduced as a popular alternative to twist turning. The mesh of the caning was finer, and some chairs were dished for flat squab cushions. Some of these features are exemplified in a cane seat in the form of two chairs in a private collection (Pl. 22C). This piece, nevertheless, was perhaps made about 1700: the design of the undulating crestings, and matching front rails, in particular, and of the baluster turned uprights, suggest a comparatively late date of origin. Seats of this description, which presumably were often supplied as part of a large set of seating furniture, are now extremely rare. This is an unusual and pleasing example. Designs were influenced by foreign fashions. It is significant that a number of chairs supplied to the Royal Palaces by Richard Price in the early 1680's were 'turned of the Dutch turning'. Generally, Dutch chairs may be distinguished from English by the character of the twist turning. The Dutch turning is thicker; the hollow is less pronounced. Moreover, two varieties of turning are sometimes found on the one chair. There is also in the great majority of cases a difference of construction: the stretcher which unites the back legs is placed high on English chairs – about midway between the seat rail and the ground; while in Dutch chairs it is either non-existent or is at the level of the side stretchers.

Under William and Mary the chair back was made even taller, and was narrower and surmounted by an elaborate cresting. The rake of the back was much increased; and the seat was smaller. The form of the cresting frequently matched that of the arched front stretcher rail; it was not, as formerly, secured between the uprights by means of mortice and tenon but rested on them and was attached by dowel-pegs. Dowel jointing was used also to secure the front legs, which were pegged to the base of the arm supports or, in the case of the single chair, to the underside of the seat rail. Structurally, these features are weak. The uprights were sometimes of baluster form, and occasionally fluted, and the arch of the cresting was repeated in the filling of the back which was caned in exceedingly fine mesh. Alternatively, the back was open-carved with a design of foliage and interlaced scrolls. The seats of many chairs of this latter type were upholstered. Covering materials included fine damasks and Genoese velvets. By the end of the century straight taper legs were introduced as a fashionable alternative to those of scroll form. These were of square moulded or round section, and finished in octagonal, spherical or 'Braganza' scrolled feet. Pear- or mushroom-shaped cappings were a distinctive feature of the taper leg. The carved front rail was replaced by moulded diagonal stretchers of serpentine form meeting in a centre piece which was usually surmounted by a turned finial (Pl. 22B). The stretchers, ornamental in character and associated with chairs of fine quality, gave little additional strength to the legs. Tall upholstered single chairs of this ornate character were sometimes gilded.

Soon after 1700 the fashion for cane furniture declined. The industry nevertheless was securely established in London, and 'Cane-Chair Shops', particularly those in St Paul's Churchyard and the near neighbourhood, continued to thrive. Cane chairs, stools, couches and tables, were supplied in quantity to innumerable households in England and were also exported to the Continent and to the American Colonies. Many pieces were based on models fashionable under William and Mary. They were simplified versions of these models, incorporating some new features. Cane chairs still figure in the Royal accounts under George I, although certainly they were not required for the private apartments. The cane furniture trade flourished until about 1740. In great part the continued wide popularity of cane furniture is to be explained by its cheapness. Chairs of beech were sold at a few shillings apiece. The claims of the chairmakers too had had much to recommend them: as stated, cane chairs were light and clean, and quite durable. But cane furniture was not readily to be obtained in all parts of the country. Communications were bad and many districts were almost completely isolated for long periods at a time. As a consequence country chairmakers had a market for chairs, of cane-chair pattern, which were upholstered in leather or cloth – as well as for rush-seated chairs with slatted backs. The former are interesting on two counts: first, by the not unattractive blending of new and old features of style and construction (such chairs are nearly always later in date than would appear at a glance) and secondly by evidence that they may provide as to the time-lag in fashion in the provinces. The plainly made chair illustrated in Fig. 8, now at Dennington Church, Suffolk, is reminiscent in general appearance of a type fashionable in the late seventeenth century. The tall back and shaped cresting, and the turned front stretcher rail, have the form and grace peculiar to the cane chair of that period, without its richness of ornamentation. The front legs are pegged to the bottom of the seat. The uprights to the back, however, are moulded and not turned, and the back panel and the seat upholstered simply with leather. The front supports, which are of hybrid cabriole form, and roughly shaped, are unusual; they point to a date of construction probably as late as the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

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[22] *The Complete English Tradesman* (1745), by Daniel Defoe; edit. of 1841, Vol. I, p. 266.

Chests of drawers

Veneered chests of drawers dating from the last quarter of the century are to be found in a variety of decorative woods – in figured walnut, kingwood, yew, burr elm and in a parquetry of oyster shells of walnut or laburnum, with a geometrical inlay of holly or boxwood.[23] Sycamore was often used as a banding wood. Marquetry chests of drawers first appeared about 1680, and japanned examples a few years later.

The chest consisted usually of three long drawers, graduated in depth, with two short, shallow drawers above, and was supported on shaped bracket feet, or alternatively on ball or bun feet. The projecting ovolo moulding at the top of the chest was frequently repeated, inverted, at its base, immediately below the bottom drawer. Many chests were mounted on low stands, with four, five or six legs, tied by stretchers. The stands, also, frequently contained drawers. Chests on stands rarely exceeded 5 ft. in height. The mouldings surrounding the drawer fronts, marking the divisions between drawers, were at this date applied *to the carcase.* A half-round moulding was commonly used on pieces dating from the end of the century; and was succeeded shortly after 1700 by a double half-round moulding. Mouldings were cross-banded. The carcase of the piece was usually of yellow deal, and drawer linings of oak or deal according to its quality. Normally, the grain of the wood of the bottom boards of the drawers ran from back to front and not from side to side of the piece. In many chests the sides were unveneered. The double

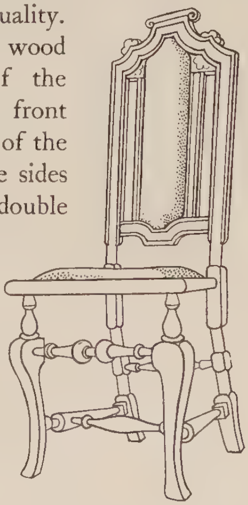

Fig. 8. Chair at Dennington Church, Suffolk. Early eighteenth century.

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[23] See Edwards, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 33 – *Chests of Drawers*, Fig. 29.

chest or tallboy would seem not to have been made in England much before about 1710.

The oak chest of four long drawers illustrated in Pl. 18c, although dating from the post-Restoration period, is joiner's work, and has therefore little in common with these fashionable specimens. Stylistic features of mixed date are interestingly combined in this piece. The legs of the low stand, while spirally turned, are tied by plain moulded stretchers of a type which had long been in general use. The distinctive decoration of the front of the chest, with raised panels of geometrical design, mitred and in strong projection, is in the style of the mid century. The brass escutcheon plates, and drop handles, are of a form introduced in the late seventeenth century.

Beds

By the late Stuart period, fashionable beds were taller, and luxuriously upholstered. The value of the four-post bed then lay almost entirely in its often very costly 'clothes and hangings' – curtains and fringed valances of rich materials, and tester head-cloth; silk or linen inner curtains; blankets, rugs, quilts and counterpane; and flock, feather or down mattresses. Its wooden framework, the bedstead itself, was almost completely invisible. The bedposts were slender and, like the shaped head-board and tester, were covered with material. The state bed from Wroxton Abbey, now at Aston Hall, Birmingham, upholstered in red and gold brocade, is a fine example of this type of bed, dating from the end of the century (Pl. 20A). Beds of this nature, were the products not of the cabinet maker or joiner but of the upholsterer. Their value was excessively high.

Mirrors

After the Restoration, looking-glass plates of a most satisfactory size and quality were being made at the Duke of Buckingham's Glass House at Vauxhall; they were sold at prices which were very much lower than those which formerly had obtained in England. Pepys for example bought with some satisfaction in December 1664 'a very fair glasse' for five guineas at the Old Exchange.

The mirror frame at this time was of square or rectangular proportions, and was surmounted by a semi-circular hood, sometimes pierced (which in many cases has not survived, having become detached from the body of the piece). The frame was broad, and of pronounced convex section. It was made by the cabinet-maker, or joiner, and was constructed of deal, veneered with cross-banded walnut, an oyster-shell parquetry of walnut, laburnum or olive wood. Various marquetry and japanned specimens still exist; these, being very decorative, must have been popular. Materials such as tortoiseshell and the imported incised lacquer were also occasionally employed for this type of frame (Pl. 21A).

Pier glasses

The pier glass, which was designed to be hung between windows above a side table of matching workmanship, was introduced towards the close of the century. It was sometimes 7 or 8 ft. high, and consequently of very tall proportions. Mirror and accompanying table were regarded as an interior architectural feature of the room. The pier-glass frame was flat, moulded and comparatively narrow, and was often decorated in gilt gesso. Sometimes the moulded frame was itself of glass.

Dressing mirrors

The dressing mirror on box stand (Pl. 21B) was a most serviceable introduction of the late seventeenth century; specimens of this small piece in veneered walnut, or japanned, were in general use within a few years.

A Queen Anne interior

The Tea-Table (page 30), a print which was published at London in or about 1710,[24] provides some evidence as to the appearance of a contemporary interior. Therein we see 'Thick Scandal

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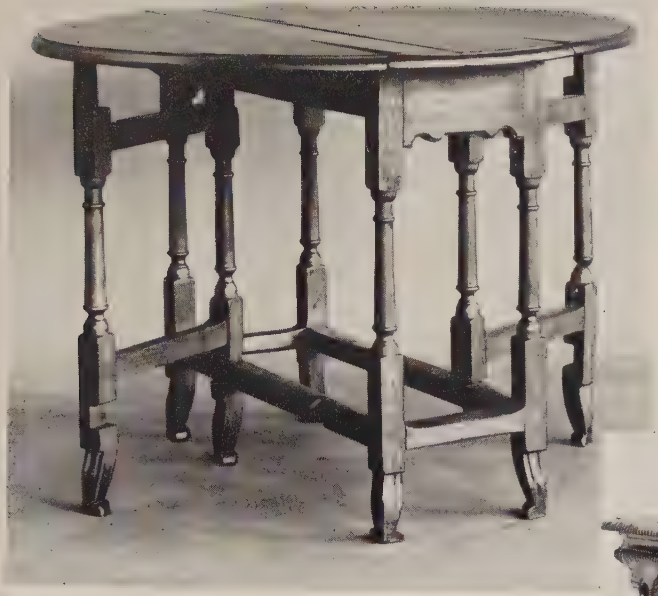
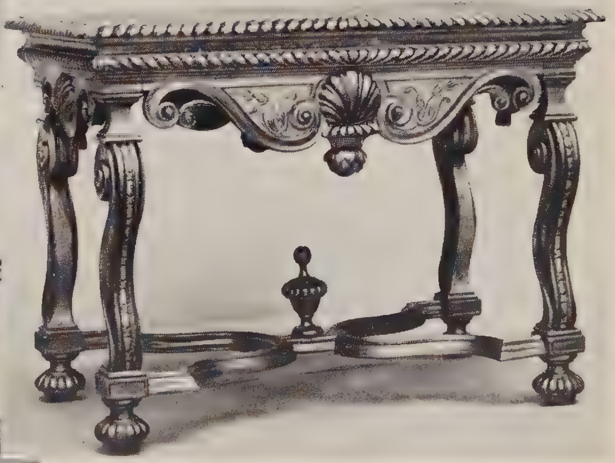
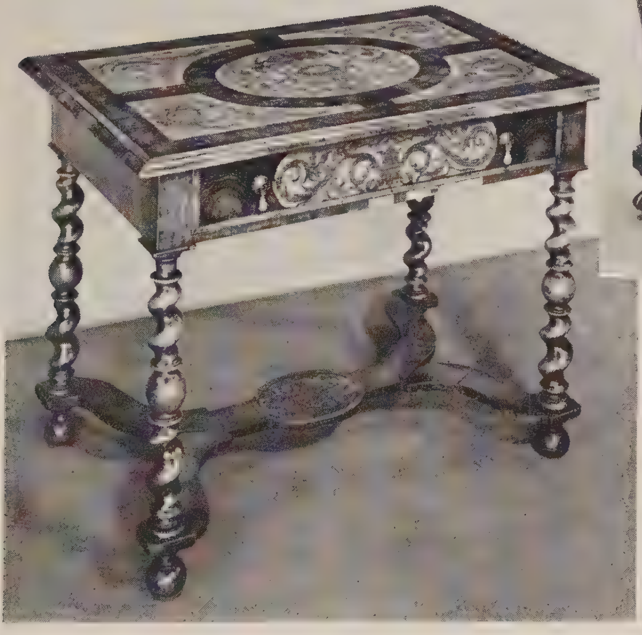
[24] *The Tea-Table*, a print measuring 6¼ × 5⅜ in., published *c.* 1710 and sold by John Bowles of 13, Cornhill, London. See *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. Division I: Political and Personal Satires*, Vol. II, 1873, No. 1555.

(A) Walnut gate-leg table, the oval top supported on turned legs with shaped feet. Height 2 ft 4 in. Late seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*





(B) Carved and gilt table with decoration of gilt gesso. Height 2 ft 6½ in.; length 3 ft 6 in. About 1700. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

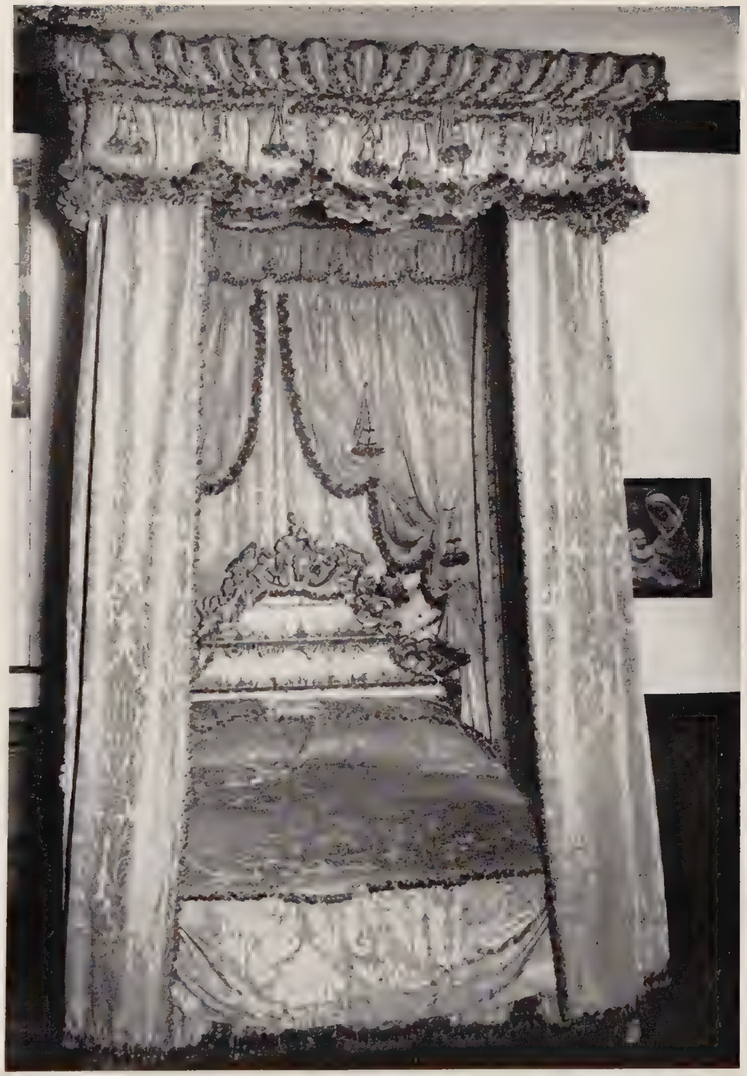


(C) Walnut side table, decorated with arabesque marquetry and fitted with one long drawer in the frieze; twist-turned legs tied by flat curved stretchers with an oval marquetry panel in the centre. Last quarter of the seventeenth century.

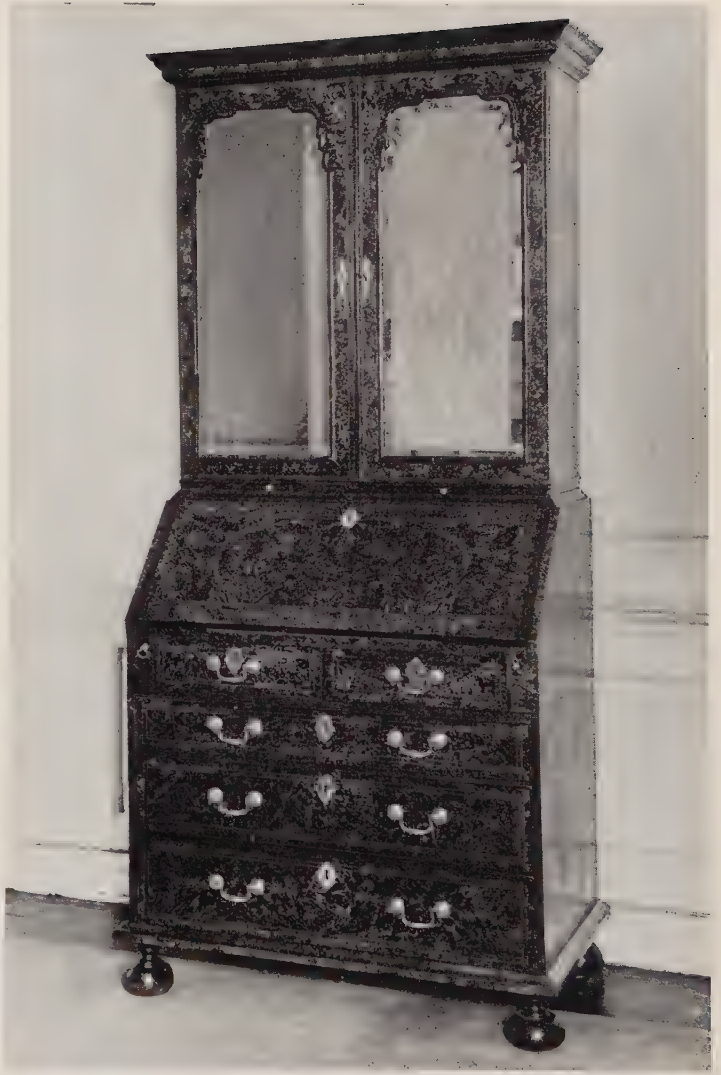
PLATE 19

To face page 44

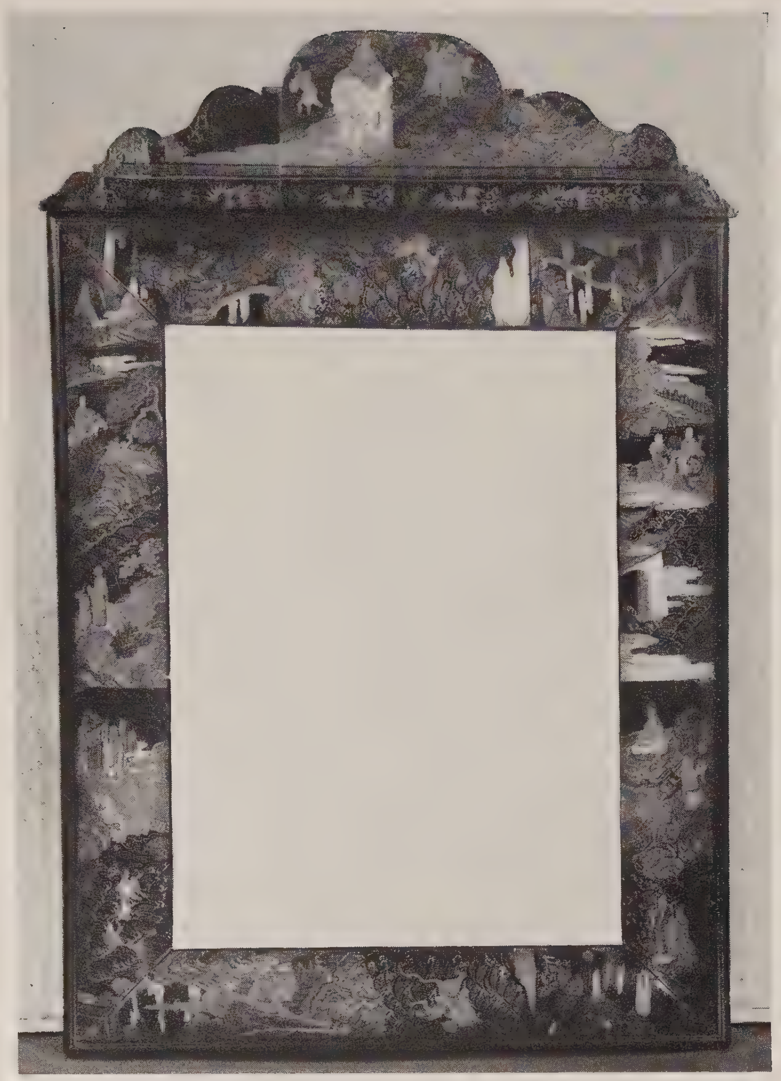
PLATE 20



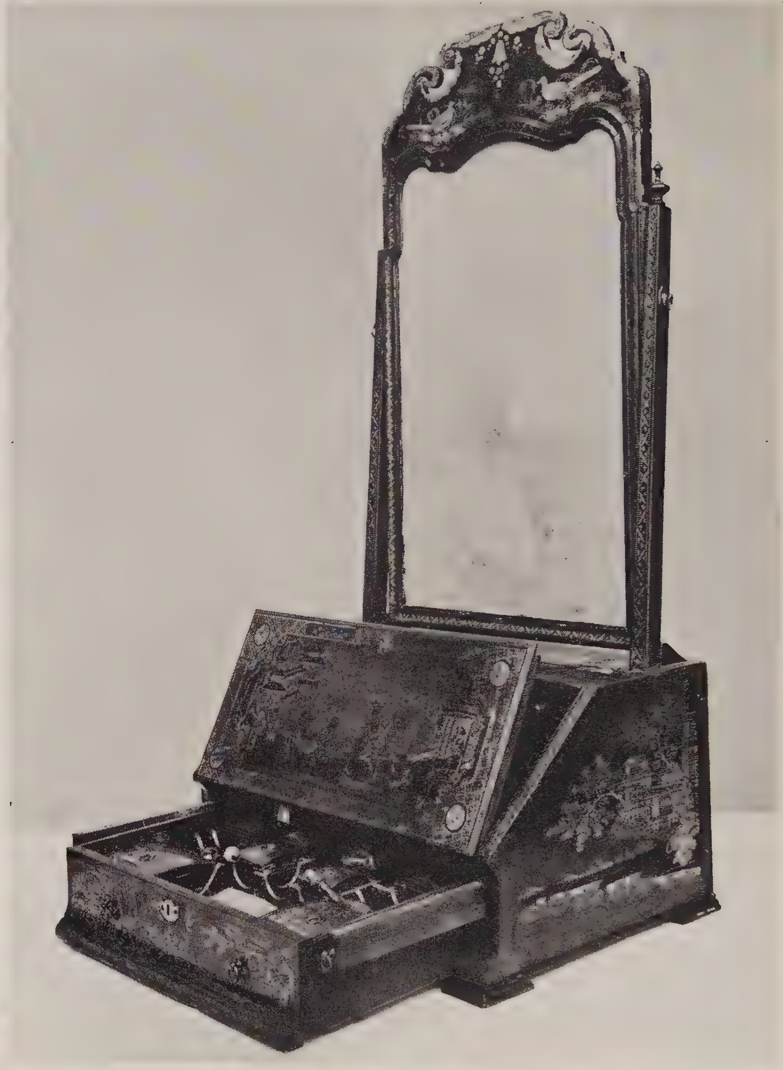
(A) State bed, upholstered in red and gold brocade. From Wroxton Abbey, Oxfordshire. Late seventeenth century. *Aston Hall, Birmingham.*



(B) Burr mulberry bureau bookcase, with inlaid pewter stringing lines. Attributed to Coxed and Woster. Early eighteenth century.

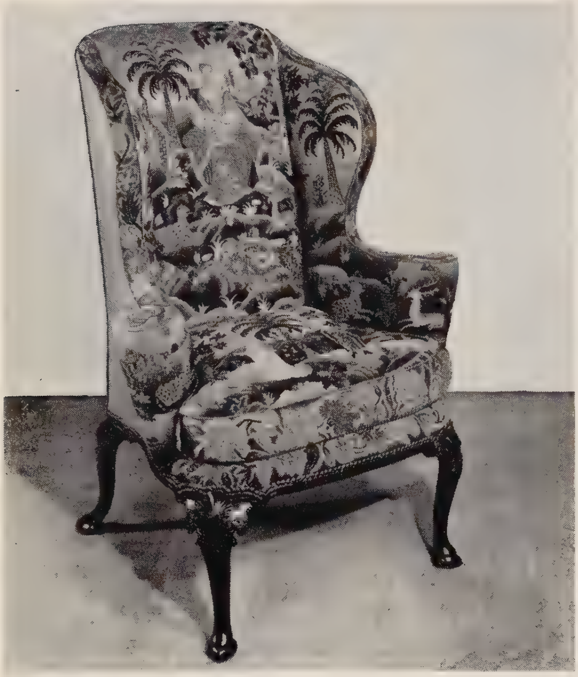


(A) Mirror frame, overlaid with incised oriental lacquer. *c.* 1675. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



(B) Dressing glass, japanned red and gold. The sloping front of the base is hinged and opens to disclose an arrangement of small drawers and pigeon holes, with central cupboard. Height 3 ft. 3 in. Early eighteenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

PLATE 21



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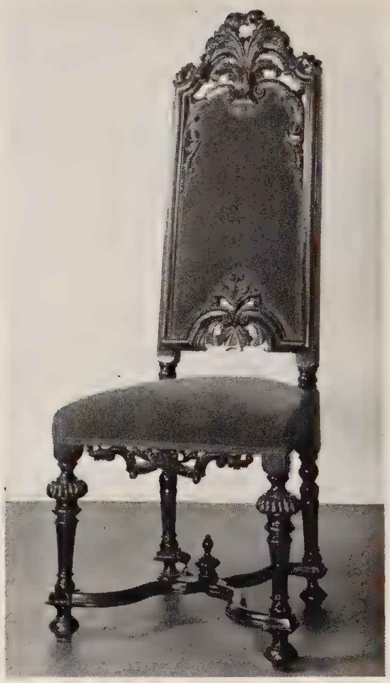

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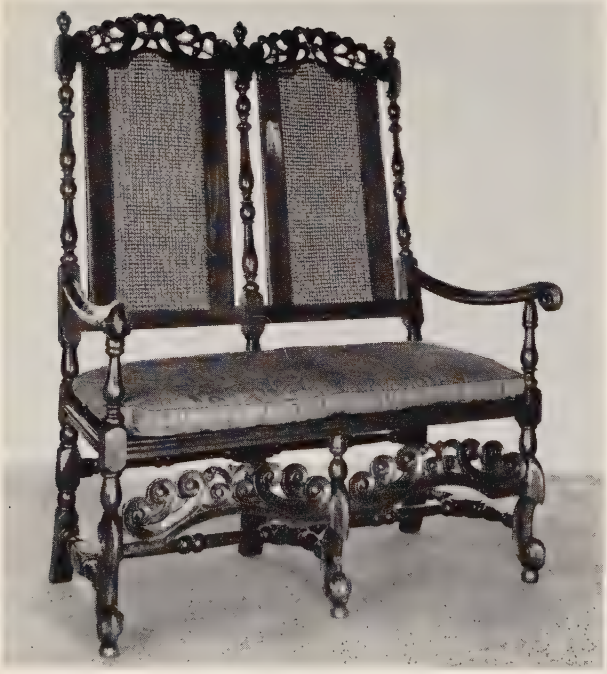

C

(A) Walnut winged armchair, upholstered and covered with silk needlework; the cabriole front legs, carved on the knee with a shell, are hipped and finished in modified hoof feet. Early eighteenth century. *Formerly in the Hart Collection. Now at Colonial Williamsburg.*

(B) Upholstered chair with walnut framework; the high back surmounted by a foliated cresting carved in openwork; the turned legs are joined by shaped cross stretchers with a finial. End of the seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

(C) Cane settee of double chair design, supported in front by scrolled legs joined by deep scrolled rails; the uprights to the back and the stretchers are of turned baluster form, *c.* 1700. *Hart Collection.*

PLATE 22

circulate with right Bohea'.[25] The room is richly but sparsely furnished. There is a foot carpet, which was an article of some scarcity at the beginning of the century, and an open alcove cupboard which apparently contains small pieces of china – 'a neat booffett furnish'd' perhaps 'with glasses and china for the table' [26] or with collectors' specimens of Chinese porcelain or Delft ware. The ladies in the room are seated in high-backed cane chairs at a gate-leg table of conventional design. Significantly, the chairs are of a type more often associated with the period of William and Mary than that of Anne. By contrast, the gesso wall mirror which hangs to the right of the fireplace is in the newest style.

3. THE QUEEN ANNE STYLE

Furniture which was in fashion under Queen Anne is characterized by a new restraint of form and ornament, and by a seeming simplicity. Enrichment of surface was gained by the use of figured veneers of walnut, and other woods, rather than by carved ornament or marquetry decoration. The flamboyant taste of the immediately preceding period – an expression of the first phase of English Baroque – underwent a sudden and considerable change about 1700, due in large part to the introduction of the cabriole support and to improving standards of craftsmanship. The cabriole rapidly superseded the scroll and the 'Marot type' leg and was applied to chairs (Pl. 22A and Fig. 6) and settees, tables, tripods, stands and other articles of furniture, with decisive effect on design, and construction. On fine pieces, stretchers were often dispensed with, not to be re-introduced until the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century. In no other article of furniture, perhaps, is design so finely and nicely adjusted as in the developed 'hoop-back' single chair, the well-defined serpentine curves of which, by nature ornamental, are governed by structural purpose – the vase or fiddle-shaped splat, enclosed by undulating uprights and shaped to the form of the user's back, and the seat rail, often rounded in front, supported on graceful cabriole legs finishing in club feet.

An appreciable increase in domestic comfort in this reign was due in part to the introduction of new and useful pieces, and to the development of those but newly adopted.

Small walnut bureaux on open stands with turned legs were made first towards 1700. (Extant specimens, which are now exceedingly scarce, are usually of very fine quality and workmanship.) [27] Bureaux on chests (pieces constructed with a base of two or three long and two short drawers, or with a base containing a central kneehole) were in general production in the early eighteenth century, particularly in a 'stock size' of 3 ft. 6 in., and have survived in comparatively large numbers, together with tall bureaux in two stages, or bureaux bookcases, which in form are closely related to them. The cupboard doors of the upper stage of these latter pieces were faced often with mirror glass, and the surmounting cornices were alternatively straight, hooded or pedimented. The bureau bookcase illustrated in Pl. 20B is a fine specimen and of striking appearance. It is veneered with the burr wood of mulberry, decorated with cross bandings bordered by inlaid pewter stringing lines. The technique is distinctive and the bureau bookcase may be attributed to John Coxed, or to Coxed and Woster, working at the White Swan in St Paul's Churchyard, London, in the early eighteenth century, on the basis of its close similarity in form and materials to other known (labelled) pieces made by this firm.[28]

This cabinet is significant of the rapid development of the cabinet-maker's craft which had come about within a generation, and evidence of technical skill.[29] The reticent character of much early eighteenth century case furniture is to be seen in the walnut chest on stand which is illustrated in Fig. 9. The chest is distinguished by fine proportions, and by its quality of workmanship; and the matched, figured veneers of the front provide the main enrichment. By the early eighteenth century foreign styles had become assimilated and naturalized. The best walnut furniture of the Queen Anne period is direct and unaffected in character. The sets of chairs and upholstered settees with open arms, side and dressing-tables, card tables and bureaux, made for the upper and middle classes have consistently a purity of style hitherto unrealized in England.

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[25] Tea had been introduced into the country from Holland about the time of the Restoration, and was at this date drunk in private houses only by the well-to-do. It was still very expensive, and the Bohea was priced at more than 30*s*. per lb.

[26] *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. by Christopher Morris, 1947, p. 345. A house at Epsom (London and the Later Journeys, *c*. 1701–3).

[27] See *English Furniture Styles*, by Ralph Fastnedge, Pelican Books, 1955, Pl. 23.

[28] John Coxed was succeeded by G. Coxed and T. Woster (*fl*. *c*. 1710–36). After Woster's death in 1736, these famous premises were occupied by Henry Bell. See *Georgian Cabinet-Makers*, by R. Edwards and M. Jourdain, 1954, for fuller details.

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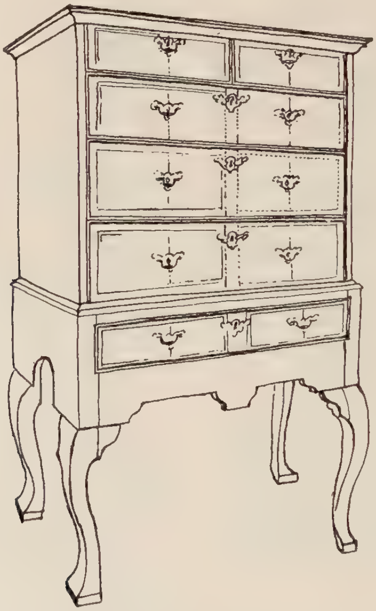

Fig. 9. Walnut chest of drawers, on stand containing one long drawer, supported on plain cabriole legs, the drawer fronts veneered with figured walnut and bordered by herring-bone bandings. Early eighteenth century.

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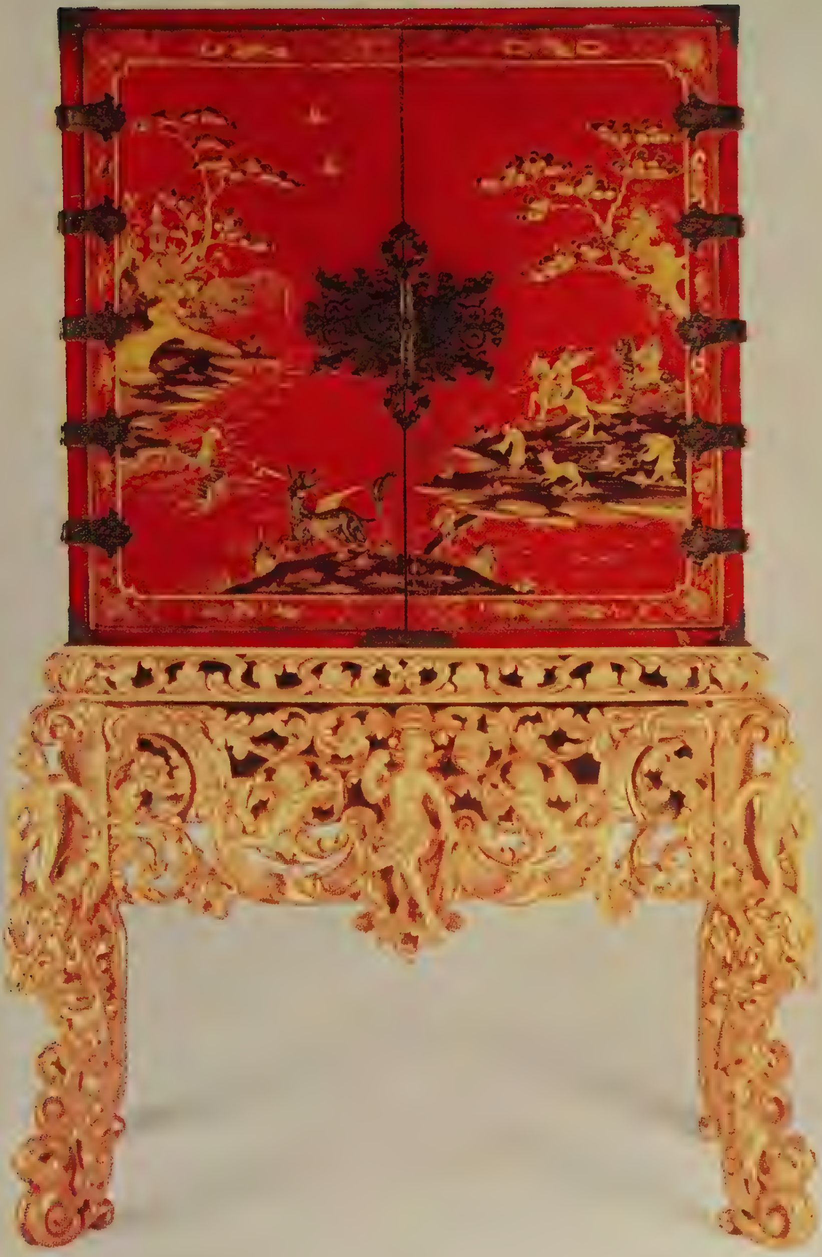
[29] Smaller cabinets, with fall-fronts, which were inspired by foreign models and were known as 'scriptors' or 'scrutoirs', enjoyed great popularity during both the late Stuart and Anne periods. These cabinets, which are found often veneered in burr walnut or decorated with floral marquetry, were supported either on a base of drawers or on an open stand, and rarely exceeded 5 ft. 9 in. in height. Some cabinets were constructed with a pair of hinged doors in place of the fall-front.



A vermilion lacquer cabinet on an elaborately carved gilt wood stand, *circa* 1675.
Ht. 5 ft. 9 in. *Mallett and Son, London.*

Painting and Portrait Miniatures

Painting and Portrait Miniatures

OLIVER MILLAR

The age of the Stuarts is a rich and fascinating period in the history of painting in England and the development of English connoisseurship. In its earlier years the number of private collections of any size was limited almost entirely to the Court circle. The motives behind the formation of these collections remained predominantly, as they had been in the previous century, iconographical, historical and dynastic. Pictures had not yet come to be valued as works of art in their own right or as sources of æsthetic delight to their owners, and tapestries or painted hangings were the accepted form of decoration in a private house. Even in the large and rapidly increasing collection of pictures in the royal palaces there was a preponderance of contemporary and historical portraits, topographical views and maps: Charles I, the most enthusiastic and discerning of all royal patrons and collectors, wholly transformed the Crown collections, but likewise assembled a very large and varied collection of portraits of his family and ancestors, of earlier and contemporary European rulers, of his closest friends and of the artists he admired or who had worked for him. In the other great and lesser collections which grew up in the seventeenth century there was the same continuing interest in the portrait and some patrons even commissioned painters to concoct gratifying sets of 'ancestors'. The most significant example of an historical portrait gallery was assembled by the Earl of Clarendon at Clarendon House as a commentary on his famous *History*, but something of the flavour of these collections can still be felt at Woburn, where the portraits assembled by the Earls and Dukes of Bedford survive fairly intact; at Welbeck, with its remarkable concentration of likenesses of the Cavendish, Vere, Holles, Harley, Wriothesley and Bentinck families; at Althorp, where a series of portraits of the Spencers and their relatives (a series of consistently high quality) runs from the sixteenth to the twentieth century; at Gorhambury, Drayton, Penshurst, Hardwick, Arbury, Boughton, Belvoir and Knole; at Euston, which still houses the remains of the collection of family and historical portraits formed by the Earl of Arlington; in such Scottish houses as Penicuik, Drumlanrig and Leslie House; and throughout the British Isles, where a steady succession of family portraits forms the backbone of numberless country-house collections.

By the time of the Hanoverian succession, however, taste in this country had undergone a radical transformation. In the reign of Charles I, and indeed in the last years of his father's reign, there had been a sudden flowering of connoisseurship in the King's immediate circle and an awakened interest in the arts of the Renaissance and contemporary Europe. The Grand Tour had become an increasingly important and regular part of a gentleman's education and some Englishmen had undergone an even deeper experience of European civilization. The structure of patronage, collecting and taste that we associate with the age of Hogarth and Reynolds was already formed in the age of Anne, and there was already a strongly cosmopolitan flavour in the 'state of the arts' in the days of the later Stuarts. The great collections of European pictures that were formed in this country in the century after the Peace of Utrecht were anticipated by such travellers and collectors of taste and discernment as the Duke of Shrewsbury, the fifth Earl of Exeter, the second Earl of Sunderland and Sir Thomas Isham: the three last, for instance, had grafted on to their hereditary collections at Burghley, Althorp and Lamport pictures which gave a Mediterranean lustre to their English walls. The same susceptibility to European influences is of fundamental importance for the growth of landscape painting and the lesser genres in England in our period, and an admiration, even in severely Protestant minds, for the full baroque style of Italy, France or Flanders bore fruit in the reflection of continental baroque and early rococo in the work of decorative painters on the walls and ceilings of many English palaces, castles and houses.

Nevertheless, the primary concern of English patrons was still with their 'own dull counterfeits', and here the seventeenth century, which had witnessed, among so many upheavals, this quiet revolution in taste, saw a no less revolutionary turning-point in the development of the English portrait: the arrival of Anthony van Dyck in London in the spring of 1632.

Jacobean portraiture still presents a most complex problem. A large number of portraits was produced in the first two and a half decades of the century and we know the names of many painters who were then at work. Within this rather narrow context there is a considerable variety of quality and style and some of the grandest Jacobean pieces are truly impressive (Pl. 23), but we are unable to link the most splendid of them (or, indeed, many of those whose appeal is gentler and less spectacular) with safety to any of the available painters; the slightly more familiar painters, such as Marcus Gheeraerts the younger, John de Critz, Paul van Somer, and even Daniel Mytens in his earlier English period, are still very inadequately defined. The most sumptuous Jacobean portraits (Pls. 23, 24) seem to represent a belated and distinctively English form of the mannerist style that was current in the Courts of Europe in the sixteenth century. The painters who created them concentrated on an elaborate and often highly polished surface-pattern; the designs are rigid, the figure is often narrow and attenuated; and the decorative value of costume, accessories and setting was thought more important than an attempt to evoke more fully the sitter's personality. The effect of a set of these magnificent Jacobean full-lengths hanging in the Long Gallery of a palace or of a great Jacobean or late Elizabethan mansion (one can perhaps imagine the series, painted for the Earl of Suffolk and now at Redlynch, in the Earl's new house at Audley End) must have been most spectacular, although 'when your posterity shall see our pictures they shall think wee were foolishly proud of apparel'.[1] The cumbersome splendours of the Jacobean age are no less clearly reflected in the miniatures of Isaac Oliver (Pl. 81), who provides an exact parallel, on a tiny scale, to the most ornate forms of Jacobean portraiture 'in large'. His over-confident, full-blooded style, with its naturalism, sculptural modelling, fine finish and polished surface, is predominantly Netherlandish in origin and the antithesis of Hilliard's delicacy and lyricism, but it represents most vividly the heavy exoticism of King James's Court.

In the second decade of the century we can sometimes detect tendencies towards restraint and a more sensitive understanding of the character of the sitter: tendencies that can be guardedly described as English. The pieces in which they are most clearly seen could perhaps be very tentatively associated with John de Critz, Robert Peake or Marcus Gheeraerts: certainly Gheeraerts's portraits of the 1620's (Pl. 26D) have a reserve and simplicity that can be seen in a rather different form in the less attractive work of Paul van Somer, but which are associated particularly with Daniel Mytens and Cornelius Johnson.

Mytens and Johnson were profoundly influenced by contemporary portrait-painting in the fashionable studios of Miereveld and Ravesteyn in Delft and The Hague: Mytens was trained in The Hague and was established in London by 1618, but Johnson, who came of Netherlandish stock, had been born in London, and his portraits have an indefinably English delicacy in mood, close though they are in design to the Dutch school from which both painters derived. The Anglo-Netherlandish style, of which Mytens and Johnson were the main exponents, but which can be seen in the work of such less familiar or more migratory painters as Abraham Blyenberch, Geldorp, Johann Priwitzer or the monogrammist VM, marks a great advance on the flamboyant earlier 'Jacobethan' manner: simpler and more worldly, more sensitive in technique and with a feeling for texture which is wholly Dutch. These qualities, and Mytens's grave sense of character, can be seen in his earliest and rather timid English full-lengths (Pl. 25); but in his latest English portraits, the most distinguished that were painted in this country before Van Dyck's arrival, they are enhanced by a new elegance and swagger, manipulated with complete assurance, and enriched by sophisticated colour and broad, free handling.

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[1] Verstegen, *Antiquities concerning the English Nation* (1605): quoted by C. W. and P. Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century* (1955), p. 11.

Cornelius Johnson was a more limited painter and was most at ease with heads and shoulders, often set within the painted oval which he did much to popularize in this country. His earliest pieces, which are usually painted on panel, are tentative and insubstantial, though they have a Jacobean richness of texture; but his style became broader and softer, with a delicacy of colour and touch exactly suited to his tender, perceptive vision (Pl. 26A). He never seems to have worked for as illustrious a *clientèle* as Van Dyck or Mytens and for some years he was painting portraits for the country families of Kent and Sussex which provide a charming commentary on life in the smaller country houses in the years before the outbreak of the Civil War. In the work of Peter Oliver, who succeeded to his father Isaac's fashionable practice as a miniaturist, we find the same gentle sense of character and soft fullness of form. The style of Johnson and Peter Oliver could with safety be called increasingly English, and Mytens was painting at the English Court portraits that could hold their own with any comparable portraits being painted at that period on the Continent; but the potential development of English portraiture along the lines laid down by Mytens and Johnson was shattered by the impact of Van Dyck.

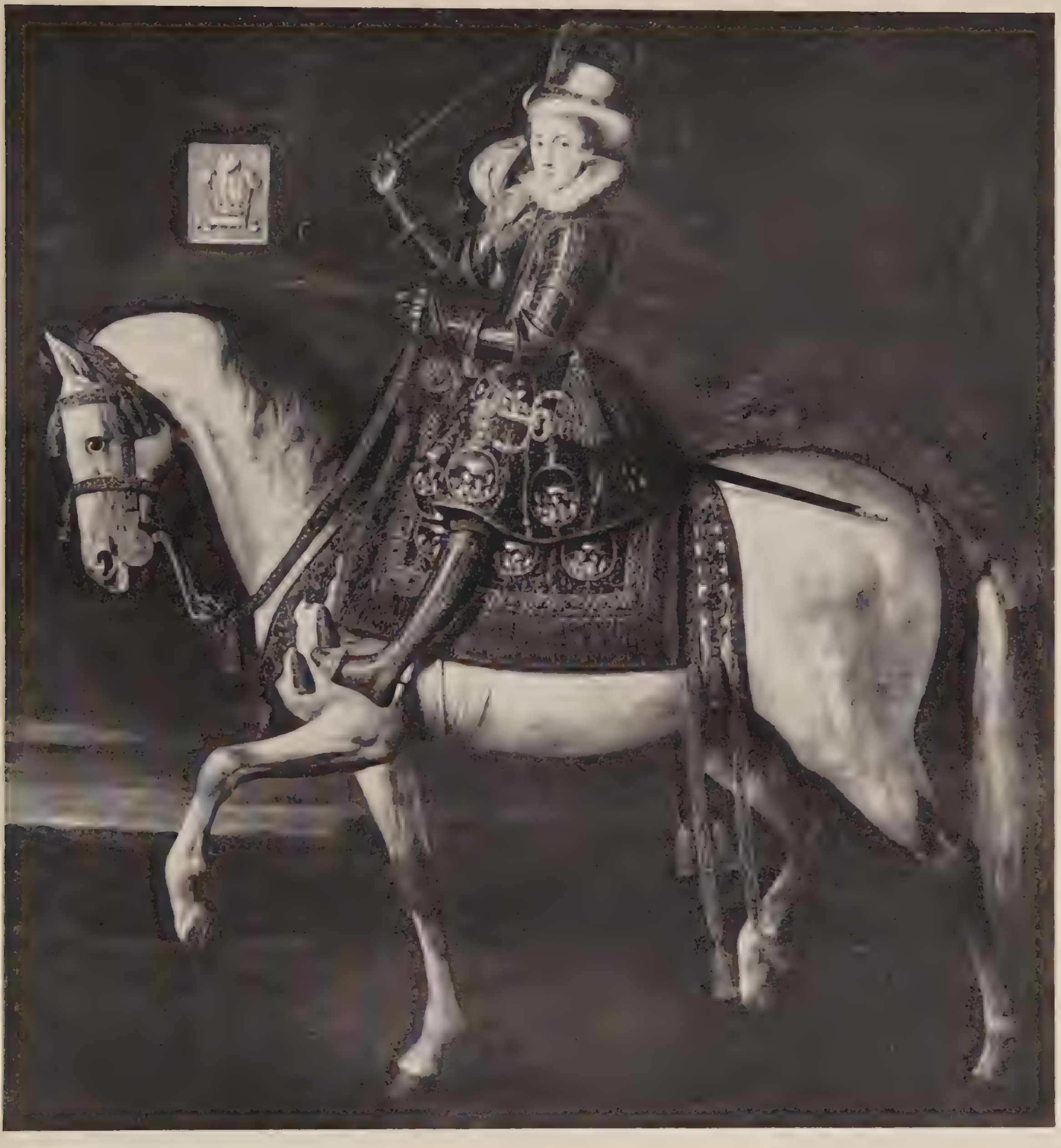
As a very young man Van Dyck had spent a few months in England in the service of James I, and since then his name must have been much in the minds of the collectors and patrons at the English Court. Charles I already owned pictures by him and was prepared to give him, on his arrival in London, a warm and generous welcome: a gesture for which history has richly rewarded him, for we shall always see through Van Dyck's eyes the King, his family and his courtiers. Our conception of the social life at the Caroline Court is deeply coloured by our knowledge of Van Dyck's commentary upon it. King Charles was not only, in Rubens's words, 'the greatest amateur of paintings among the princes of the world': he had set himself to attract distinguished foreign artists to his Court. A number of lesser painters (such as Keirincx, Poelenburgh and Pot) worked for him for short periods; Gentileschi, Honthorst and Rubens came to London in the 1620's; and in Van Dyck the King found a portrait-painter admirably suited to his services: of wide experience, distinguished in person and manner and accustomed to moving in the most illustrious circles. He was a new phenomenon in English society.

As a painter Van Dyck provided for his successors a source of inspiration and a series of patterns and conventions which have still not been exhausted. From his earliest years as Rubens's most privileged student and assistant in Antwerp he had been a painter of rare brilliance, with a refinement and nervous delicacy that enabled him later so admirably and so subtly to record the transient security and fragile elegance of King Charles's Court. At his studio in Blackfriars he had to cope with an increasing fashionable practice. Many of Van Dyck's portraits show the lassitude of an over-wrought painter, and he was compelled to organize a team of assistants to turn out a large number of canvases by methods of production that were to be developed and perfected by Lely and Kneller.

Van Dyck's portraits with their changing moods must have given the King and his more sensitive courtiers the intensest pleasure. Where the subject required it, Van Dyck's touch could be nervous and incisive and his sense of tone (especially in his lovely silvers and pinks) appropriately light and delicate; on other occasions his paint is rich, juicy and direct. He could create a state portrait, rich in echoes of Titian, with all the formal accessories of baroque portraiture perfectly controlled and inter-related (Pl. 27); in his portraits of women and children (Pl. 29) Van Dyck could evoke, in a subtly aristocratic mannered style, a fragile charm which only Gainsborough was fully to understand. There is in almost all his English portraits an air of infinite remoteness, but he was sometimes inspired to paint, of such patrons whom he knew well as the King or Lord Strafford, a penetrating and sympathetic analysis of character. His spectacular double portraits and groups have a magnificent air of parade and his interest in landscape (which is shown in a handful of exquisite drawings) enabled him on occasion to set his sitters wholly within an open-air context (a form of portraiture which was to be developed in the eighteenth century) instead of placing them against the conventional backcloths of Van Somer or Mytens. The Countess of Bedford at Petworth (Pl. 26c) draws on her glove; the royal children and their little gestures are frozen into immobility for a moment; the Earl of Strafford wields his baton of authority and caresses the 'bigg white irish dogg' (Pl. 27); Northumberland as Lord High Admiral stands contemptuously on the sea-shore; Lord Denbigh in oriental costume lurches into a glade with his fowling-piece and starts back as he sees a brightly-coloured parrot. It is this new understanding of the relation of the sitter to a chosen context, and a new ease, informality and variety of pose that set Van Dyck off so entirely from his predecessors and potential rivals in England and make him the immediate precursor of Reynolds and Gainsborough.

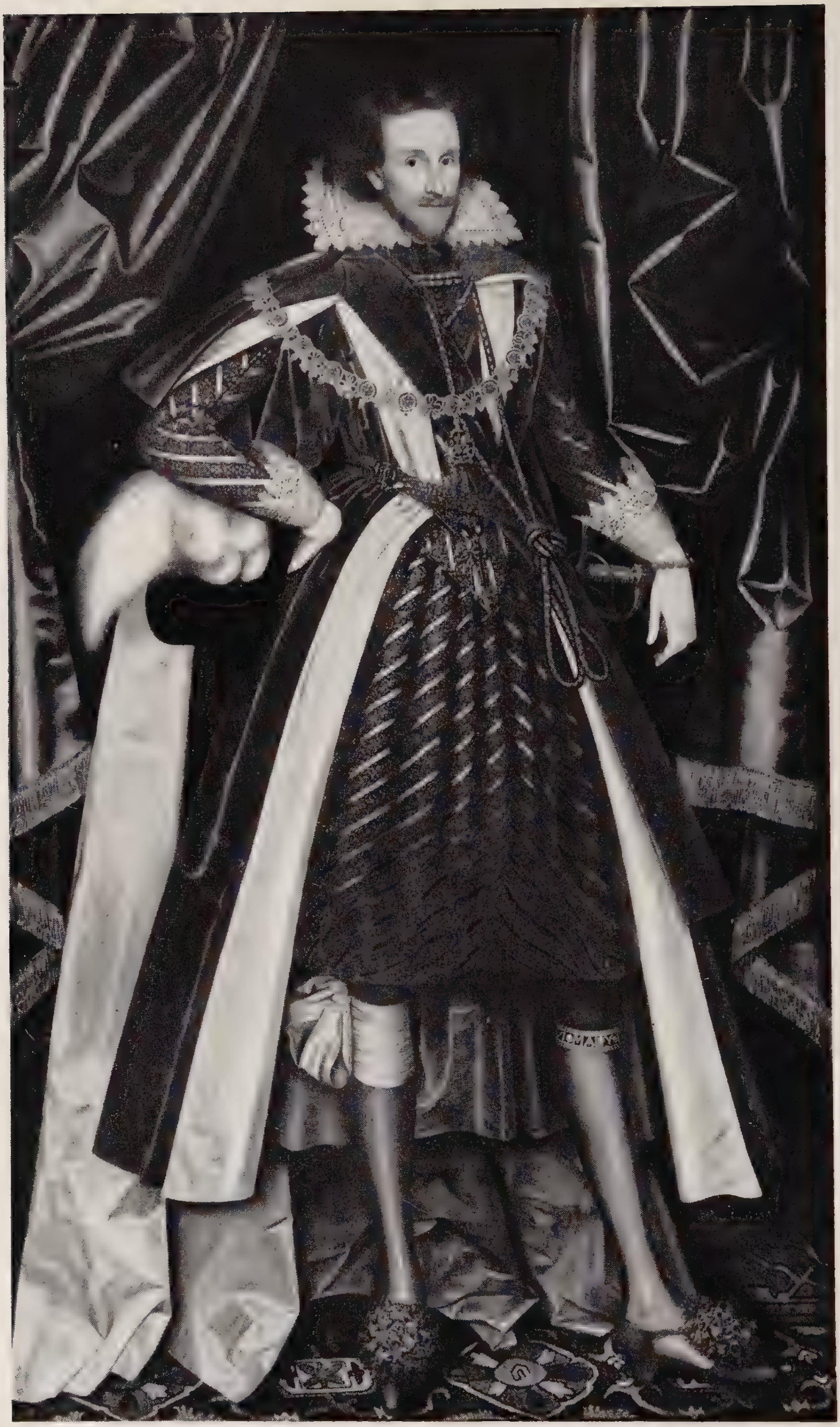
The impact of Van Dyck's style on painters working in England was instant and profound and the years immediately after his death in 1641, on the eve of the Civil War, produced a very large number of portraits cast in his patterns and painted in an almost invariably crude imitation of his handling. Even during his lifetime painters who had worked in the Anglo-Netherlandish manner were overwhelmingly influenced by the brilliant sophistication of Van Dyck's mature style. Johnson's later full-lengths, in particular, show an unashamed and oddly incongruous attempt to take over Van Dyck's conventional accessories and mannerisms; and Adriaen Hanneman, a gifted young Dutch painter who had worked in London since 1626, was back in The Hague in 1637 and imported into Holland an exaggeratedly Van Dyckian style. Among English painters Robert Walker, who was paradoxically the favourite painter of the Parliamentarian party during the Civil War and Interregnum, showed the most slavish dependence on Van Dyck; a certain angular sincerity only partly conceals the paradox of portraits of the regicides in patterns borrowed directly from Van Dyck's images of the King and his supporters.

To set William Dobson as the normal antithesis to Walker is to do him an injustice. His working life as we know it was pathetically short (nothing is known of his work before 1642 and he died in 1646), and he worked in the unsettling atmosphere of the war-time Court at Oxford. Nevertheless he was the most arresting and individual native portrait-painter 'in large' in the Stuart period and probably the most distinguished English painter before the advent of Hogarth. His debt to Van Dyck was limited and controlled, and he had clearly studied the *tenebristi* painters of Italy and the North and the Venetian pictures in the great Caroline collections. He was a gentleman by birth and he was interested in problems which appealed to no other English painter in the century. His most elaborate compositions (Pl. 28) are sometimes over-ambitious and his learning (in, for example, the use in his backgrounds of reliefs which would point to his sitter's tastes or occupation) is sometimes a little ponderous; but he painted for the royalist officers the only truly English baroque portraits: direct and uncompromisingly English in mood, filled with allegory and allusion, painted in a full-blooded, virile technique; rich in colour; and charged with a sense of the tragedy which they so vividly evoke (Pl. 30B).



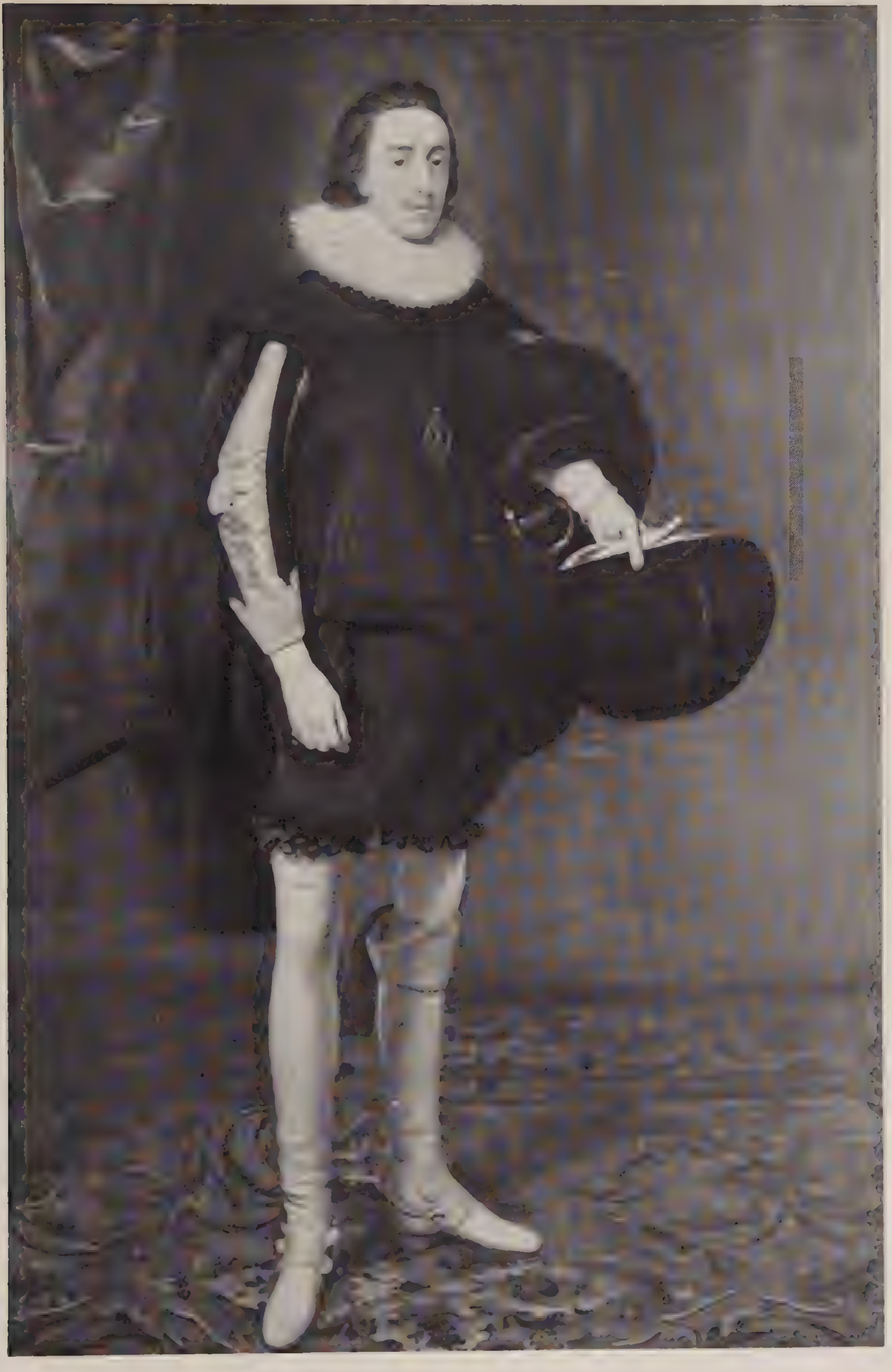
Artist unknown. Henry, Prince of Wales.
Courtesy The Hon. Clive Pearson, Parham. (Canvas 92¼″ × 88″).

PLATE 23



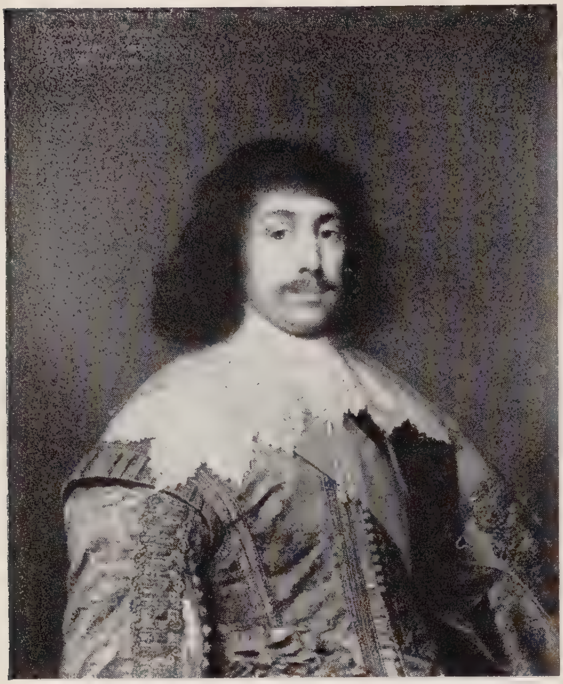
Artist unknown. Philip, 4th Earl of Pembroke.
Courtesy The Hon. R. H. C. Neville. (Canvas 84″ × 49½″).

PLATE 24

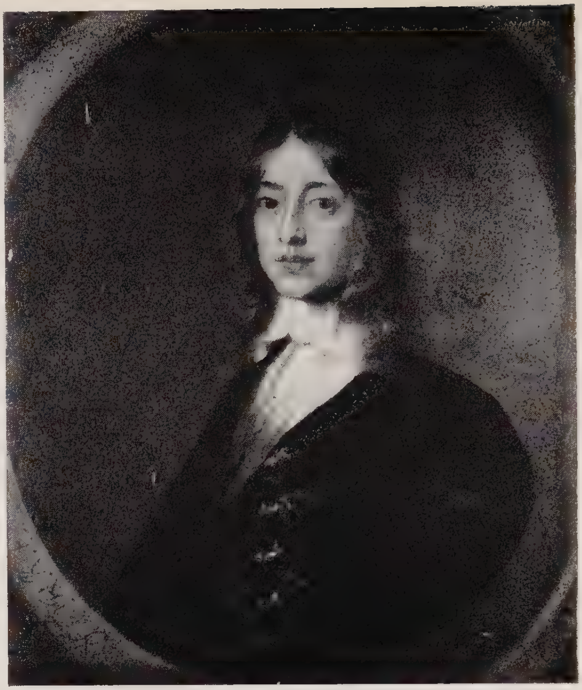


Daniel Mytens. Charles I (1623?).
Courtesy The Hon. Clive Pearson, Parham. (Canvas 71" × 56").

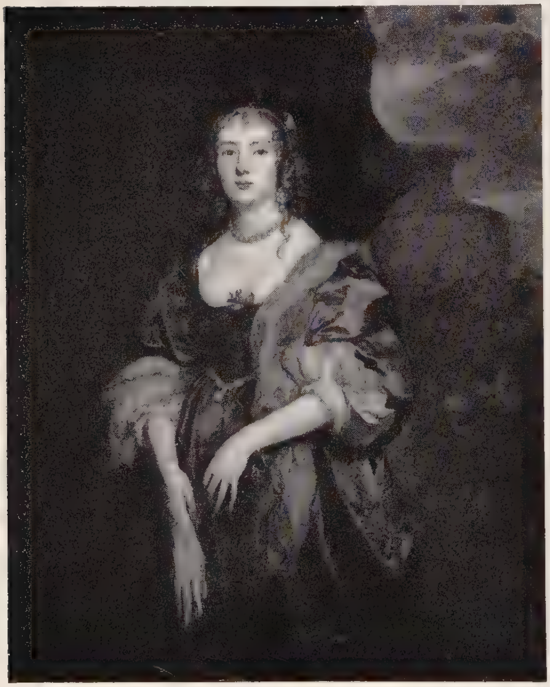
PLATE 25



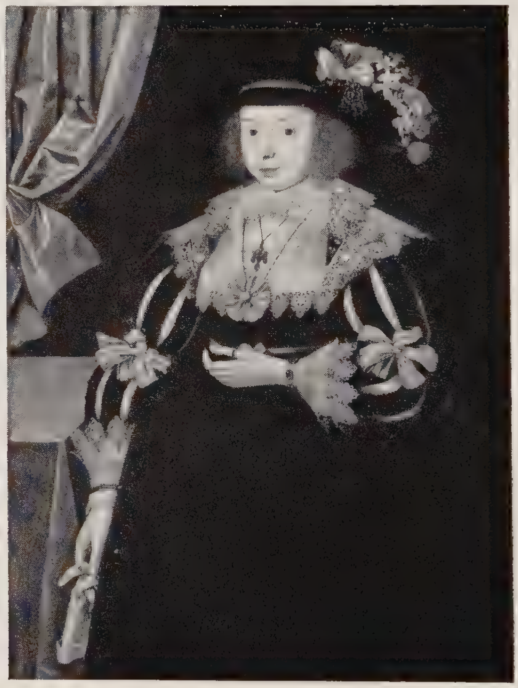
(A) Cornelius Johnson. Spencer, 2nd Earl of Northampton (1633). *Castle Ashby. (Canvas 30¾″ × 25½″).*



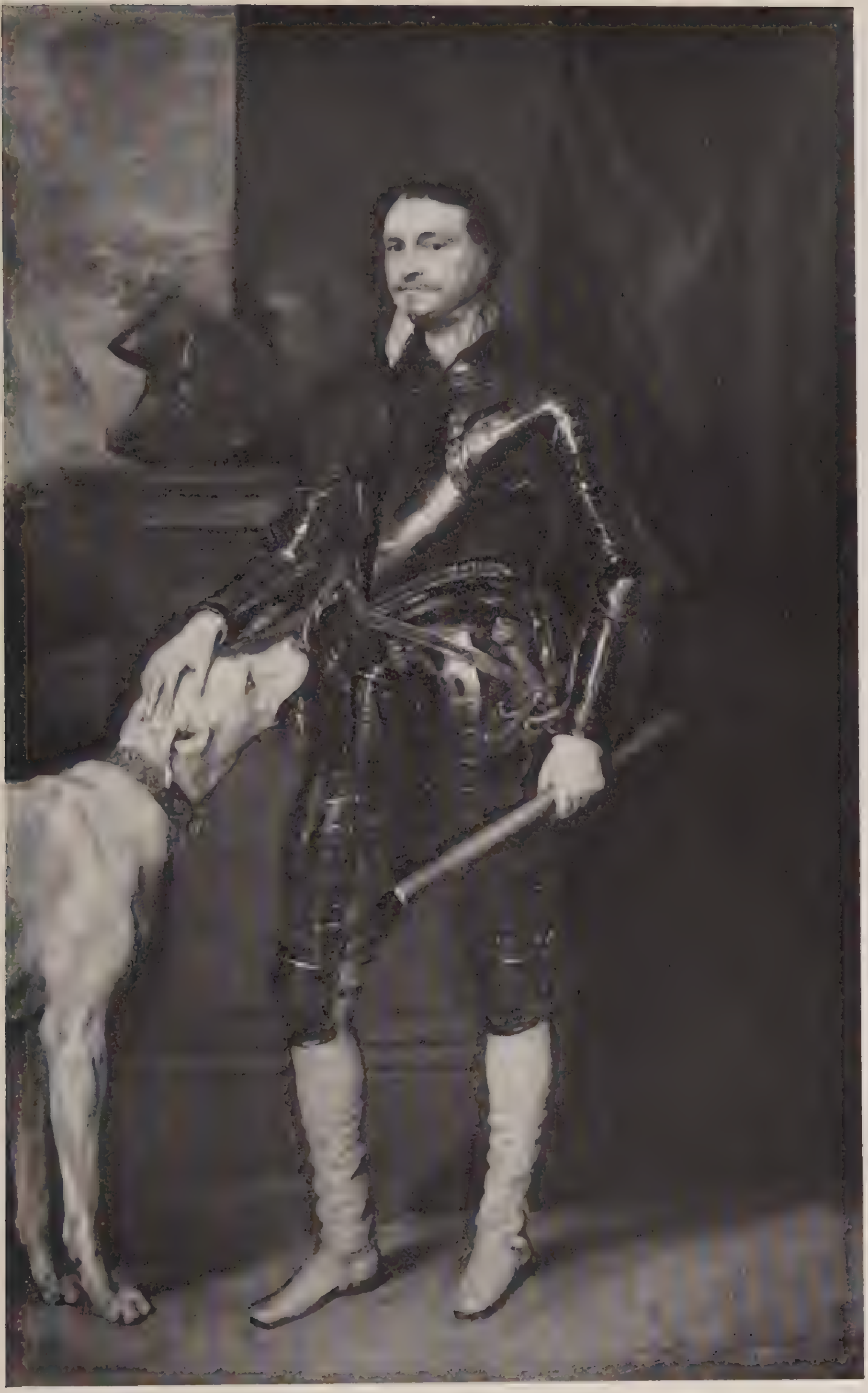
(B) Sir Peter Lely. James, Duke of York (1647). *Syon House. (Canvas 28¼″ × 23¾″).*



(C) Sir Anthony van Dyck. Anne, Countess of Bedford. *Petworth. (Canvas 53⅝″ × 43¼″).*

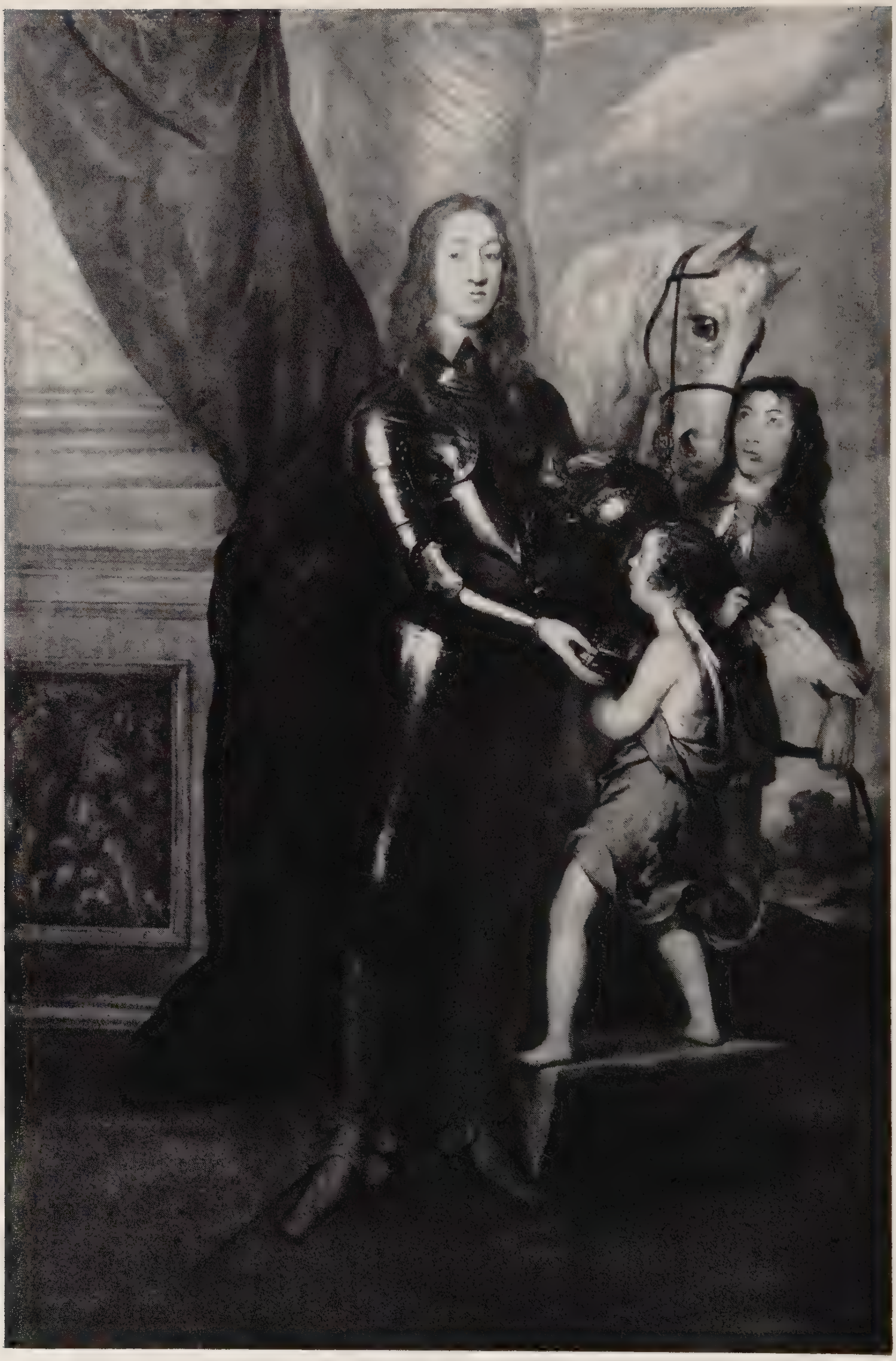


(D) Marcus Gheeraerts. Mrs Anne Hoskins (1629). *Courtesy Capt. C. E. H. Master. (Panel 44″ × 32½″).*



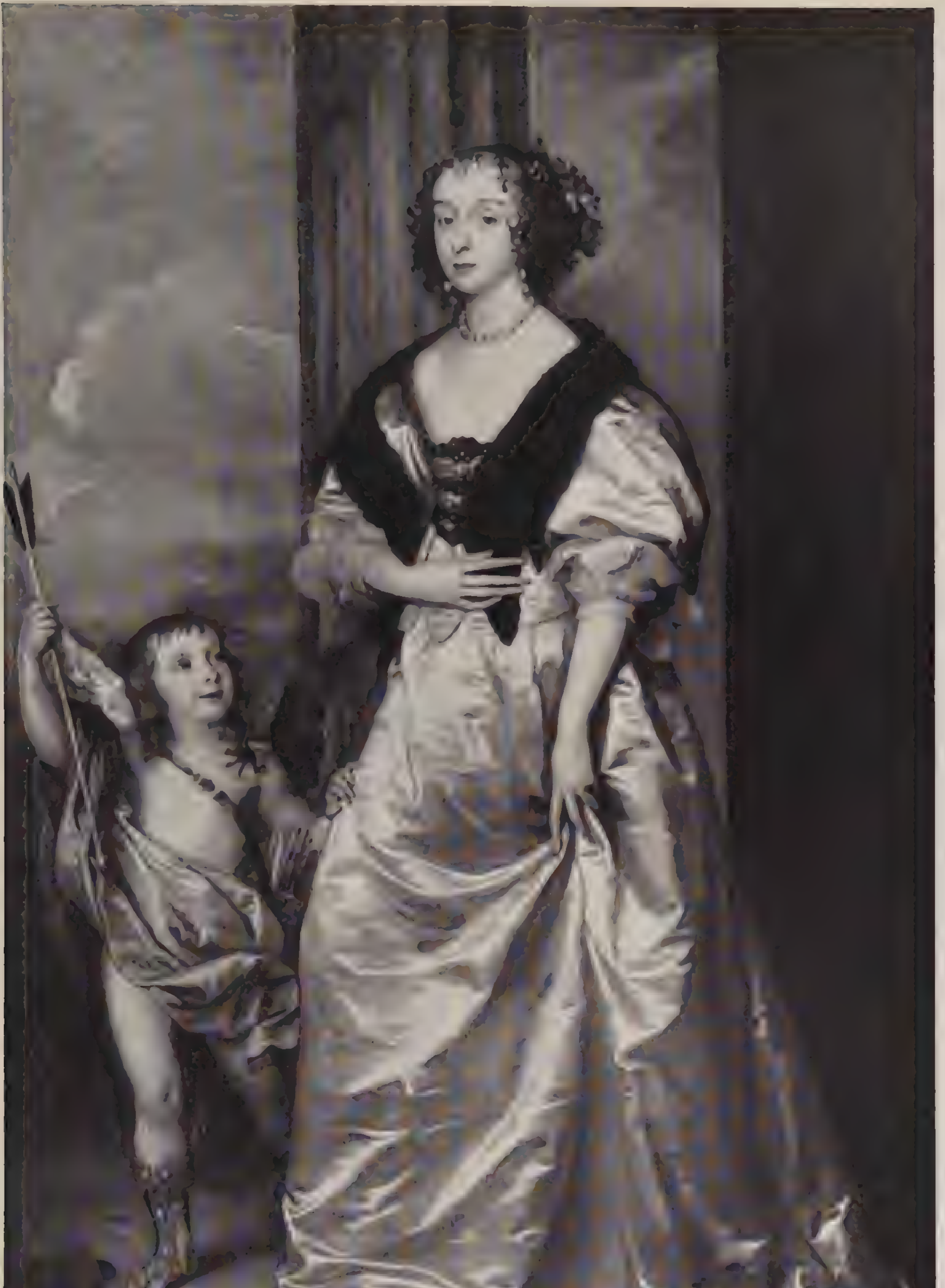
Sir Anthony van Dyck. Thomas, 1st Earl of Strafford
Courtesy the Earl Fitzwilliam. (Canvas $90\frac{1}{2}'' \times 56\frac{1}{4}''$).

PLATE 27



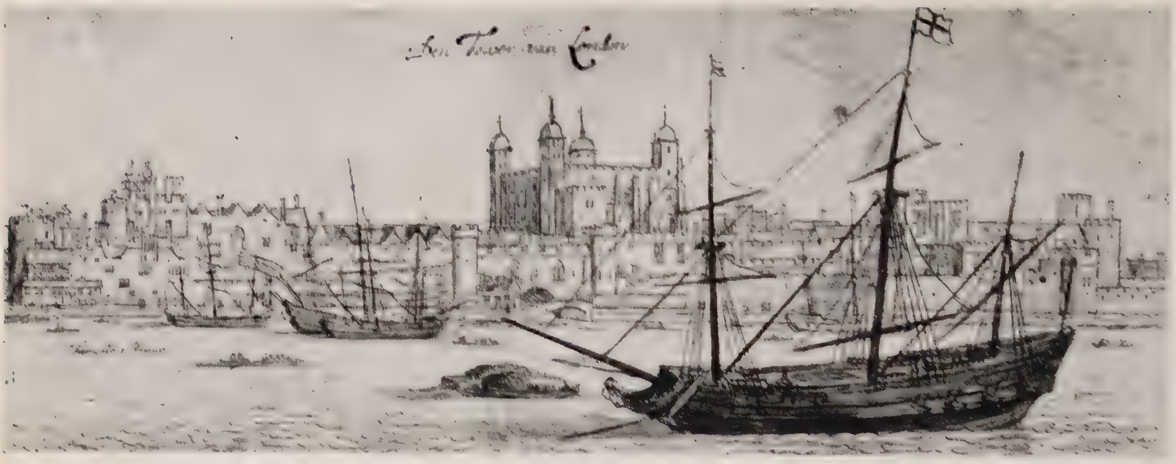
William Dobson. Henry, 2nd Earl of Peterborough (1644).
Drayton House. (Canvas 97″ × 64″).

PLATE 28

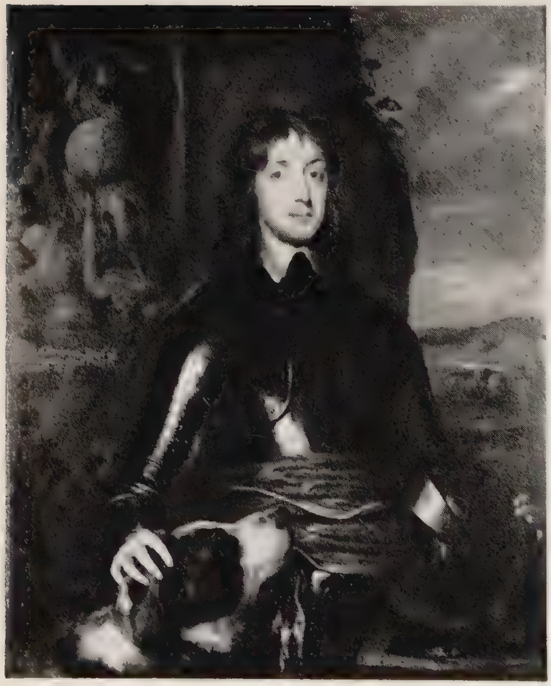


Sir Anthony van Dyck. Mary, Duchess of Richmond, with Lord Arran.
North Carolina Museum of Art. (*Canvas 83″ × 40″*).

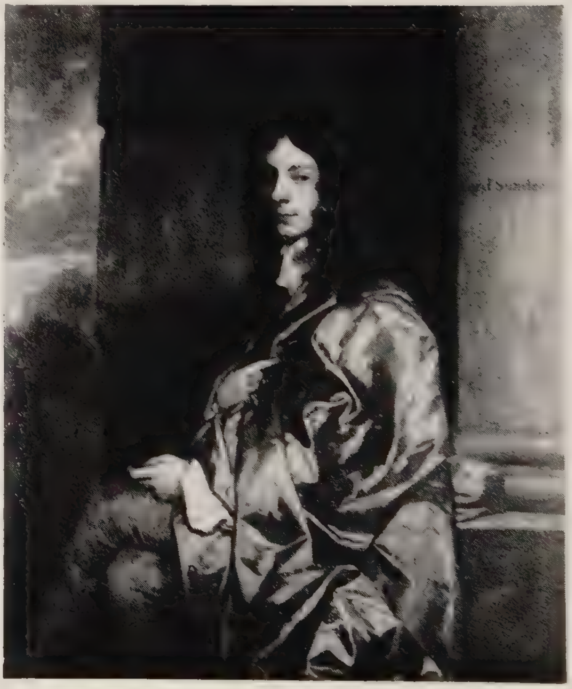
PLATE 29



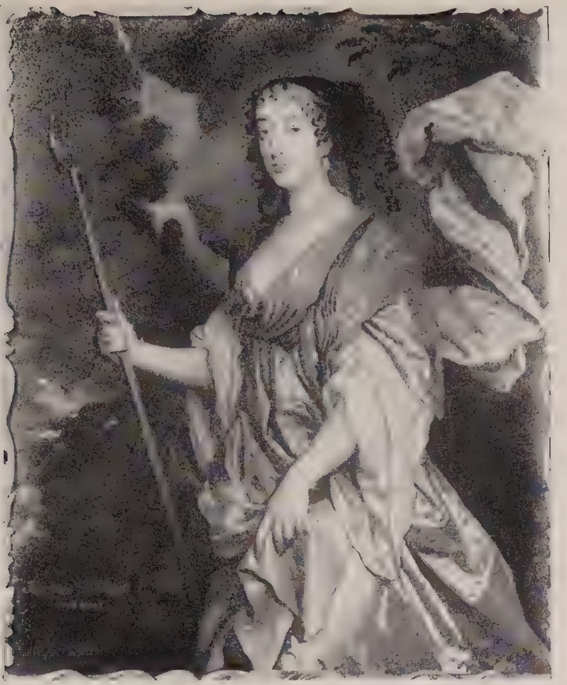
(A) Wenceslaus Hollar. Shipping on the Thames.
British Museum. (Pen and watercolour 4½″ × 11¼″).



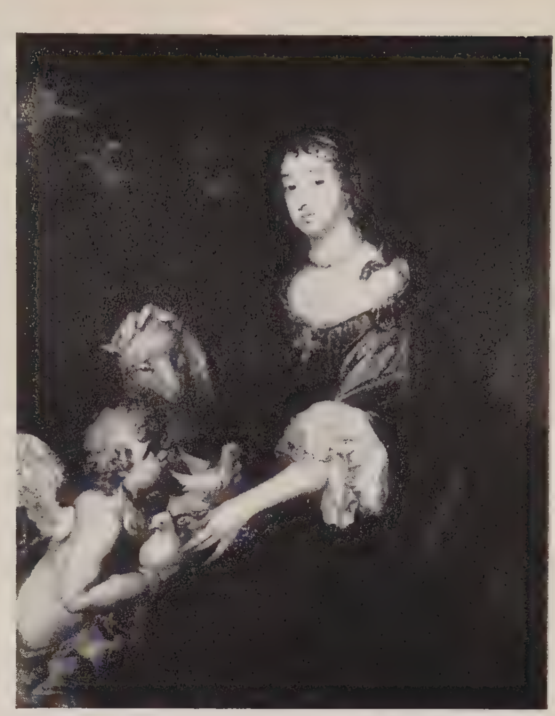
(B) William Dobson. James, 3rd Earl of Northampton. *Castle Ashby. (Canvas 45½″ × 36¼″).*



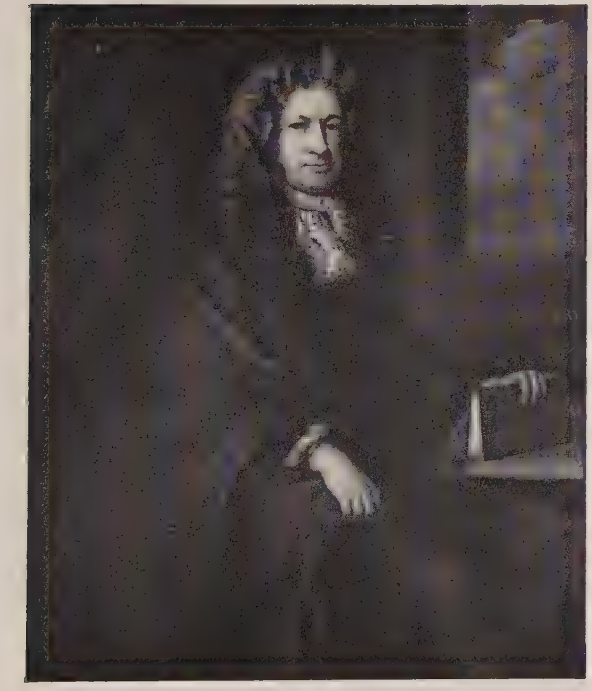
(C) Sir Peter Lely. Robert, 2nd Earl of Sunderland. *Knole. (Canvas 48½″ × 39¼″.*



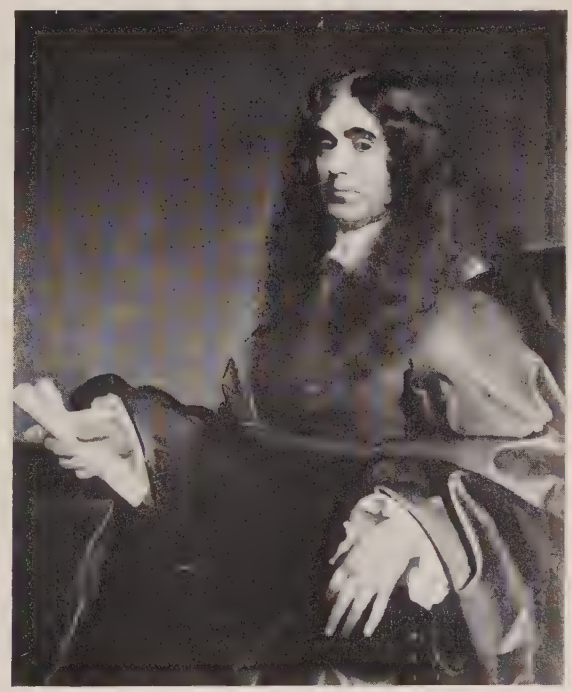
(A) SIR PETER LELY. Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland. *Courtesy the Earl Spencer.* (*Canvas 50″ × 40″*).



(B) JACOB HUYSMANS. Elizabeth, Countess of Orkney. *Courtesy the Earl of Jersey.* (*Canvas 50″ × 40″*).

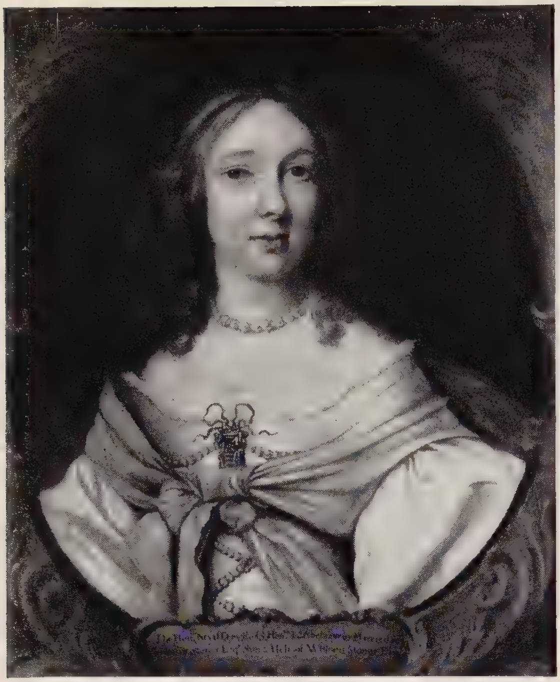


(C) JOHN RILEY. Sir William Coventry. *Courtesy the Marquis of Bath.* (*Canvas 50″ × 40″*).

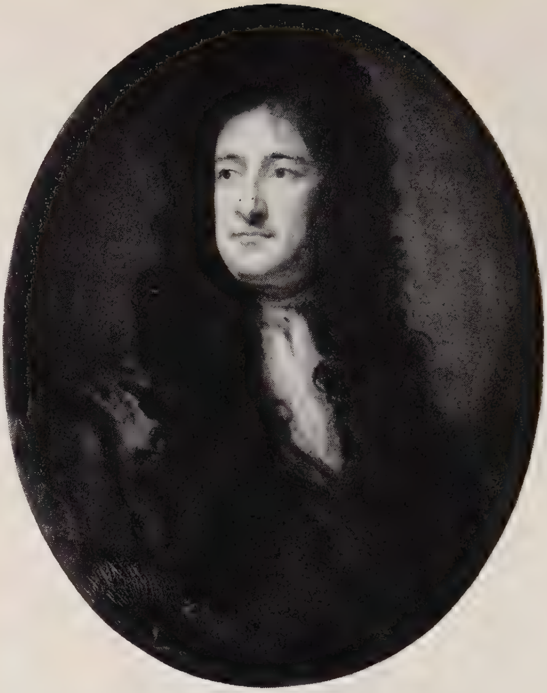


(D) GERARD SOEST. John Bulwer. *Courtesy R. Leon, Esq.* (*Canvas 50″ × 40″*).

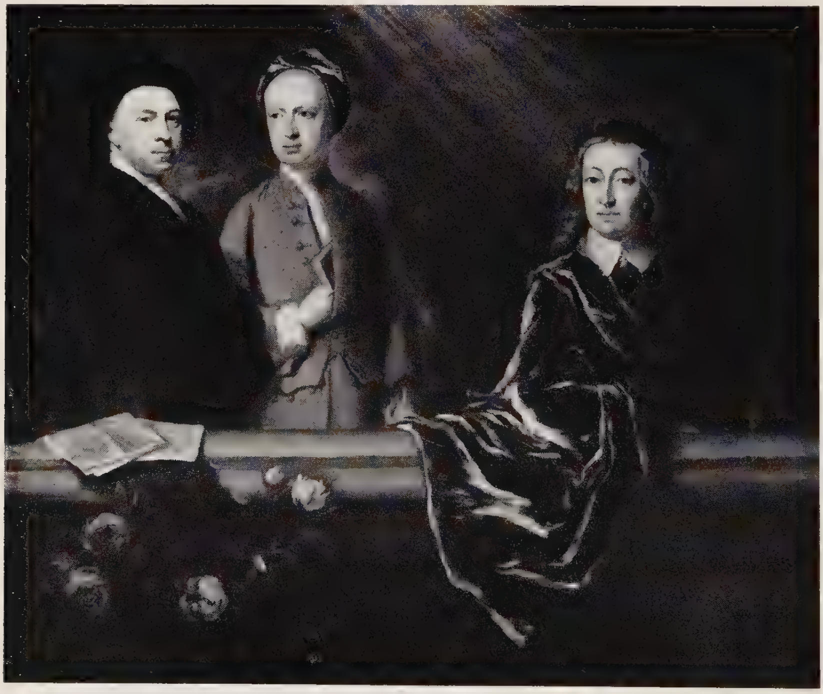
PLATE 31



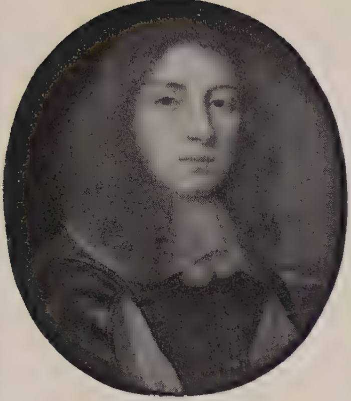
(A) JOHN MICHAEL WRIGHT. Lady Elizabeth Stonor. *Stonor Park. (Canvas 28⅞″ × 24″).*



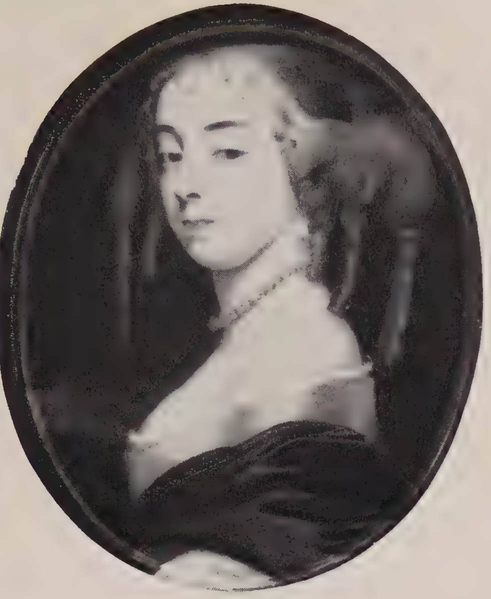
(B) SIR GODFREY KNELLER. Antonio Verrio. *Burghley House. Country Life. (Canvas 28⅞″ × 23¾″).*



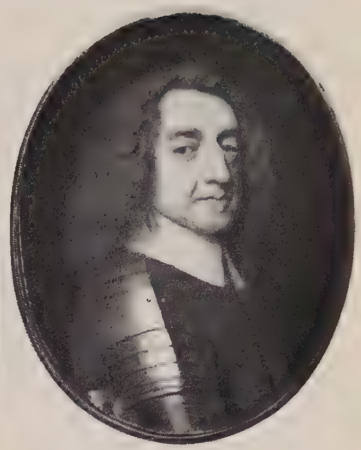
(C) JONATHAN RICHARDSON. The Artist and his Son in the Presence of Milton. *Capesthorne Hall. (Canvas 25″ × 30″).*



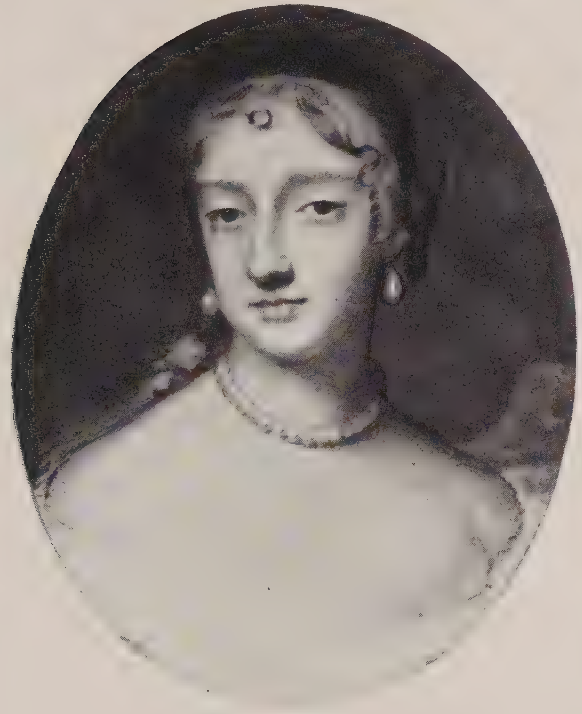
(A) JOHN HOSKINS. Unknown Man (1657).
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle. Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen. ($2\frac{5}{8}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$).



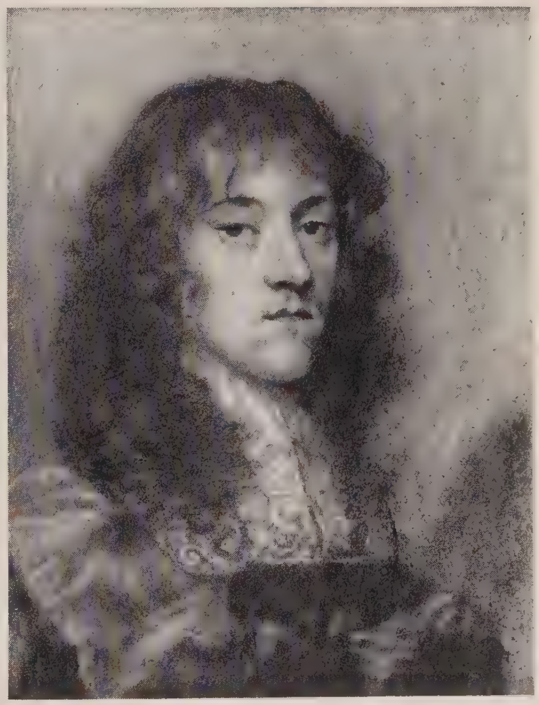
(B) SAMUEL COOPER. Unknown Woman.
The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. ($2\frac{5}{8}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$).



(C) SAMUEL COOPER. Sir William Palmer (1657).
Victoria and Albert Museum. ($2\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$).

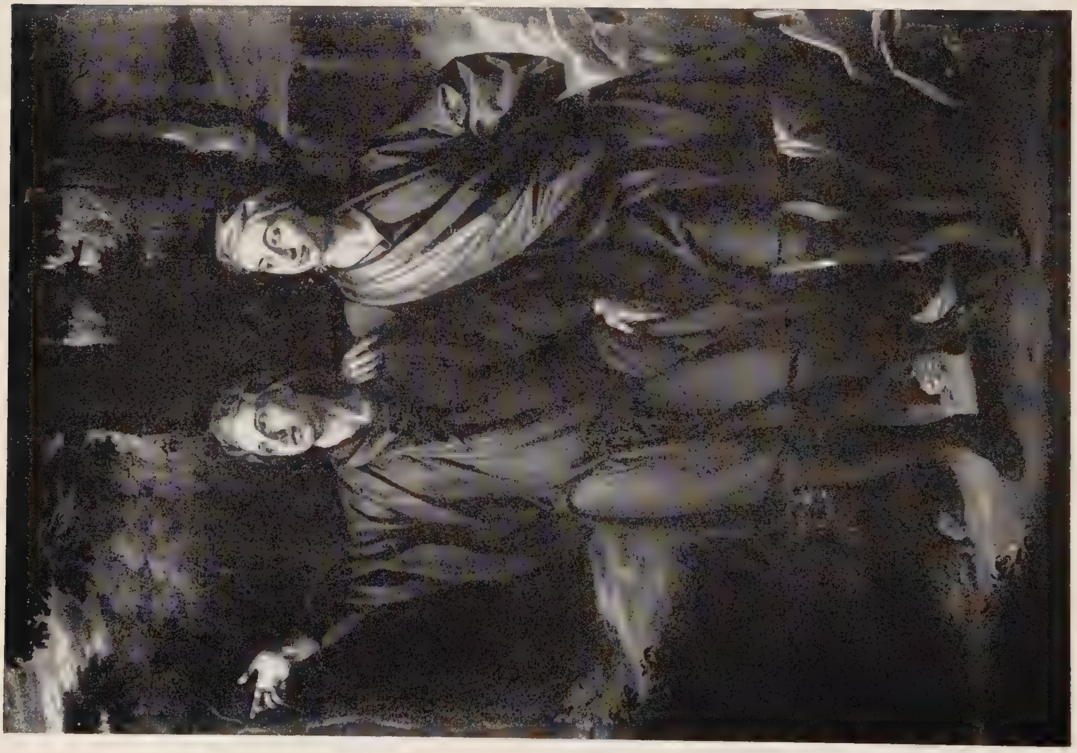


(D) SAMUEL COOPER. Frances, Duchess of Richmond.
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle. Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen. ($4\frac{7}{8}'' \times 3\frac{7}{8}''$).

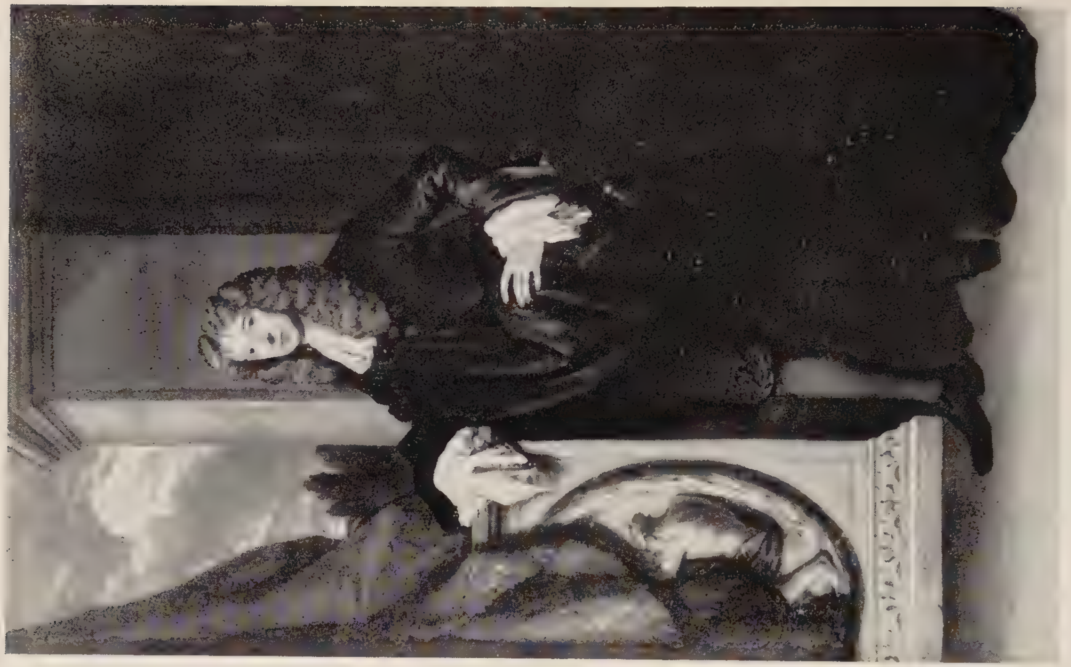


(E) JOHN GREENHILL. Sir Robert Worsley (1669).
Courtesy Sir Bruce Ingram. (Pastel $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$).

PLATE 33



(A) J. B. Closterman. Anthony, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, and his brother Maurice (?1702). *Courtesy Lord Shaftesbury. (Canvas 92″ × 56″).*



(B) Sir Godfrey Kneller. Hugh Hare (1685). *Courtesy the Earl of Radnor. (Canvas 95″ × 60″).*

PLATE 34

His portraits, and their indication of the influences that he had been able to absorb, give us a glimpse of the effects which the enthusiasms of the 'Whitehall group' of patrons and collectors might have had on painting (and indeed on architecture and sculpture) in this country if the Civil War had not shattered the brittle fabric of the Caroline Court where those enthusiasms had been stimulated. In landscape painting neither the Dutch painters, such as Keirincx, Poelenburgh and Stalbempt, who had worked in England in a form of Italo-Netherlandish, late Mannerist, style, nor Rubens and Van Dyck, who were among the most modern landscape painters in Europe, had formed a school of landscape painting in England; and throughout the Stuart period a predominating passion for topography, though it produced much very interesting material, prevented painters from exploring the English scene more deeply. In the field of decorative painting, however, Charles I's employment of Gentileschi, Vouet and Rubens, and his collection of Italian *cinquecento* pictures, bore fruit in the decorative schemes initiated, for example, by his courtiers William Murray, at Ham House in the 1630's, and the fourth Earl of Pembroke at Wilton in the closing years of the Civil War. In the Green Closet or Miniature Room at Ham, and even more in the Double Cube Room at Wilton, painting is made to play its part, with architecture and sculpture (or carving), in the evolution of a sumptuous baroque interior. The painting is far more ambitious and modern (with its clumsy echoes of Raphael, Polidoro and Rubens) than the monotonous repetition of standard decorative motives with which English homes and palaces had formerly been embellished.

The painters who have so far been discussed were employed in the main by patrons of the highest rank, and their work, with the partial exception of Dobson, has in varying degrees a strongly continental quality. There were, however, a number of much less distinguished painters at work in London and the provinces, painting portraits which lack the sophistication of the work of their more successful and cosmopolitan contemporaries. Such painters as Thomas Leigh, John Souch, Gilbert Jackson and Edward Bower spent a considerable part of their careers in the provinces. Their portraits have a *gaucherie*, a naïve decorative quality or an archaizing flavour, even when they show the influence of Johnson, Mytens or Van Dyck, which enhance the ingenuousness and lack of affectation or technical skill with which the sitter's personality is set before us. And their portraits clearly represent the forms of painting which were available to all but the richest or most cultivated patrons. It was only at the Court, moreover, that a painter such as Van Dyck was commissioned or encouraged to paint subject pictures, and the Civil War inevitably hardened the 'transalpine barbarous neglect' with which English patrons were inclined to regard any other form of painting than the portrait.

With sympathetic contempt for this neglect the poet Lovelace tried to console his young friend Peter Lely, who had apparently met with little success in painting, on his arrival in this country from his native Holland (probably *c.* 1645), '*Landtschapes*, with small *Figures* and *Historical Compositions*' in a nostalgic Dutch manner with strong reminiscences of Poelenburgh and Both. Lely was not the man to work unprofitably and thereafter he wisely concentrated on portraiture. By 1647 he was working for some of Van Dyck's former patrons; he was already described in 1654 as 'the best artist in England'; and by the time of the Restoration, when he officially inherited Van Dyck's position at Court, his reputation was made. Until his death in 1680 he remained the leading fashionable portrait painter in England.

In Lely's portraits the influence of Van Dyck was very strong, but although his vigorous handling and fine sense of colour set him, after the death of Dobson, above any other painter working in England, he did not fully assimilate his great predecessor's example until the eve of the Restoration. At that time he produced his finest portraits (Pl. 30c): with a Van Dyckian ease at last fused with his innate Dutch feeling for volume, and of an entirely personal richness and purity of tone. They are the most distinguished reinterpretations of Van Dyck to be painted in this country in the seventeenth century.

Lely's practice was considerably larger than

Van Dyck's and from the early 1660's he relied increasingly on the highly organized team of assistants who worked with him in his studio in Covent Garden and who could repeat over and over again, for different sitters, the patterns, with their increasing artificialities, which Lely evolved. The extreme familiarity of Lely's female beauties (Pl. 31A), who, with perennial fascination, seem to recapture the jaded splendours of the Court of Charles II and were eagerly sought after for their houses and galleries by collectors in Lely's lifetime, has eclipsed the greater qualities in Lely's achievement: his ability, in the freshness and timidity of his earlier portraits (Pl. 26B) and in some of the more deeply felt portraits of his maturity, to present a sympathetic or attractive analysis of his sitter's personality, and his great powers as a technician. In his compositions he was almost invariably content to rely on the heritage of Van Dyck, but in his later years his handling became more impressionist, and his last portraits are painted in a technique which was the fruit of many years' experience and which no pupil or imitator could wholly understand.

John Greenhill, a young English painter of some promise, was perhaps Lely's most interesting pupil, and his understanding of character (Pl. 33E) remained unmistakably English even after he had come completely under Lely's sway; and the Dutchman, Willem Wissing, was the pupil best qualified to inherit Lely's fashionable *clientèle* and to serve them with repetitions of the mannerisms and affectations that Lely had evolved in his later Court style and were common to all fashionable painters in London in the 1680's. Lely's most formidable rivals were probably those with the least ability, the French or Italian painters who were so popular in the open or latent Catholic atmosphere of the Courts of Charles II and James II: the Vignon brothers, Simon Verelst or Henri Gascars, whose work represents the nadir of contemporary French Court portraiture but was very popular with the Francophile element at Court; or Benedetto Gennari, the nephew of Guercino, who was a *protégé* of Mary of Modena and produced for a most distinguished circle of patrons at Court religious and mythological canvases and tastelessly elaborate portraits of unpleasant texture. Jacob Huysmans (Pl. 31B) may also, for a short time, have been a more formidable rival. He was a Catholic and was taken up by Catherine of Braganza; his more ambitious canvases are almost as unpleasant and vapid as Gennari's, but he was capable of greater sincerity with less intimidating or exigent clients.

Two painters stand outside Lely's orbit: his fellow-countryman Gerard Soest and the Scotsman Michael Wright. Soest was an individual and penetrating portrait-painter, but quite unfitted by temperament to answer the demands made by fashionable clients; Wright, a less distinguished craftsman, remained essentially an amateur with interests outside his work as a painter, but a number of years spent in Rome and elsewhere on the Continent often gave to his canvases an educated cosmopolitan air. Soest's unusual sense of colour, his mannerisms in drawing, and his grave, introspective heads are sometimes reminiscent of Terborch, and, although he was never at ease with conventional society patrons, he could, when faced with a more interesting and sympathetic sitter (Pl. 31D), produce a portrait of a haunting individuality beyond the powers of the more cynical Lely. Wright's sense of character remained, despite his travels, unmistakably British and he never entirely overcame a provincial inability to assemble more than the simplest form of composition. There is a charmingly unspoilt freshness in his presentation of character (Pl. 32A). Neither Soest nor Wright had Lely's technical abilities, but their handling is unmistakable: Soest's thin and shadowed and creating strange inflated masses of draperies; Wright's cooler and drier, but light and liquid in the treatment of details.

Michael Wright was almost certainly a Catholic and was much patronized by Catholic families: Bagots, Howards, Arundells of Wardour and Stonors are to be found among his sitters. But his religion was probably a grave liability at the time of the Revolution, and he had been directly associated with James II's schemes for reunion with the Church of Rome when he went as chief steward to the Earl of Castlemaine on an unfortunate embassy to Innocent XI in 1686. There can be no doubt that the difficulties of his later years were made no easier by the increasing success of the arrogant young German, Godfrey Kneller.

Kneller had been extremely fortunate in the premature deaths of Wissing in 1686 and John Riley in 1691. The unhappy Riley, indeed, seems to have made little mark before Lely's death in 1680 and later to have been outshone by Kneller. He was not so capable a painter as his foreign rivals, and was often content to make use of their patterns; he was only rarely (and then in a very arresting manner) wholly at ease at compositions grander than a head and shoulders, and on a larger canvas he relied, at one period, on the facile collaboration of Closterman; but his individual cool silvery colour, light touch and gentle, ingenuous sense of character are at times reminiscent of Cornelius Johnson and the temper of his portraits is wholly English (Pl. 31C). He handed on these qualities of tone, character and touch, and an engaging provincialism, to his followers, Thomas Murray, Jonathan Richardson (Pl. 32C) and (to a lesser extent) Sir John Medina. Murray and Richardson remained almost unaffected by Kneller and, like their master, are seen at their best, with very rare exceptions, in portraits on a small scale; Murray was a much weaker painter than Riley and Richardson's portraits are often clumsy and coarse. But Richardson, as something of a scholar, and as a professional critic and theorist, did much to enhance the dignity of his profession (of which he was inordinately conscious) and has the distinction of being at the source of one of the streams that were to be an inspiration to the young Joshua Reynolds. John Baptist Medina, who was of Spanish origin and probably arrived in England in 1686, came under the influence of Riley and Closterman, but after he had been persuaded to seek his fortune in Scotland his style became increasingly a slick and effective imitation of Kneller.

Godfrey Kneller was admirably qualified for the great position he held as the leading portrait painter in England, and one of the most successful in Europe, from the Revolution until his death in 1723. As a very young man in Holland he had come into contact with Bol, and possibly with Rembrandt himself, and in Italy, where he may have met Maratti and Bernini, he is said to have had some success as a portrait painter. By 1677, soon after his arrival in this country, he had gained introductions into the most illustrious circles and his success may well have been a formidable challenge to Lely in his last years. There is in Kneller's earliest English portraits a confusion between French, Dutch, Roman and Venetian influences and he also made use of Lely's patterns. His early portraits are dry and thin and tend towards a brownish monochrome. By the early and mid-1680's, however, his canvases show a new directness in modelling, and in his best portraits of this period there is a lean, austere informality (Pl. 34B) which must have been very refreshing to patrons who had for so long been accustomed to Lely's lush, full-blown style.

Towards the end of his long and active life Kneller was fulsomely praised by Addison, who evokes a procession of Kneller's State-portraits, 'in their robes of state arrayed, the kings of half an age displayed'. He had painted Charles II and produced the official portraits of English sovereigns from James II to George I and his heir; many distinguished foreign visitors and European sovereigns, among them Louis XIV and Peter the Great, had sat to him in London, Paris and Flanders; and a monument in Westminster Abbey, embellished with an epitaph by Pope, crowned a career rich in worldly success. The organization of a small army of specialized assistants was perfected by Kneller in his studio in Great Queen Street, but the steady output under his authority of a mass of competent but perfunctory work has done almost irreparable harm to his later reputation. Nevertheless, he deserved the position which he held in his own day, and not only because he was by temperament so well equipped to sustain it. Many of his portraits are irredeemably dull and stereotyped, but his best are varied, penetrating, original and, in many cases, brilliantly painted (Pl. 32B). He was never so fine a colourist as Lely, but in his best pieces his touch was fresh and incisive and his sense of tone pure and silvery. He was not afraid of painting portraits on a scale far more ambitious than Lely had attempted, and his full-lengths and equestrian portraits show a range unknown in England since the death of Van Dyck. And in a comparatively small number of portraits, some of them from his earlier years, Kneller broke away from the conventions which Van Dyck had established or popularized and to which Lely had remained almost consistently faithful, and, with an economical technique and unexpected powers of getting at the mind of his sitters, produced portraits of a new vigour or sympathy which would do credit to Hogarth or of a noble reserve which anticipates Reynolds.

In the reign of James II and the earliest years of William III Kneller's portraits still had something of the rich colour and the elaborate stagecraft that ultimately derive, through Lely's latest style, from Van Dyck's most formal English portraits; in the 1690's his more ambitious pieces sometimes have a sombre grandeur that may contain a reminiscence of his Roman years; but in the early years of the eighteenth century there is a new and rococo atmosphere in his portraits: light and silvery in key, gay and light-heartedly affected in design, soft and loose in handling. The same mood is felt in the portraits of his most talented rival, the Swede Michael Dahl. Kneller's portraits of the Kit-Cat Club proclaim that he was, at least intermittently, a Whig: Dahl was a favourite painter in Tory families. His more stereotyped female portraits are often unblushing repetitions, in a few standard patterns, of the most tiresome affectations of an age which saw the nadir of the Van Dyck tradition, but his feeling for character ranges from the weather-beaten old heads of his admirals, which hang beside those of Kneller at Greenwich, or rather wistful portraits of children (Pl. 35A) and young women. His later portraits are painted in soft, pastel-like tones of pink, silver, light blue and grey, and their fluttering movement and lightness of touch come near to the more completely rococo painters, such as Mercier and Vanloo, in the reign of George II.

It would be impossible in so short a survey to analyse in any detail the host of minor portrait painters who could turn their hands to a variety of tasks, some of a very humble nature, in London and the provinces during the second half of our period. There is, indeed, less temptation to do so than in its earlier years: some native painters such as Thomas Sadler or John Wollaston worked in a naïve manner which shows practically no advance from the days of Jackson and Bower. The fashionable conventions of portrait painting in the big London studios can be tiresome enough with painters as skilled as Lely or Kneller, and are irredeemably depressing in the hands of their imitators. It is only important to realize the debt to Lely of painters who flourished in the provinces, such as Matthew Dixon or Mr. Comer, or of the hard-working but uninspired amateur, Mary Beale, in London, and to recognize the influence of Kneller on such lesser contemporaries as Jacques D'Agar or Thomas Gibson. None of the painters who remained rather outside the influence of Lely and Kneller (such as the two Kersebooms or the later members of the Verelst family) produced work of quality.

Dixon and D'Agar seem to have had a circle of clients in Northamptonshire and Comer was working in York for a number of years. Local patriotism probably caused the Corporation of Salisbury in 1673 to commission from Greenhill a portrait of Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, and led the Shaftesbury family at St Giles's House to patronize him rather than the more illustrious Lely. Wissing was a favourite painter in country houses in the neighbourhood of Stamford and died at Burghley while he was at work on a large family group of the Cecils in hunting costume in which he 'Seven-Times one great Perfection drew';[2] Michael Wright found time to spend some months in the 1670's working for the Bagots in Staffordshire and talked of his 'kind remembrance at the syllabubs and staghunting' and of the 'Invitation I had to two other Countyes';[3] and even Lely 'spent some time at Gentlemen's houses' in the neighbourhood of Bury St Edmunds. In these country houses and in the capital,

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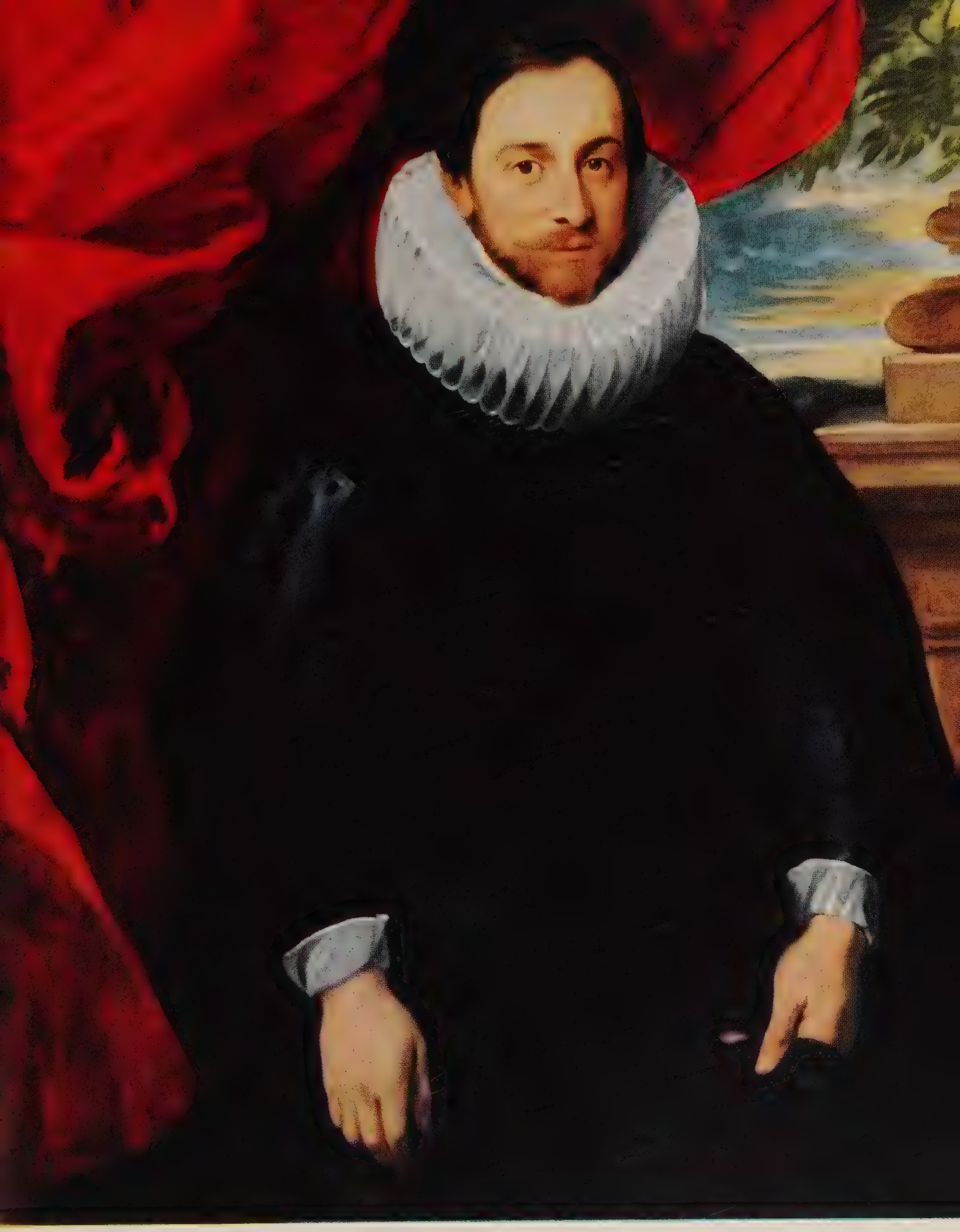
[2] Matthew Prior, *Dialogues of the Dead* ..., ed. A. R. Waller (1907), p. 32.

[3] W. J. Smith, 'Letters from Michael Wright', *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. xcv (1953), pp. 233–6.



Sir Anthony Van Dyck. ‘ Man in Black ’, *c.* 1628-32 (51″ × 40″). *Hart Collection, London.*

drawing and painting were becoming, in the hands of such enthusiasts as Mrs Pepys, the minor poetess Anne Killigrew, Lady Bathurst or the Princess of Orange, one of the favourite accomplishments of ladies of leisure that it has remained ever since. The only amateur painter of distinction in the Stuart period was the country gentleman, Sir Nathaniel Bacon, whose few surviving and arresting portraits are closely related to the Anglo-Netherlandish style of Johnson or Mytens.

The purest expression of the English spirit in painting in the seventeenth century is perhaps to be found in the miniatures of Samuel Cooper, the most famous English painter of the day in continental minds and the greatest native portrait painter of the Stuart period. He stands supreme with Hilliard among English miniaturists. He studied under his uncle, John Hoskins, whose early miniatures have the reticent charm of Cornelius Johnson; but Hoskins's later miniatures (Pl. 33A) already reflect, in a new breadth of handling and realization of character, the work of his brilliant nephew. Hoskins had been deeply influenced by Van Dyck and had produced a number of copies in miniature, many of them for distribution by the sitter, of Van Dyck's portraits; but it was an influence that he could not quite assimilate. Cooper, on the other hand, had by 1640 absorbed from Van Dyck a new spontaneity and a baroque sense of design which he adapted perfectly to the small scale of his portraits and which mark a complete break with the formal limitations and conventions within which the Olivers, Hoskins and their lesser contemporaries had worked. By these methods, and with a most beautiful sense of tone, Cooper, 'un piccinetto', as he was described, 'tutto spirito e cortesia',[4] produced again and again portraits which bring us face to face, with an almost painful directness and as no other portraits of the century can do, with English men and women of that turbulent age. His powers of analysis and sympathy are equally remarkable with attractive, light-hearted women and girls (Pl. 33B), with the rakes and ladies of the Restoration Court or with sitters of an austerer, Puritanical mood, whose personality comes across to us with an intensity that only Soest, in rare moments of inspiration, could equal (Pl. 33C). After the Restoration and when his reputation was at its height, Cooper tended slightly to enlarge the scope and scale of his miniatures (Pl. 33D): in these last years his technique becomes softer and finer, but his modelling loses nothing of its breadth and his colour remains as pure and subtle as before.

After his death in 1672 there was a steady decline in miniature painting in this country until the time of Cosway and Engleheart. Thomas Flatman, who was essentially an amateur at a craft which was much recommended as a pleasant diversion for gentlemen, had something of Cooper's moving understanding of character, but lacked his great technical accomplishment; and the work of Nicholas Dixon and Laurence Crosse and their successors into the eighteenth century was too closely related to contemporary portraiture 'in large' to deserve separate treatment. Miniatures had hitherto been painted on parchment in opaque water-colour, a method established in England in the previous century by Hans Holbein: the dullness of miniatures in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was not relieved by the experiments that were being made increasingly in enamelling and painting on ivory.

By the end of the Stuart period miniatures were much sought after by collectors. In their earlier history they had been painted for very personal reasons. As portable likenesses, often in richly jewelled or enamelled settings, they served as presents and as tokens of a special and intimate affection. They can sometimes be seen in portraits, prominently displayed over the hearts of widowed ladies. In a more official context miniature portraits of Stuart sovereigns, and even of Oliver Cromwell during the Interregnum, were given to visiting ambassadors or dispatched overseas as presents to foreign rulers. Charles I, however, had built up a remarkable collection of contemporary and sixteenth century limnings which had been kept in his Cabinet Room at Whitehall in 'shutting Cases with Locks and Keyes' and had included, as well as a great many ancestral and family portraits, a number of specially painted copies in miniature of famous Italian masterpieces. The popularity of these little reproductions is shown by the Duke of Newcastle's purchase in 1708 of seventy such limned copies by Dixon. In 1717 James Sotheby, a less illustrious collector, acquired from Thomas Bridgwater 'a Little Wallnut Tree Cabinet, gilt lock & Hinges & lin'd with green Velvet' [5] for his growing collection of miniatures.

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[4] A. M. Crinò, *Rivista d'Arte*, Vol. xxix (1954), 148–55.

The qualities that we find in the English miniaturists of the Stuart period can be seen no less clearly in portrait drawings in black chalk, coloured pastels or plumbago in the later half of the century. The renewed interest in this slight but charming form of portraiture may have owed something to the popularity of such French draughtsmen as Claude Mellan and Robert Nanteuil, who had drawn John Evelyn and his family in Paris during the Commonwealth. No English school of portrait draughtsmen was formed and the number of portrait drawings in any medium between 1660 and 1700 is small. But it was a form of artistic expression particularly suited to informal and intimate portraiture and it thus appealed to the amateur artist, and it was also part of the routine practice in some studios in the production of a painted portrait: the finest English portrait drawings of our period were produced by Lely and members of his circle such as Greenhill (Pl. 33E) and Tilson. The pastel technique was developed in a more painterly manner by Edward Lutterell and Edmund Ashfield: Ashfield's portraits are especially rich in colour and free in handling. William Faithorne provides the closest parallel to Robert Nanteuil in France. His drawings are perhaps less accomplished than Ashfield's, but his portrait engravings, whether from his own studies *ad vivum* or after Van Dyck, Dobson, Lely or Soest, are vigorous and sensitive and illustrate the rapidly increasing output in the seventeenth century of original or reproductive engraved portraits. Many of Faithorne's portraits were drawn to be used as frontispieces. His best engravings were in line, in face of the growing challenge of the mezzotint, and David Loggan, who was the last important line engraver of portraits in the same tradition, produced a number of rather timid little plumbago portrait drawings of much charm and in a technique that was carried to greater refinement by Thomas Forster, John Faber and Robert White.

The excellence and the limitations of the Stuart miniatures and portrait drawings are essentially English: for the appearance and temperament of English men and women of the Stuart period we should turn to Cooper or Loggan rather than to Lely or Kneller. A more cosmopolitan glamour was occasionally given to a family's growing collection of portraits when its members brought back from their travels portraits of themselves that had been painted abroad. There is a fascination in seeing on the walls of an English house portraits of English travellers and diplomats painted in Holland by Miereveld, Lievens, Maes or Netscher; in France, especially if they were attached to the exiled Stuart Court at St Germains, by such French painters as Belle, Rigaud or Largillierre; and in Italy by Massimo Stanzione, Salvator Rosa, Carlo Dolci or Carlo Maratti (Pl. 35B). The less transitory experiences in Rome early in the eighteenth century of such young English artists and noblemen as William Kent, Lord Burlington and Thomas Coke were to be of profound significance for the structure of patronage and the history of the arts at home; but already, before the stricter standardization of tastes and enthusiasms in the Hanoverian age, classical influences had affected the outlook of the more sensitive Englishmen on the Grand Tour and found expression in pictures painted for them in England. The third Earl of Shaftesbury, a distinguished philosopher who devoted much of his life and thoughts to the formulation of an æsthetic theory in which artistic and moral issues were closely interwoven, found in the adaptable Closterman (who had formerly worked with Riley) a painter who could express something of the loftiness of Shaftesbury's unyielding classicism. Closterman could paint equally easily in a Flemish or Spanish idiom, but he was sent to Rome by

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[5] MSS. formerly at Ecton, and now at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Shaftesbury in 1699 and on his return produced portraits of his patron, in the full Roman manner, that could well serve as illustrations to the *Characteristicks* (Pl. 34A).

This cosmopolitanism was by no means a universal element in English taste. Lord Shaftesbury would not have enjoyed a visit to James Sotheby's collection and would not, for example, have approved of the tastes in pictures of William Blathwayt or William III. The continuing patronage of foreign painters, the importation of pictures from abroad and an admiration for continental painting that may often have been imitative and fashionable rather than thoughtfully formulated, and was to be so savagely attacked by Hogarth, were already resented and opposed by such reactionary bodies as the Painter-Stainers' Company. Their efforts to vindicate native talent were triumphantly successful only at the very end of our period, when, early in the reign of George I, Sir James Thornhill wrested from his more facile and gifted foreign rivals the two leading commissions for decorative painting. Previously, in the reign of Charles II, such English decorative painters as Isaac Fuller and Robert Streeter had played second fiddle to their foreign rivals and had spent much of their time painting scenery for the stage.

The scope and quantity of decorative painting in this country between the reigns of Charles II and George I, and Thornhill's achievements in this context, are most significant for the English attitude to the full baroque style of the Continent and for the effect of the Grand Tour on the tastes which English patrons wished to gratify in their own homes. Extensive painting on walls and ceilings was of course primarily required in public buildings, such as the Hospitals at Greenwich and Chelsea, or in the royal palaces. Private patrons would often be content with a limited area of painted decoration, on ceiling, wall or staircase, enclosed in a raised carved or moulded framework: Laguerre and a team of interior decorators worked in this way for George Vernon on the ceilings of the Parlour, Saloon and staircase at Sudbury Hall between 1691 and 1694, and there are earlier examples of the same practice in the Duchess's Bedroom and Queen's Closet at Ham House. The full baroque panoply of painted ceilings and walls, often throughout a suite of rooms, on a staircase or in a private chapel, was almost invariably (though Thornhill's work at Stoke Edith was a remarkable exception) commissioned by patrons from a very limited class: by such noblemen of taste and discrimination as the fifth Earl of Exeter, who wished to recreate at Burghley (Pl. 36) some of the splendours which he had admired on his travels, or by such great subjects as the first Duke of Devonshire and the Duke of Marlborough, who found in the full baroque style of Rome or Versailles the perfect means of decorating their magnificent new houses with an expression and a glorification in paint of the great achievements of their country or of their own parts therein (Pl. 37B).

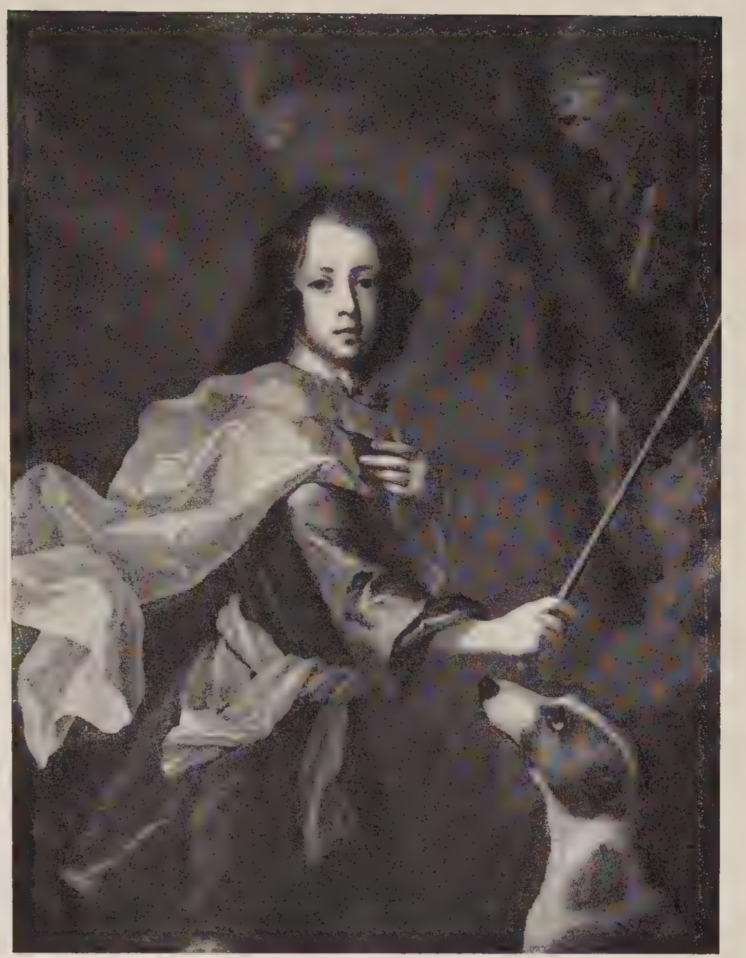
In England the first complete example on a considerable scale of the full baroque interior, relying on the close co-operation of architect, sculptor and decorative painter, was initiated at Windsor Castle by Charles II, partly in emulation of his cousin's activities at Versailles. The painted decoration, which contributed greatly to the lavish brightness of the new interiors, was entrusted in the main to the Leccese painter, Antonio Verrio, who first brought to this country a new repertory of decorative conventions and motives. He arrived here soon after he had been enrolled in the Académie Royale in Paris in 1671. He was a Catholic, painted for a number of patrons in the Court circle, and after the flight of James II found it convenient to settle at Burghley. There he painted for Lord Exeter, whose payments to Verrio and his team run from 1687 to 1698, in six of the rooms in the Earl's new apartments and left unfinished the great staircase at the end of them. His work at Burghley is perhaps his finest achievement: gay and festive and a most attractive embellishment of a fine set of late seventeenth-century interiors. His work retains an Italian lightness of mood and tone, but the devices by which Verrio extended in the imagination the actual space defined by the walls and ceilings of the rooms are predominantly French in inspiration. Verrio, and to a greater extent Laguerre, were deeply influenced by the methods evolved by Le

Brun for the decoration of the Louvre, Vaux-le-Vicomte and, above all, Versailles: methods that in turn owed much to such Italian baroque painters as Pietro da Cortona and Romanelli. Verrio's two principal means of piercing a ceiling and its coving, to open a vista to the sky above, can be traced back to Le Brun. But an Italian prototype should perhaps be sought for his most ambitious device, in such rooms as the 'Heaven' Room at Burghley (Pl. 36), where the entire surface of the room is painted with an elaborate feigned architectural structure, through, above and around which Verrio's gods and goddesses pour and tumble. The actual construction of Verrio's feigned prosceniums and painted architecture is always convincing; his imitation gilt, bronze and stucco are thoroughly effective; and his assistants were competent painters of still-life and flowers. It is only in the actual figure compositions that Verrio's draughtsmanship proves to be lamentably inadequate for the lavish and ambitious inventions of which he was so prodigal.

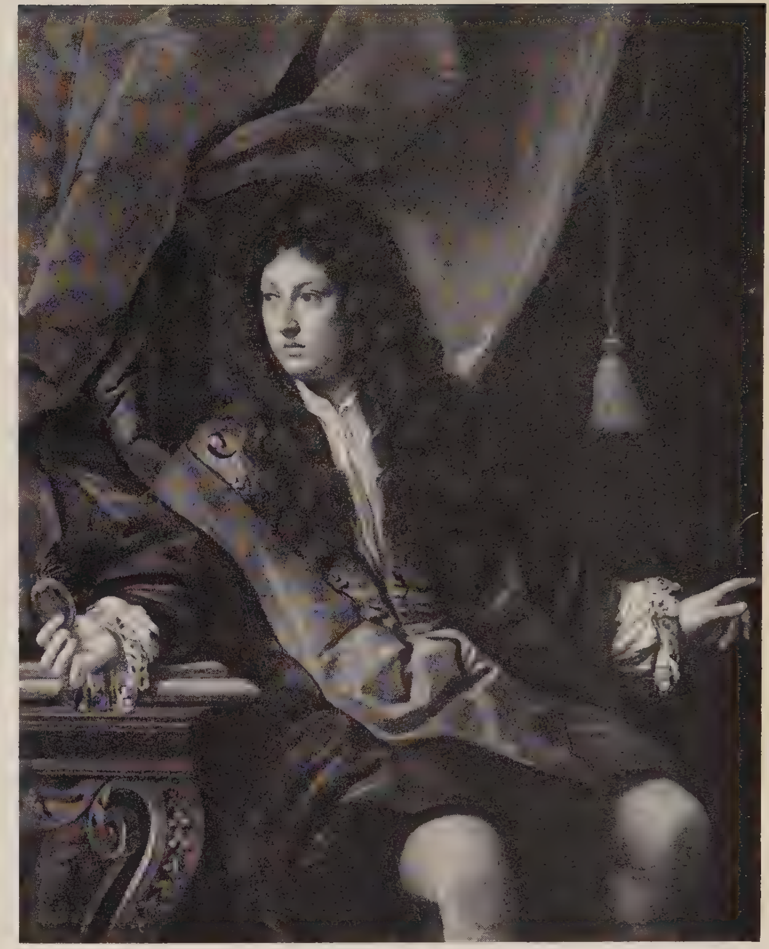
Louis Laguerre, who probably came to England in 1684, had been apprenticed to Le Brun and much of his work, such as the Ball Room at Burghley or the Grand Stairs at Petworth, has the dully academic competence of that school; but his finest work, which he executed for the Dukes of Devonshire and Marlborough, could hold its own with any of the painted decoration by Le Brun and his team at Versailles. In the Saloon at Blenheim (1719–20) Laguerre painted a grandiloquent, arid reinterpretation of Le Brun's designs for the walls and ceiling of Louis XIV's *Escalier des Ambassadeurs*. Between 1689 and 1694 he had been working for Devonshire at Chatsworth and his ceilings in four of his patron's five state rooms are closely integrated in the decoration of these nobly sumptuous interiors: with great ingenuity and carefully evolved illusionism Laguerre built up on the coving a feigned sculptural, architectural and painted support for the big painted framework, on the ceiling itself, within which his mythological scenes are enacted (Pl. 37A). Laguerre's work at Chatsworth is more restrained, but richer, more ingenious and more convincing in its illusionism than any of Verrio's decorative schemes.

Thornhill was closely influenced by his two continental predecessors: one of the earliest rooms that he painted, probably in 1706–7, was the Sabine Room at Chatsworth. But there is perhaps a lightness of touch and a new delicacy of form, even though he worked within the conventions that Verrio and Laguerre had brought to England. The rococo elements in Thornhill's style are possibly due to the Venetian painters who came to London in the early years of the eighteenth century. On a very different scale Thornhill showed himself to be a charming draughtsman who left behind him more drawings than any other painter working in England in our period: drawings that reveal, like his sketches in oil (Pl. 37B), a teeming invention and a light and facile touch. These are qualities that were inevitably lost when his ideas were eventually transferred on to a wall or ceiling: at Blenheim, for example, Wimpole or Easton Neston.

In 1708 the Earl of Manchester returned from his embassy in Venice and brought back with him two of the principal decorative painters of the city whose music and painting had so greatly charmed him: Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini and Marco Ricci. They were joined later by Marco's uncle, Sebastiano Ricci. These Venetian painters were attracted to the country by the prospect of such important commissions as the painting of the dome of St Paul's Cathedral, and they must have presented a formidable challenge to Laguerre and such other decorative painters as Gerard Lanscroon or Louis Cheron, whose work at Powis, Drayton or Boughton was faithful to the older Anglo-French tradition. Marco Ricci was mainly employed in painting landscape overdoors, in a rich and picturesque style, at such houses as Castle Howard, but his uncle and Pellegrini covered the walls and ceilings of their patrons' houses in a style which discarded the older decorative conventions, with their elaborate architectural basis, in favour of a much more dramatic presentation or of a bright, unhampered sunlit fluency. Sebastiano Ricci's design for the first Duke of Portland's chapel at Bulstrode show, in the words of George Vertue 'a Noble free invention, great force of lights and shade. with variety & freedom. in the



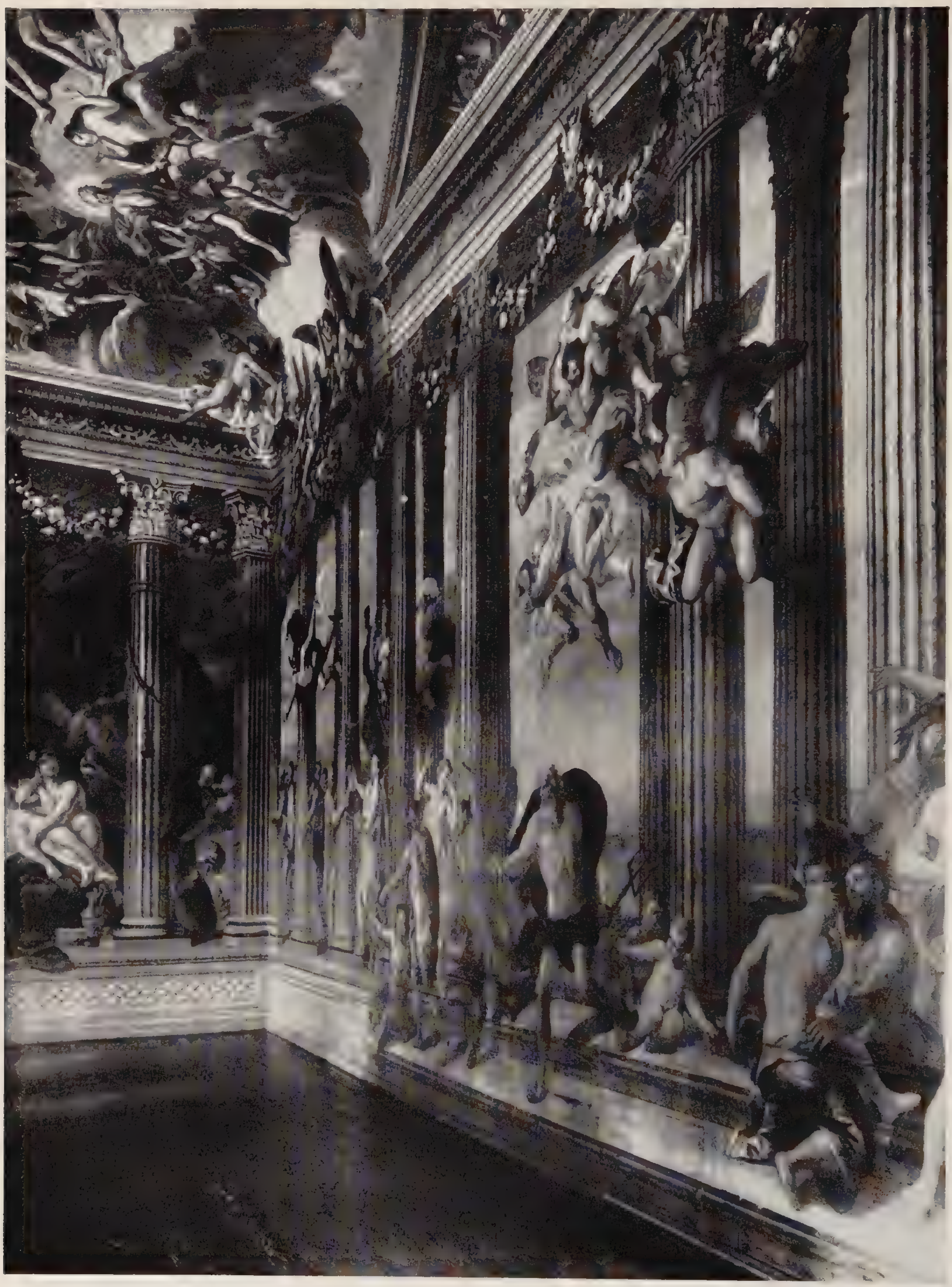
(A) MICHAEL DAHL. Unknown Boy.
Drumlanrig Castle. (Canvas 50" × 39½").



(B) CARLO MARATTI. Sir Thomas Isham (1677).
Lamport Hall. (Canvas 58" × 47½").

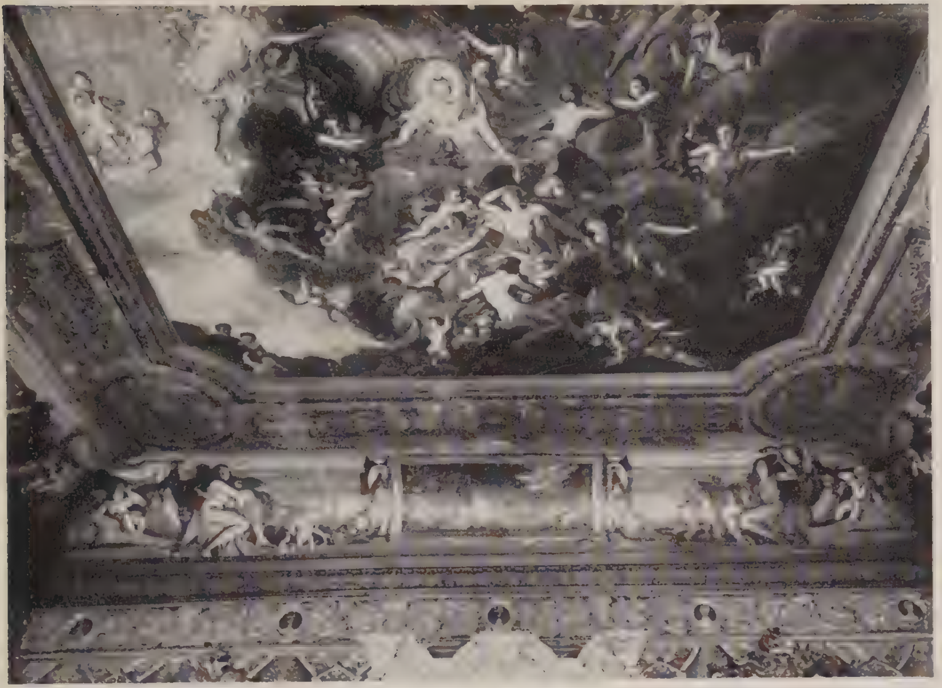
PLATE 35

To face page 60

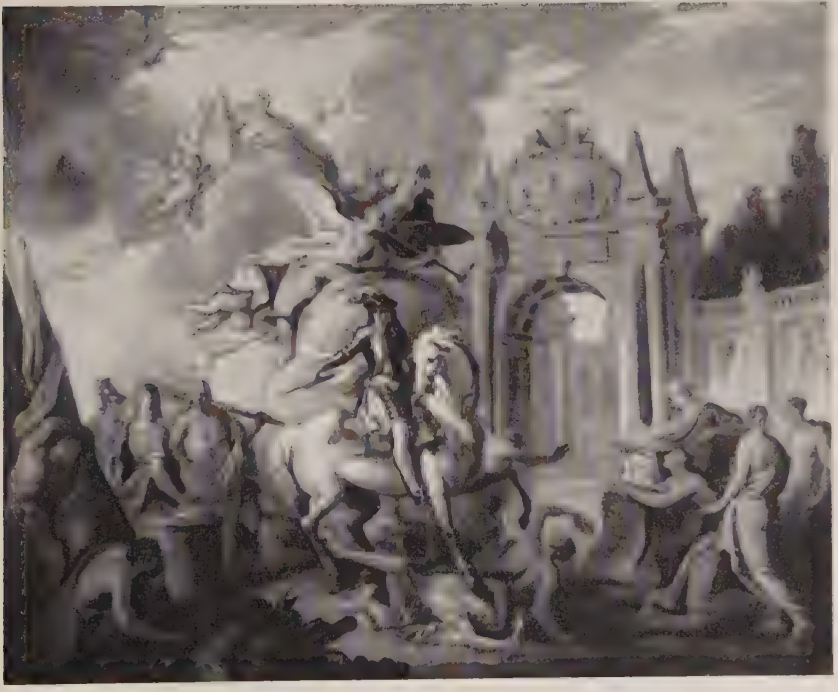


Antonio Verrio. The 'Heaven' Room, Burghley House.
Country Life.

PLATE 36

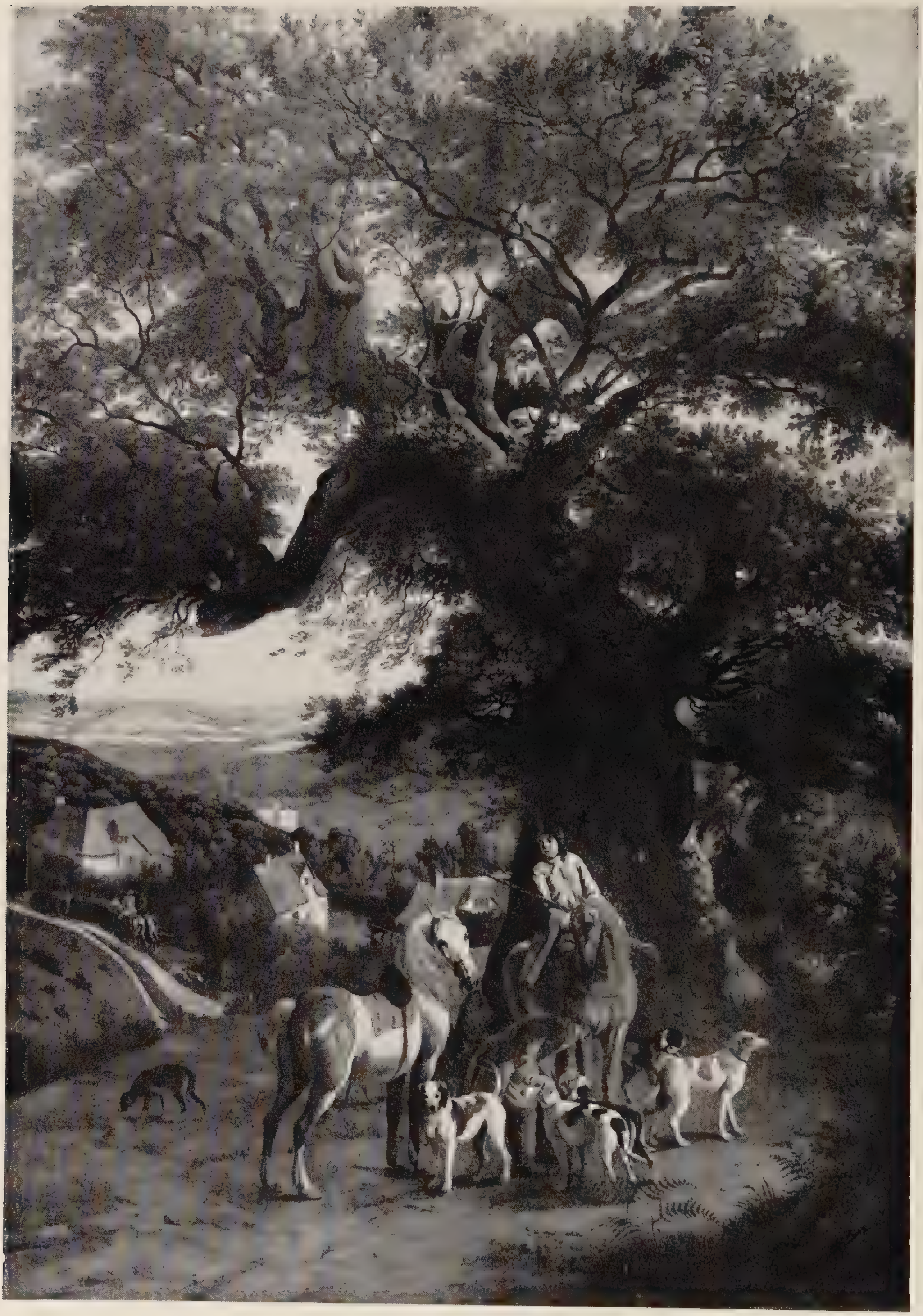


(A) Louis Laguerre. The State Bedroom. *The Trustees, the Chatsworth Settlement.*



(B) Sir James Thornhill. The Duke of Marlborough in Triumph.
Blenheim Palace. (Canvas 25″ × 30″).

PLATE 37



JAN SIBERECHTS. Huntsmen near Longleat (1684).
Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels. (Canvas 86″ × 51″).

PLATE 38

composition of the parts'.[6] Pellegrini's most important work was for the Whig noblemen, Manchester and the third Earl of Carlisle, in the houses that were being remodelled or built for them by Sir John Vanbrugh at Kimbolton and Castle Howard. His painting in the Chapel and Boudoir, and especially on the staircase and little landing at Kimbolton, or in the Hall and two of the burnt-out rooms at Castle Howard, has a wholly rococo quality and charm. Pellegrini and Sebastiano were in the forefront of the Venetian renaissance in which Tiepolo was to be the most prominent figure and which owed so much to a renewed appreciation of Veronese: there are characters on Pellegrini's walls at Castle Howard and Kimbolton who could have stepped down from the walls of the Villa Maser, and the presence of these painters in England sets this country within the range of one of the most important and seductive movements in eighteenth century painting.

The influences that brought about this most spectacular phase in the history of English decorative painting came entirely from the Catholic countries of Europe: from Paris, Rome, Naples or Venice. The full baroque style, in which architecture, painting and sculpture could proclaim the greatness of an absolute monarch such as Louis XIV or the unbending doctrines of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church, would obviously have excited the admiration and envy of Charles II and his openly Catholic brother, and at Windsor and Whitehall the secular and religious iconography which was produced for them by painters and sculptors would not have been out of place in Rome, Versailles, Vienna or Madrid. Lord Exeter had Jacobite leanings, but the other patrons of Verrio, Laguerre, Thornhill and the Venetians were loyal Protestants and the most lavish of them were to be found among the Whigs and the most convinced opponents of Louis XIV. The Dutch influence in this period, however, though it was less spectacular, was more deep seated and productive and perhaps more congenial. And under the later Stuarts it was primarily the visiting Dutch and Flemish painters who laid the foundations of the English achievements in the eighteenth century in the genres of landscape, marine and sporting painting.

These genres were considered by such strict classicists as Lord Shaftesbury to be less honourable than history painting and they were of course much less popular than the portrait. In the Stuart period, moreover, they were often used to serve a purely subsidiary purpose: landscapes of various kinds, sea-pieces, battle-pieces and still-lifes were frequently painted to be set into the panelling of a room, over a door or mantelpiece, and thus to fulfil a decorative function in the design of an interior. Examples of this practice can be seen at Drayton, Sudbury Hall and Ham House. At Sudbury George Vernon commissioned from Jan Griffier a number of curiously lit landscapes with ruins and odd piles of sculptural fragments. The second Earl of Peterborough set over the doors and fireplaces in his newly decorated rooms at Drayton a most interesting series of canvases: classical landscapes, probably by the Dutchman Hendrick Danckerts and including a view of the Tiber and the Castel Sant' Angelo; mountainous landscapes with picturesque torrents in the manner of Beerstraten; a very interesting set of topographical pieces that includes Greenwich and the Monument and, further afield, Pontefract, Edinburgh Castle, Holyroodhouse and the Bass Rock; two groups of birds by Francis Barlow; and a remarkable set of equestrian medieval knights in armour against classical backgrounds. The careful heraldry in these strange pieces indicates that they were inspired, like the series of ancestral portraits in the King's Dining Room at Drayton, by Peterborough's inordinate pride of race. The Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale commissioned in the 1670's a more familiar and accessible series of overdoors and overmantels for their new rooms at Ham House.

Danckerts was perhaps the first professional landscape painter to work for a considerable period in England: turning his hand with equal facility and moderate competence to straightforward topography or to classical landscapes (Pl. 40B) which combine a Claude-like nostalgia with recollections of the buildings and prospects that Danckerts had studied in Italy and which were often intended to be set into panelling. Such purely decorative landscapes, or more exciting scenes in the tradition of Jacob Ruysdael or Salvator Rosa, were painted for English houses by Adriaen van Diest, Gerard van Edema and Marco Ricci. Their canvases, and the use to which they were put, anticipate the pieces painted in the eighteenth century for houses such as Saltram, Harewood, Osterley or Bedford House by Zucchi, Zuccharelli or Gainsborough.

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[6] *Notebooks*, vol. iv, Walpole Soc., vol. xxiv (1936), pp. 47–8.

Landscape painting in the Stuart period was still almost synonymous with topography: Danckerts's topographical views of England or Italy were very popular with patrons from Charles II and the Duke of York to Samuel Pepys, and Wenceslaus Hollar, whose vast output of drawings and etchings throws such light on the interests of educated Englishmen of that time, devoted much of his energies to topographical prints and drawings (Pl. 30A). But the two most interesting topographical painters were the Dutchman Leonard Knyff and the Fleming Jan Siberechts. The patient and industrious Knyff drew an extensive series of bird's-eye views of English royal and country houses; they were engraved by Johannes Kip for the *Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne* (1707–8) and are an incomparable source for the architectural historian and the student of garden design. Knyff also painted on a much larger scale panoramas of English buildings in their surroundings: his particularly attractive view of Clandon (1708) provides a charmingly naïve anecdotal picture of the day-to-day life of a country house. Siberechts was a much more individual artist. His approach to the English scene and his treatment of country people, their dwellings and occupations remained fundamentally Flemish; his grander views of the English countryside and of houses, such as Longleat or Wollaton, have great charm, but are constructed in a standard topographical formula that was constantly exploited on the Continent and especially in France by Van der Meulen or the Martins in their views of the French king's houses and campaigns. In subjects where he was perhaps less controlled by a patron's need for an accurate record of the house and garden, Siberechts created a freer and more sensitive impression of the English countryside: the spacious views from Richmond Hill or along the Trent, or a glade on a hillside with a glimpse of a great house below (Pl. 38). And his water-colour drawings of the Peak District (1694 and 1699) are, with Francis Place's later drawings (for example those of Scarborough and Knaresborough), the most important premonitions of the English supremacy in this technique in the following century.

Kip, Knyff, Siberechts and a number of lesser and mainly anonymous painters enabled the landed classes to secure drawn, painted or engraved records of their houses and estates. At Badminton a particularly interesting set of views survive of the first Duke of Beaufort's house and of his other possessions and castles: a series that must have given special pleasure to so great a territorial magnate and to his Duchess, who later, in her widowhood, secured Knyff's services in showing 'what a noble place my deare Lord has left'. In a tentative manner these canvases at Badminton foreshadow the more sophisticated views of English castles and country houses by Canaletto, Richard Wilson or Marlow. The liveliest picture of social life in an English seventeenth century village was provided by Gillis van Tilborch's fascinating *Tichborne Dole* (1670), where the villagers await the distribution of the hereditary charity at the hands of Sir Henry Tichborne, who stands surrounded by his family, retainers and servants in front of his Tudor house (Pl. 39B).

When Celia Fiennes visited Sir Edward Blackett's mansion at Newby in 1697, she saw in the pantry 'a picture of the dimensions of a large ox that was fed in these grounds'. The owners of country estates were becoming increasingly desirous of portraits of their animals as well as of their houses and themselves, and the origins of the sporting piece, a peculiarly English genre that was to achieve such rich expression in the eighteenth century, are to be found in the Stuart period. The only English painter to work for the Lauderdales at Ham (appropriately in the Volary) was Francis Barlow, the earliest professional English animal painter, who as early as 1652–53 was specializing in birds and fishes. He never acquired more than a limited sense of composition; his subjects and sense of narrative have an engaging provincialism; and he was technically a less distinguished painter of animals than Knyff or Abraham Hondius. But Barlow's creatures are most carefully and lovingly observed and his many drawings, some of them appropriately for an edition of Aesop's *Fables*, are the first sensitive studies by an Englishman of wild and domestic animals: his studies of hunting scenes, some of which were etched by Hollar for *Severall Wayes of Hunting, Hawking and Fishing* (1671), recapture something of the sylvan charm of the *Compleat Angler*. His drawings (Pl. 39A) also provided Barlow with the material for his large canvases, such as those he painted for Denzil Onslow's house at Pyrford. These, which hang today at Clandon, are a direct anticipation of the series of huge canvases of hunting scenes with which Wootton decorated the halls of Longleat, Althorp and Badminton in the time of George II.

John Wootton was a more accomplished painter and of much greater importance in the development of the English sporting piece. The greater part of his *œuvre* lies beyond our period, but he had already, by 1715, produced a number of life-size portraits of horses (at Clandon, Welbeck and Chatsworth) and one or two large, spacious and ambitious hunting scenes: Lady Henrietta Harley hawking and hunting and Lord Conway drawn up with his fellow-huntsmen on a vast canvas (1714) at Ragley. The most important precursors of these canvases are the huge portraits of horses that were painted, traditionally by Abraham van Diepenbeeck, for that great horseman the Duke of Newcastle and survive at Welbeck. Wootton's more mature sporting pieces are on a lesser scale and his smaller pictures, which are of such value as documents in a great age of horse-breeding, established conventions which survived to the days of Stubbs, Ben Marshall and beyond. Peter Tillemans, as a topographical and sporting painter, had a lighter and more rococo touch (Pl. 40A), but his compositions are less closely integrated than Wootton's.

It was not until comparatively late in his career, paradoxically, that Wootton seems to have come under the influence of Gaspar Poussin, Claude or Jan Wyck. Jan Wyck, who is recorded in London in 1674 and worked at Ham, painted battle-pieces in the manner of Wouwermans and a number of hunting scenes in a fluent style which directly foreshadows Wootton's (Pl. 40C). He also specialized in little equestrian portraits (a genre which had been neglected since the time of Van Dyck) which were of no less significance for his successors. His little portrait of Monmouth seems to have been accompanied by a set of canvases depicting moments in the Duke's career as a soldier in Scotland and the Low Countries (there are similar canvases by Wyck at Drayton). And, probably in 1672, there arrived in this country from Holland the two most distinguished naval painters of the age: Willem van de Velde, father and son. They were given a warm welcome by the King and his brother and for nearly thirty years worked in partnership to provide the royal brothers and naval commanders with records of their ships and the engagements in which they had taken part: the dining-room at Ombersley Court, for example, is hung with the pictures of the Earl of Orford's flagship and actions which the Van de Veldes painted for his house in Cambridgeshire. These dramatic compositions and their spacious 'calms' (the younger man painted examples of both moods for the Lauderdales soon after his arrival in London) were of profound importance for such painters as Samuel Scott in the succeeding period. The Van de Veldes were indeed the fathers of marine painting in this country.

The importance to English painting of the Dutch influence in the lesser genres can hardly be over-estimated. Dutch pictures had been admired in England since at least the time of Charles I, who had owned works by Rembrandt, and in the later Stuart period certain types of Dutch painting were gaining a popularity which they have never lost: the microscopic realism and fine finish of the Dutch flower-piece and the exciting illusionism of perspective painting caused painters like Simon Verelst and Samuel van Hoogstraaten to be much admired. Flower painting was already a favourite pastime for ladies and was developed professionally as a highly decorative genre, admirably suited for overdoors, by the prolific Frenchman Jean Baptiste Monnoyer, who worked almost exclusively for the first Duke of Montagu, and by the Hungarian Jakob Bogdani. Bogdani also specialized in animal and bird painting in the style of Hondecoeter: his fascinating record of the aviary formed in Windsor Park by Admiral George Churchill was bought by Queen Anne after the Admiral's death in 1710 and is now at Kew.

Although they were anathema to Lord Shaftesbury there is no doubt that 'waggish Collectors, and the lower sort of *Virtuosi*' delighted in the subject-matter of pictures by Brouwer, Adriaen van Ostade or Jan Steen. The Dutch painter Egbert van Heemskerck worked with success in this vein at the end of the century: there is an instructive set of pieces by him at Birdsall which were probably painted for Sir Thomas Willoughby. His satirical pieces were to influence Hogarth's choice of subject-matter. In a different social context, hesitant efforts were being made at the conversation piece, a genre which Hogarth was to develop and which was to be so popular in the eighteenth century, by painters in the seventeenth century such as Joan Carlile and Stephen Browne.

'In growing and enlarging times, Arts are commonly drowned in Action.' [7] The Stuart period was this country's 'growing and enlarging time' and the political, economic, social and religious upheavals of the age inevitably affected the development of the arts. For the fundamental issue is this: the ability of a country where religious and national prejudices were so strong, to realize and to absorb influences from the Continent. The enthusiasm and cosmopolitan tastes of Charles I attracted to this country the greatest of all baroque painters and, in prompting Van Dyck's decision to work here for a number of years, entirely altered the development of the English portrait by laying before English patrons new and infinitely sophisticated idioms which were to be a continuing source of inspiration. The arts of the Caroline Court evoked the hostility of reactionary and more simply Protestant minds, but by the end of the century, although there were iconoclastic outbreaks in 1688, increasing religious toleration and first-hand acquaintance with the arts of the Continent had done much to break down these older prejudices: Whig and Tory patrons could employ Catholic artists on Catholic subjects with no twinge to their consciences.

In English taste and in English painting the seventeenth century is a watershed. By 1700 engravings had brought a knowledge of the arts to circles far wider than those to which they were accessible in 1603. The lack of the regular and organized academic training, through which young Continental painters could pass, gave even to the finest native painting, the portraits of Cooper and Dobson, a freshness and independence and something of the amateur's unspoilt vision. Much English painting is exceedingly provincial and the native painter was often eclipsed by his more accomplished foreign rival: Greenhill or Riley could never achieve the facility of conception and execution of Lely, Wissing or Kneller, and only Thornhill had the experience to equal Verrio or Laguerre. But it was the foreign portrait painters, Mytens, Lely, Kneller, the foreign artists in the lesser genres, and above all Van Dyck, who brought to England continental experience and technical methods of a high order and who thus divide the archaisms of the Jacobean age from the achievements of Hogarth, Wilson, Reynolds, Gainsborough or Stubbs: achievements which were made possible by their predecessors under the Stuarts and by a growing realization that English painting could only thrive if patrons and artists alike were prepared to open their minds to the inspiration of European art.

SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY

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[7] Sir Henry Wotton, preface to *Elements of Architecture* (1624).

Sculpture

Sculpture

MARGARET WHINNEY

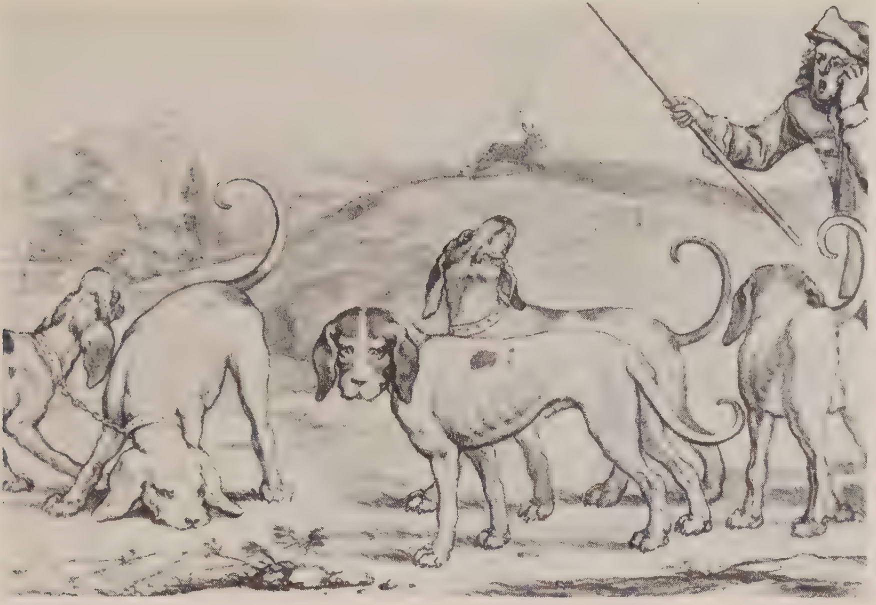
English sculpture in the Stuart period, though great in quantity, is much less distinguished in quality than either architecture or painting. Moreover, its scope is limited very largely to tombs. The rich figure decoration of saints and angels of seventeenth century continental churches was not approved in England and, until late in the century, there is relatively little external sculpture on secular buildings. Tomb sculpture had, however, a special appeal to Englishmen, for, like the painted portrait, it fostered the interest in the individual and the emphasis on the family. All classes of men, great landowners, scholars and merchants, ordered tombs either in their wills or before their death; they are to be found in countless country churches and they range from sumptuous architectural structures with many figures, through the simpler types with only an effigy of the owner, to wall tablets (often beautiful in design) which record a burial near by. From them a wonderfully clear picture can be obtained of changes in taste throughout the century.

At the beginning of the century tomb sculpture was largely in the hands of foreign craftsmen, Dutch and Flemish, most of whom had come to England as refugees during the sixteenth century Wars of Religion. They established workshops (generally in Southwark on the south bank of the Thames) which often lasted for two or three generations. Tombs made there were sent all over England. The work is usually competent, and the designs, broadly speaking, fall into two groups, one showing the effigy of the patron and his wife lying on their backs, with their hands joined in prayer, beneath a simple architectural canopy, the other having kneeling figures. The tomb of Sir Roger Aston at Cranford, Middlesex (d. 1612), by William Cure (Pl. 41A), rich in coloured alabaster, is only one of a great number of the second type. Both patterns were to last down to the middle of the century, but gradually the handling and often the materials change. Nicholas Stone (1583–1647), about whom we know a great deal – his Note Book and Account Book have survived and show the daily working of his studio – was trained in one of the foreign workshops and later in Holland, but in 1619 he was made Master Mason at the Banqueting House at Whitehall, and so came into close contact with Inigo Jones. His tomb of Thomas, Lord Knyvett (Pl. 41B), at Stanwell, Middlesex, for which he was paid £215 in 1623, is quieter in colour and more refined in its handling of architectural detail than the Aston tomb, and the modelling of the figures is more sensitive and gracious. Stone had an enormous practice and made tombs of many different types. His best work has fine quality, but he employed many assistants and the 'workshop pieces' are often a little dull. His association with the Court brought him into touch with the new Italian taste and also aroused his interest in the antique sculpture bought by Charles I. His monument to Francis Holles (d. 1622) in Westminster Abbey, the first to show an Englishman as a Roman hero, is modelled on Michelangelo's tomb of Guiliano de' Medici and several of his later works show figures with soft, clinging draperies imitating the antique.

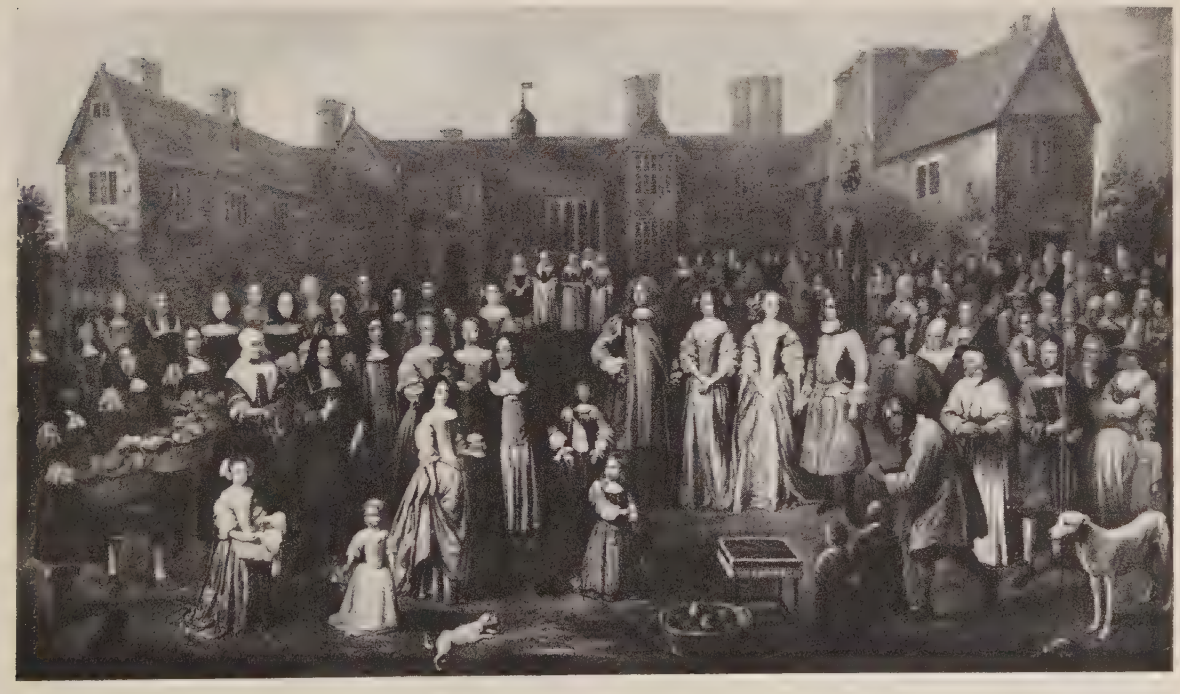
Other contemporary sculptors, however, were little influenced by new ideas. Edward Marshall (1598–1675), who, like Nicholas Stone, was also a mason and became Master of the Masons' Company in 1650, made the lovely quiet figure of Elizabeth, Lady Culpeper (d. 1638) at Hollingbourne, Kent (Pl. 43A), following the traditional pattern, though since she lies easily with one hand on her breast there is a greater naturalism and intimacy than in the effigies of the earlier generation, whose hands are joined in prayer. Maximilian Colt, who came from Arras, and whose real name was Poultrain, was made Master Sculptor to the Crown by James I and executed for him the tomb of Queen Elizabeth I in Westminster Abbey. His most original work, however, is the tomb of the first Earl of Salisbury at Hatfield, Hertfordshire (Pl. 43B), made in 1614. This with the effigy on a black-marble bier supported on the shoulders of four Virtues, and a skeleton beneath, follows a foreign pattern which never became popular in England, though the simple contrast of black-and-white marble, of which this is probably the first example, was to be very widely adopted. Colt's Virtues are static figures heavily and roundly modelled in a manner that could be paralleled in France almost a hundred years earlier. It is not, therefore, entirely surprising that though Colt remained Master Sculptor throughout the reign of Charles I, his style was evidently regarded as too conservative to please the more sophisticated taste of the Court, and he appears to have been employed mainly on minor decorative work.

Charles I had been fortunate in attracting to his Court one painter, Van Dyck, of European reputation. Rubens also worked for him, and though Inigo Jones is hardly an artist of equal rank, he was at least a man of great gifts and wide knowledge. The King was less lucky in the sculptors he employed. Hubert le Sueur, a Frenchman who first appears in England in 1625, had been in contact with distinguished Italian artists in France, but thought he had learnt something of their methods, his own work is strangely dull. He is, however, of some importance in the history of English sculpture, for he brought new forms and new techniques. From about 1520 until the time of Le Sueur's arrival nearly all sculpture in England had been in alabaster or stone (though very occasionally marble was used). Le Sueur was a skilled worker in bronze; indeed he is far more accomplished as a craftsman than as a designer. His statue of the third Earl of Pembroke, now in the Schools Quadrangle at Oxford (Pl. 42A) is pompous in pose and empty in the modelling of the head, but the detailed treatment of the armour is finely done. The same insensitive modelling appears in his best-known work, the statue of Charles I on horseback at Charing Cross. Le Sueur was also responsible for the development of the portrait bust as part of the furnishing of a house. The English mason-sculptors, Nicholas Stone and Edward Marshall, had made monuments which showed a bust generally in a roundel, with the shoulders cut by the frame. Stone's monument of 1615 to Sir Thomas Bodley in Merton College Chapel, Oxford, is a good example of a fairly common type. Le Sueur also made monuments with busts (for instance, the Lady Cottington in Westminster Abbey), but the form is different, for his busts stand on a small pedestal, and are therefore independent works of art. And he made too a number of busts which had no connexion with monuments. The Charles I in antique armour, now at Stourhead (Pl. 44A), stood in the Chair Room at Whitehall Palace; his bust of Archbishop Laud belongs to St John's College, Oxford. All his work has the same smooth modelling of the features, giving almost no feeling of the texture of the skin or of the precise form of the bony structure beneath it; the pose is always stiff and frontal, lacking vitality. Both the other foreign sculptors who worked for Charles I, Francesco Fanelli (who made the Diana Fountain in Bushey Park) and François Dieussart, were better artists, but neither was anywhere near the first rank, and the one major piece of sculpture connected with the King, his bust made by Bernini in Rome in 1636, perished in the fire at Whitehall in 1698.

The mason-sculptors of the first half of the century had many of them established workshops which passed to their sons or nephews, and much sound if rather uninspired work was done. After

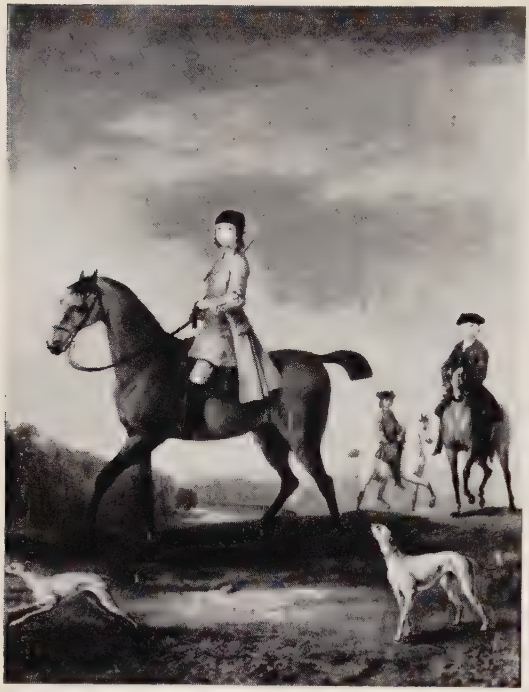


(A) FRANCIS BARLOW. Southern-Mouthed Hounds.
British Museum. (Pen and watercolour $5\frac{5}{8}'' \times 8''$).

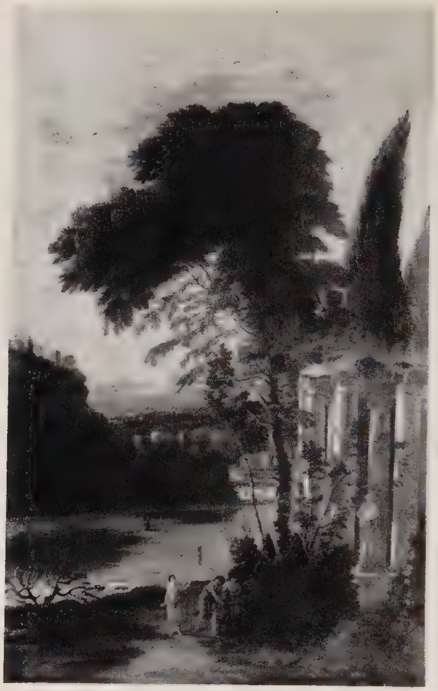


(B) GILLIS VAN TILBORCH. The Tichborne Dole (1670).
Tichborne House. (Canvas $46'' \times 81\frac{1}{2}''$).

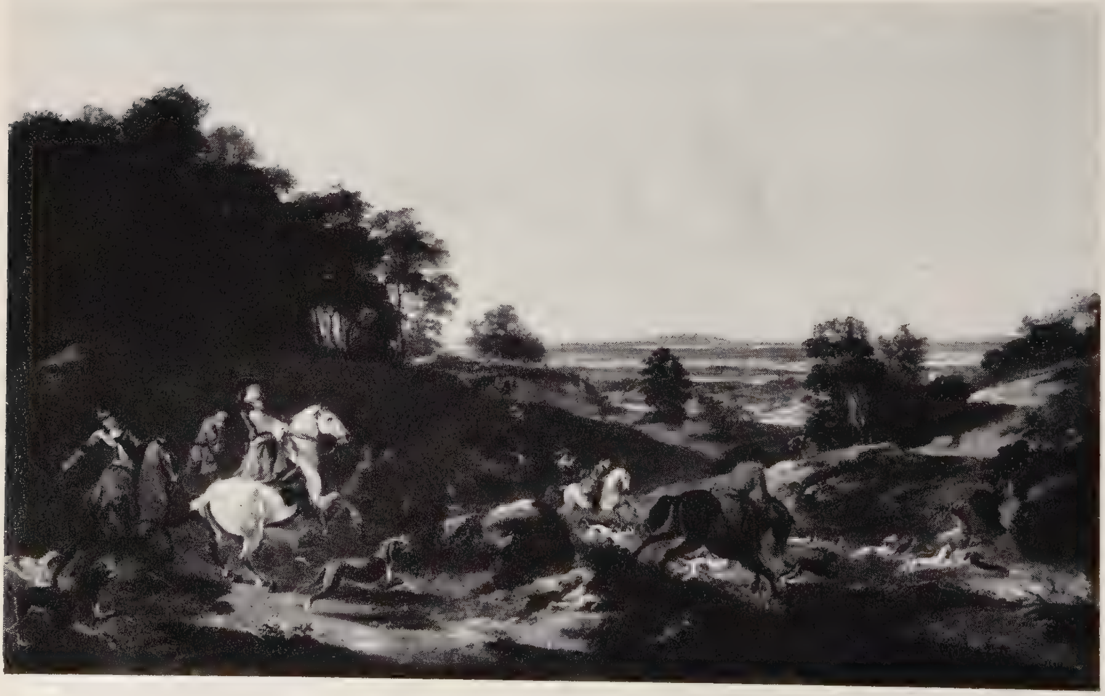
PLATE 39



(A) PETER TILLEMANS. John, 2nd Earl of Ashburnham. *Courtesy the Rev. John Bickersteth.* *(Canvas 51¼″ × 38¾″).*

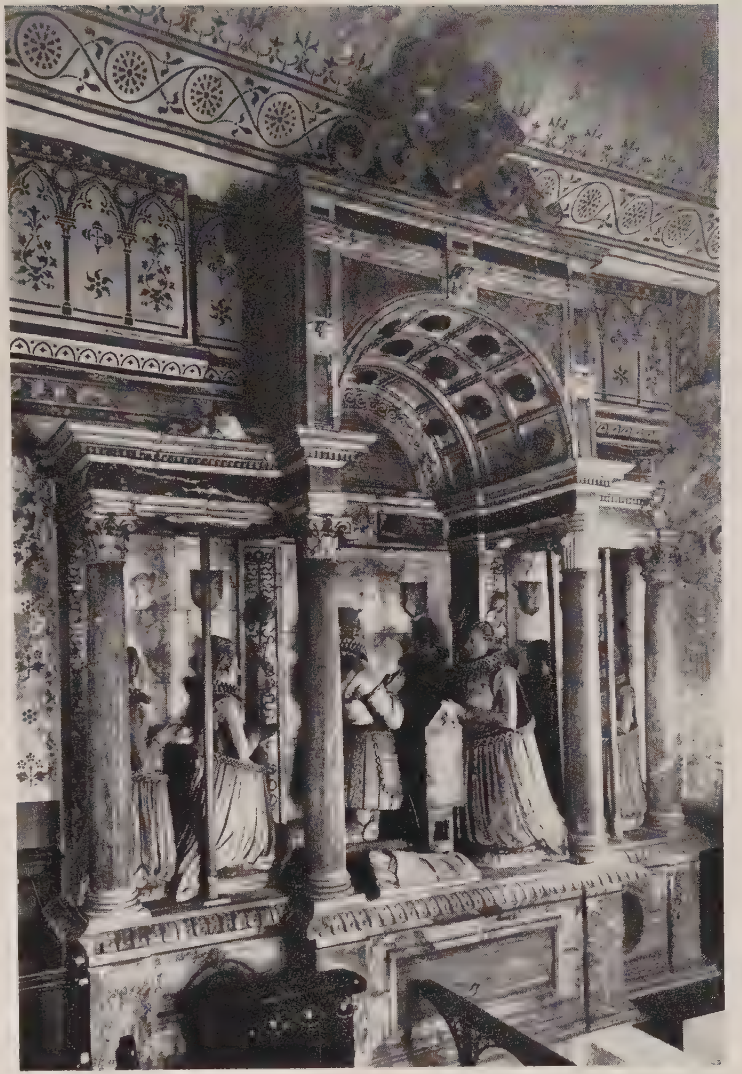


(B) HENDRICK DANCKERTS.
Classical Landscape (167–).
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle. Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen.
(Canvas 75¼″ × 46½″).

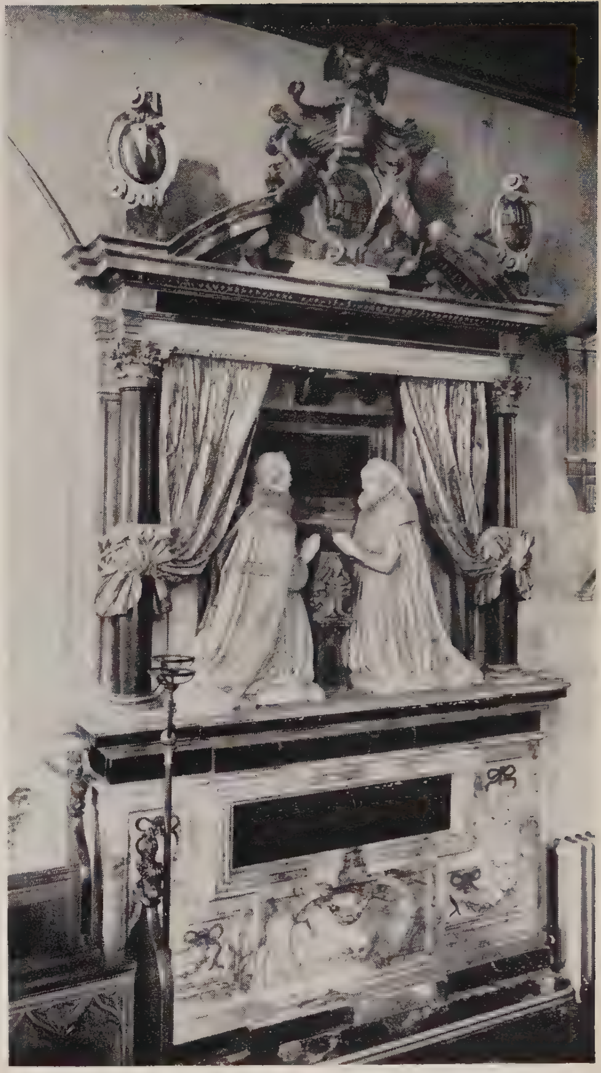


(C) JAN WYCK. The Stag Hunt.
Thomas Agnew and Sons Ltd. (Canvas 42½″ × 67½″).

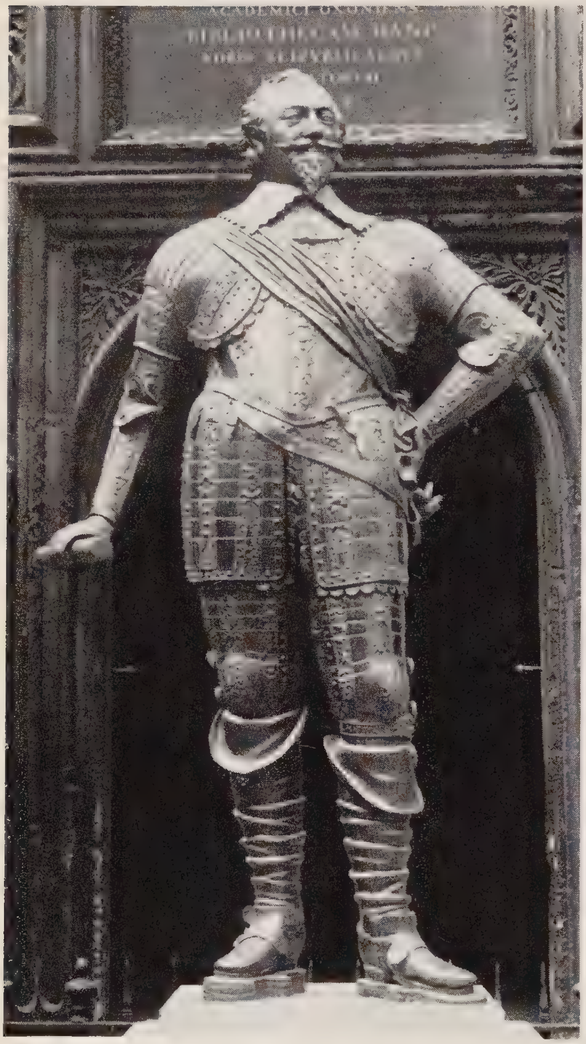
PLATE 40



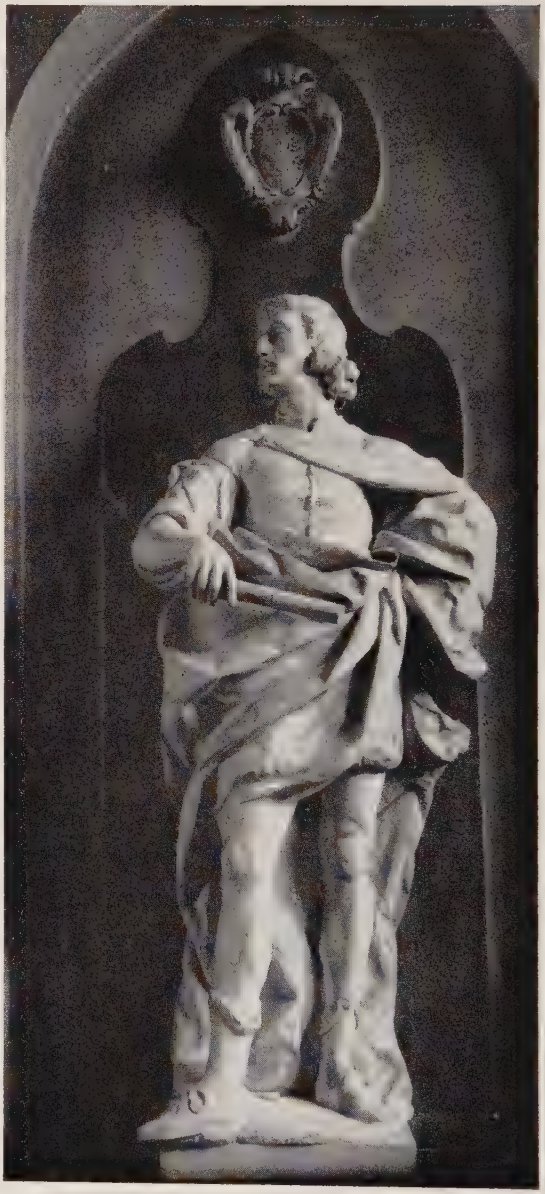
(A) William Cure. Tomb of Sir Roger Aston, died 1612, at Cranford, Middlesex. Southwark work, rich in colour, but coarse in handling. *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.*



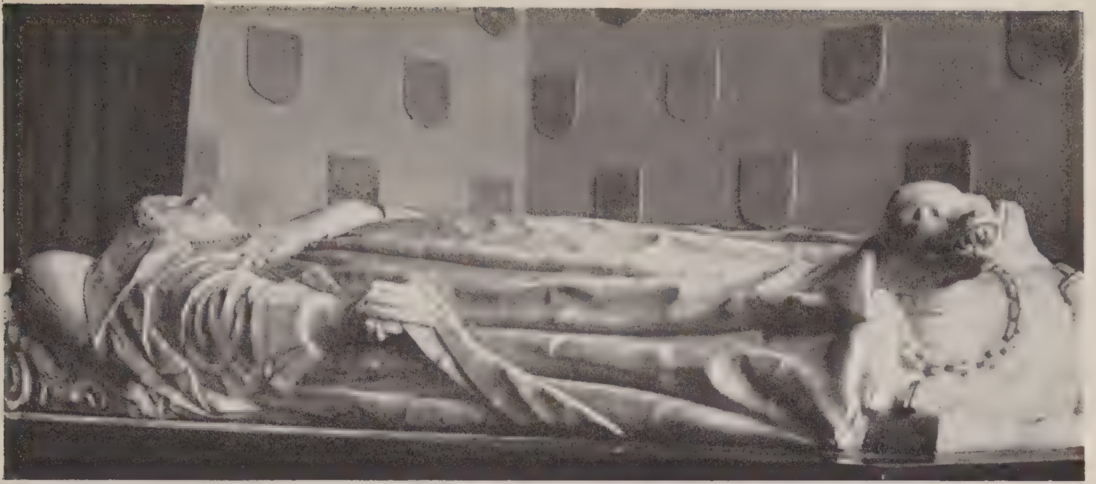
(B) Nicholas Stone. Tomb of Thomas, Lord Knyvett, 1623, at Stanwell, Middlesex. More refined in detail and cutting. *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.*



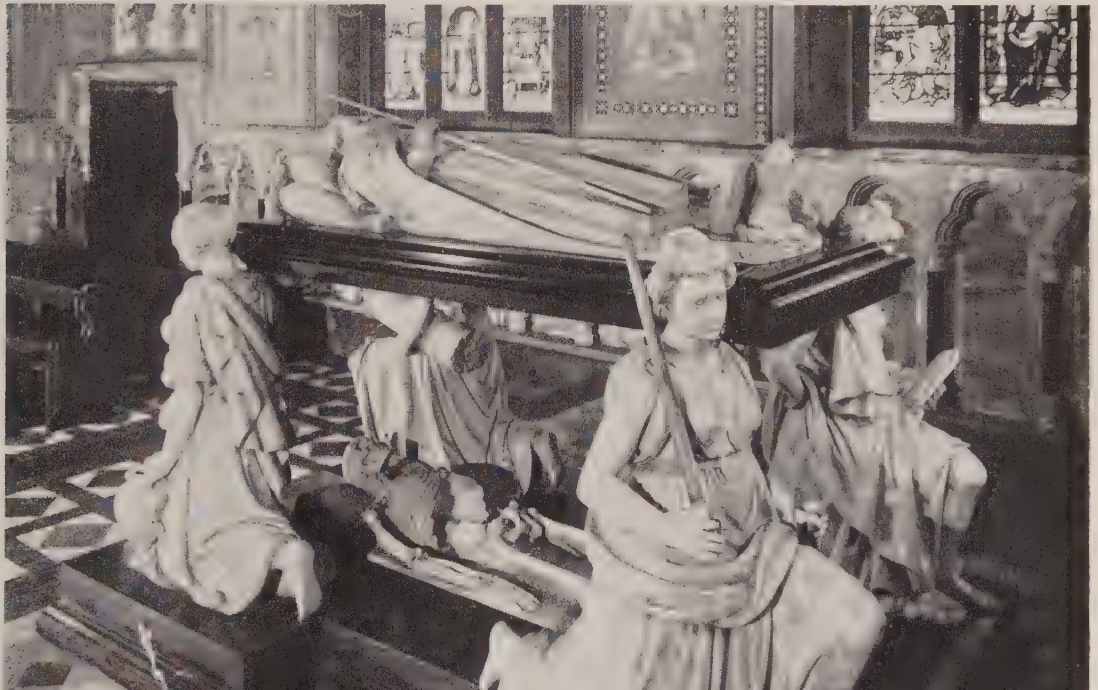
(A) Hubert Le Sueur. William, 3rd Earl of Pembroke, *c.* 1629, Schools Quadrangle, Oxford. Continental influence in the use of bronze.
Dr Pamela Tudor-Craig.



(B) John Bushnell. Tomb of Lord Mordaunt, died 1675, at Fulham Parish Church, London. A lively baroque design. *Courtauld Institute of Art.*

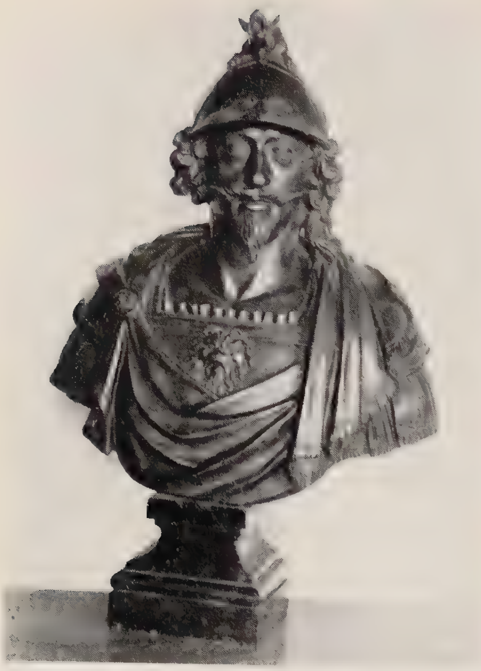


(A) Edward Marshall. Tomb of Elizabeth, Lady Culpeper, died 1638, at Hollingbourne, Kent. A traditional recumbent effigy. *Dr Margaret Whinney.*

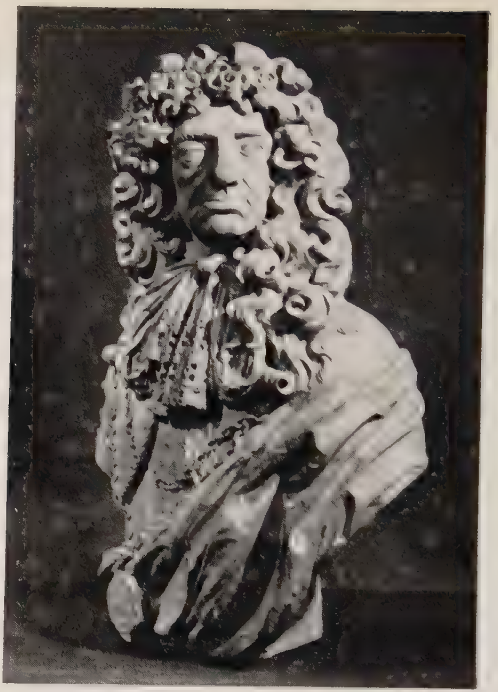


(B) Maximilian Colt. Tomb of Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury, 1612, at Hatfield, Herts. A foreign type in black and white marble. *Photo Precision Ltd.*

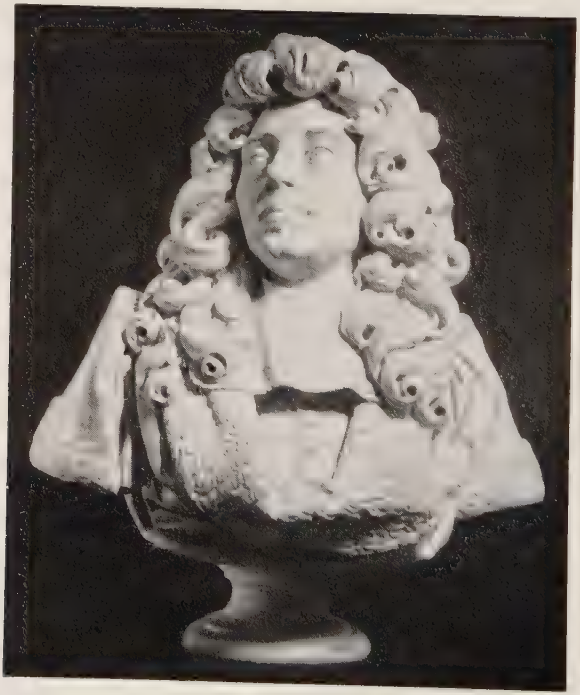
PLATE 43



(A) Hubert Le Sueur. Charles I, at Stourhead, Wilts. Smooth and empty in modelling.
The National Trust and A. C. Cooper.

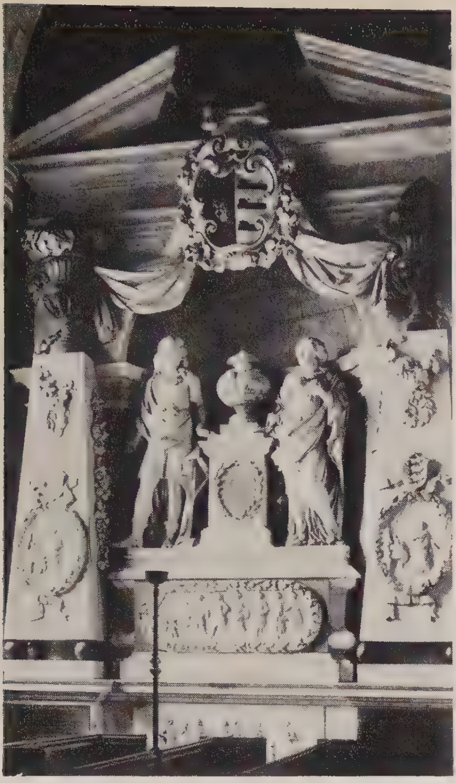


(B) John Bushnell. Charles II. Terracotta, baroque in design and handling.
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

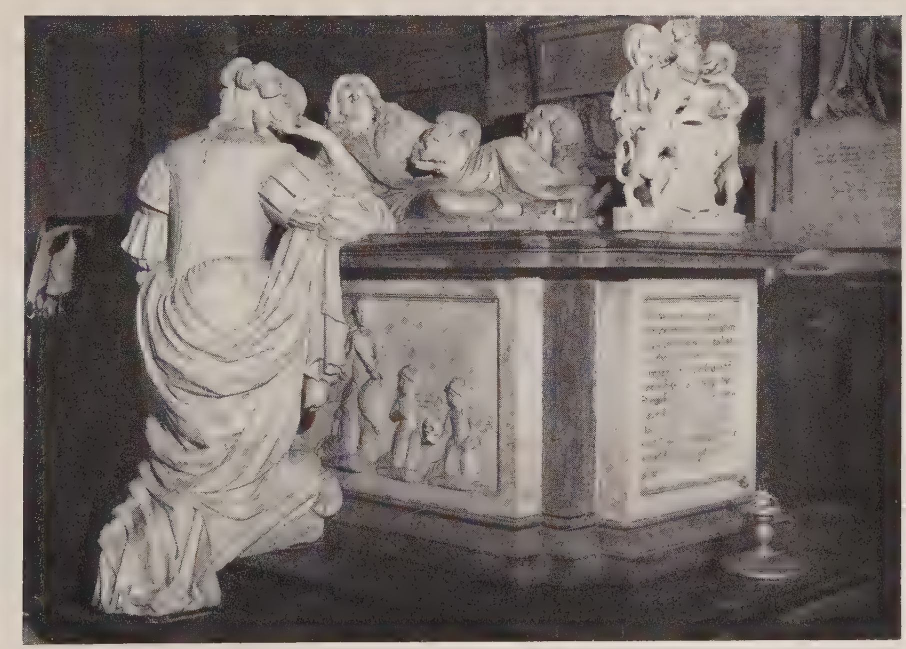


(C) Edward Pierce. Thomas Evans, 1688. Vigorous in pose and modelling. *The Painters' Company.*

PLATE 44

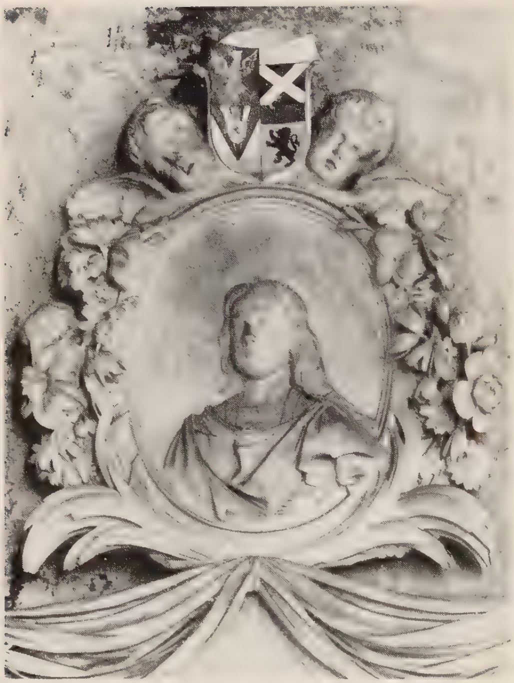


(A) Grinling Gibbons. Tomb of Viscount Campden, 1686, at Exton, Rutland. Figures in classical dress. *The Rev. H. V. P. Nunn.*

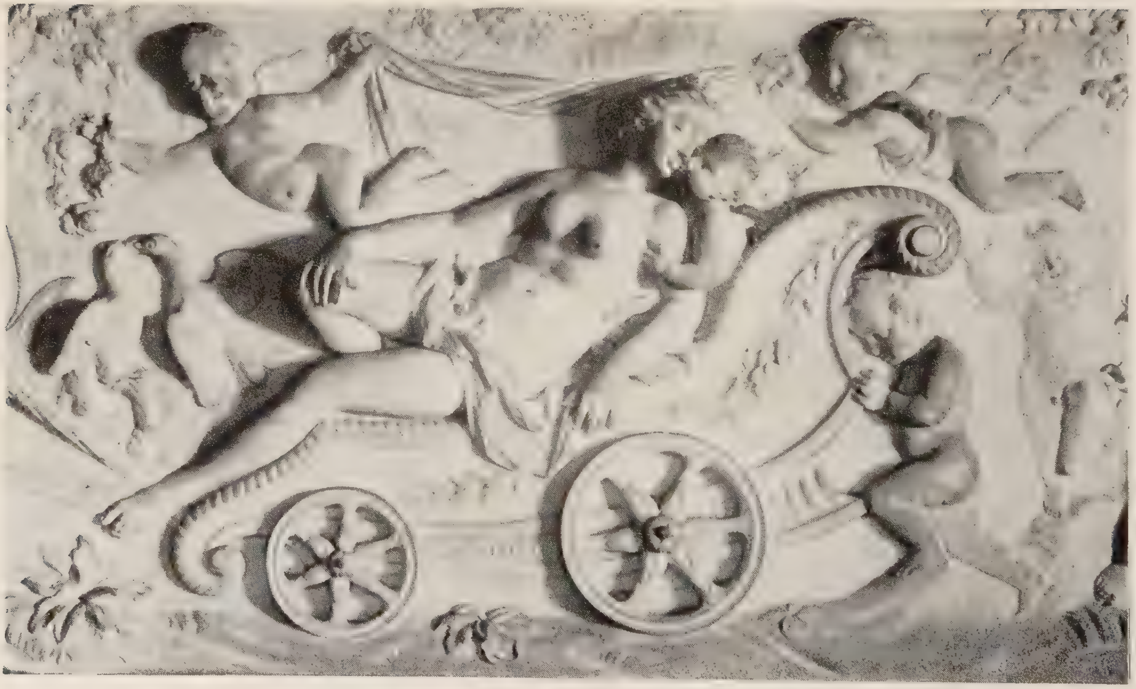


(B) Caius Gabriel Cibber. The Sackville tomb, 1677, at Withyham, Sussex. A baroque transformation of a traditional type. *National Buildings Record.*

PLATE 45



(A) GRINLING GIBBONS. Detail of monument to Robert Cotton, 1697, Conington, Cambridge. Beautiful, decorative work. *Edward Leigh.*



(B) JOHN NOST. The Car of Venus, 1700, detail of overmantel in the Cartoon Gallery, Hampton Court Palace. An elegant late baroque design. *The Warburg Institute.*

PLATE 46

the Restoration, however, a new type of man appears, who describes himself as a 'statuary' rather than a carver, and who had generally travelled. The first, and in some ways the most important, of these was John Bushnell (*c.* 1630–1701). Trained at first in an English workshop, he was forced because of domestic trouble to flee to the Continent. Several years were spent in Italy before his return in the late 1660's. During this time he saw, and clearly admired, Roman baroque sculpture with its drama and movement, its deeply undercut draperies, its brilliant exploitation of expression and of materials. His first works, the Stuart kings and a queen still on Temple Bar, or the statues of Charles I and Charles II from the Royal Exchange, now in the Old Bailey, make a valiant, though not completely successful attempt to reproduce the Italian manner. His monument to Lord Mordaunt (d. 1675) in All Saints, Fulham, (Pl. 42B) is perhaps his finest work. It is new in its use of a lively standing figure, and in its rejection both of an architectural frame and of all suggestion of Christian piety. Mordaunt is vigorous and alert, in white marble against the curved black background, his gauntlets and coronet on pedestals at the sides. The dramatic turning pose, the sweep of the cloak wrapped round the figure and deeply undercut, all proclaim its baroque intention. A comparison of this figure with Le Sueur's Pembroke (Pl. 42A) reveals at once the change of style. Bushnell's first works in or near London must have been a revelation to many English craftsmen; it is sad that he never fulfilled his early promise. As early as 1675 in the Ashburnham tomb at Ashburnham in Sussex, he is already showing an inability to convey the structure of the body; his work becomes progressively weaker, his mind deteriorated, commissions were left unfinished, and he died insane. He is also recorded as a maker of busts, and there is good reason to believe that the portrait of Charles II, of which the finished marble is at Melton Constable, Norfolk, and the preliminary terra-cotta (Pl. 44B) in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, is his. The twist of the head, the rich and lively treatment of the curled wig and lace cravat, are again clear evidence of a knowledge of baroque art, and stress the contrast with the more conservative work done for Charles I (Pl. 44A).

Busts were evidently becoming more common, and not only among the great, for Pepys records how, on the 10th February, 1669, he had a life-mask taken, and the bust of his wife on her monument in St Olave's, Hart Street, is almost certainly by John Bushnell. Not a large number, apart from monuments, has survived, but among the finest are the few made by Edward Pierce, who was one of the Master Masons of St Paul's Cathedral. His bust of Sir Christopher Wren in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, of 1673 is baroque in form, broad across the shoulders, with a loop of drapery falling over the chest, though the head is still frontal. The Thomas Evans (Pl. 44C) of 1688, belonging to the Painter-Stainers' Company, London, is more vigorous in pose, with the head slightly turned and lifted. It is broadly and fully modelled, and indeed in its description of the features and its perception of the planes of the face, is superior to the Bushnell. Many monuments scattered up and down the country have good busts, but few are signed. Some, such as the Withers monument at Arkesden, Essex, come close to Edward Pierce; others may perhaps be from the workshop of William and Edward Stanton, whose recorded works reveal a very large practice.

A rather different continental tradition is represented by the sculpture of Caius Gabriel Cibber (1630–1700) and Grinling Gibbons (1648–1721) for they are far less Berninesque than Bushnell or Pierce. Both use modified baroque types and draperies, but their figures (especially their female figures) are often heavily built with heads following the classical tradition. It seems probable that both were influenced by the work of the studio of Artus Quellin in Amsterdam, and it should perhaps be recalled that there is much Dutch influence to be found in England in other arts in the reign of Charles II. Cibber, a Dane by birth, had visited Italy, but almost his whole working life was spent in England, which he reached during the Commonwealth, and is first recorded as foreman in the workshop of John Stone, Nicholas Stone's son. He is known to have been in Holland with Stone, who had Dutch relations. His most ambitious work is the relief on the Monument, in London, an allegorical piece showing Charles II succouring the City after the Great Fire of 1666, but his most appealing is certainly the Sackville Monument (1677) at Withyham, Sussex (Pl. 45B). This is, in one way, a transformation of the old type of monument with kneeling figures, but instead of men and women kneeling in prayer, the parents are now shown on either side of a free-standing tomb, mourning their young son, who reclines between them. The spectator is inevitably drawn to join in their grief, and to this extent the conception is baroque; but there is none of the rhetoric of Bushnell's work, and the smoothly cut rounded figures are very Dutch in handling. Cibber was also responsible for garden figures at Belvoir and Chatsworth (a few garden figures, but not many, are known to have been made earlier in the century), and in the latter house he played his part in the ensemble of the chapel (Pl. 13A). The statues above the altar of Faith and Justice are his, but compared with the adoring saints, or angels alighting from rapid flight, of Italian baroque art, they are markedly static in pose. He had, before he went to Chatsworth in 1688, made a fountain showing Charles II above the Four Rivers of England for Soho Square (parts of which survive), and the figures of Raving and Melancholy Madness, with their unforgettable realism, which adorned the gate of Bedlam Hospital, and are now in the Guildhall Museum. His last work was architectural decoration for Sir Christopher Wren: the south pediment of St Paul's with the phœnix rising from ashes and the more important pediment on the garden front of Hampton Court Palace, showing the Triumph of Hercules, an allusion to William III's victories over Louis XIV. His career, therefore, gives clear enough evidence of the increased range of opportunity open to sculptors in the later years of the century, and though his work is seldom very distinguished, it never falls below a fair standard of competence.

Grinling Gibbons is a more controversial figure. His brilliance as a wood-carver has been indicated in the chapter on architecture and it was certainly here that his chief strength lay. But much sculpture of very varied quality was also produced by his studio. Some of it, for instance, the bronze statue of James II now outside the National Gallery, is very fine; other figures, for instance the Duke of Somerset in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, are almost grotesque in their clumsiness. Judging from an account written by George Vertue at the time of Gibbons' death, it was generally recognized by his contemporaries that he had no great ability in bronze or marble, and that most of such work was carried out by assistants. The most important of these was Arnold Quellin, the son of the sculptor at Amsterdam, who worked with Gibbons from about 1681 until his early death in 1686. Most of the best large-scale figure sculpture which came from Gibbons' studio dates from these years, and it may be that such quality as it has was due to Quellin, who in his monument to Thomas Thynne in Westminster Abbey proves that he had considerable ability as a designer. The tomb of Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden (Pl. 45A), erected in 1686 at Exton in Rutland, is the most lavish example of the work of these years. Like many tombs of the period, there is no direct Christian sentiment; Lord Campden and his wife, both in classical dress, stand on either side of an urn (always an emblem of mortality), while above is a tent-like drapery. The children, instead of kneeling below or beside their parent, as in the tombs of the first years of the century, are shown in conversation or at play in reliefs on the two flanking obelisks, and below the main figures. The latter have neither the vitality of Bushnell's Mordaunt, nor the sincerity of the parents in Cibber's Sackville tomb, but in their slightly theatrical poses are very typical of the work of Gibbons' studio at its best. His later tombs – Lady Newdigate at Harefield, Middlesex, or Sir Cloudesley Shovell in Westminster Abbey – are far more clumsy in their treatment of the figure, and it is a relief to turn to a smaller work, the monument to Robert Cotton (1697) at Conington, Cambridgeshire (Pl. 46A), which was more within the artist's capacity. The wreath of flowers which surrounds the portrait of the boy is comparable to Gibbons' best woodcarving, and it may well be that he was proud of it, for it is one of the few monuments which he signed.

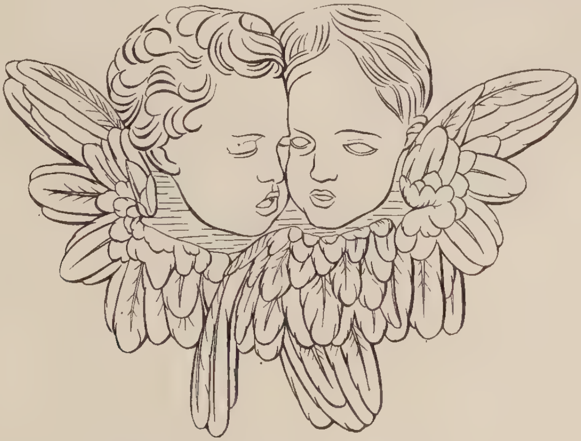
Another foreigner linked with this studio was Jan van Ost (or John Nost as he came to be called), who married Arnold Quellin's widow. Although he made a few tombs, he is chiefly known for his lead garden figures. Some, like those at Rousham, Oxfordshire, have a strange angular quality which is highly personal; others, at Melbourne, Derbyshire, or on the gateposts at Hampton Court, are charming chubby boys, based on good Italian models. And at Hampton Court also, Nost may be seen in a different vein in the elegant relief of the Car of Venus (Pl. 46B) from the overmantel in the Cartoon Gallery.

A purely English sculptor whose best work has considerable merit was Francis Bird (1667–1731), but he too was trained abroad, first in Brussels and then in Rome. The dates of many of his tombs are uncertain, but the Dr Busby in Westminster Abbey (probably of about 1703) is greatly superior, both in design and cutting, to any marble monument by Gibbons. It would seem that Sir Christopher Wren also had a good opinion of Bird, since he chose him to make his daughter's monument, and also to carve the dramatic scene of the Conversion of St Paul on the west front of the Cathedral. This is difficult to see, much weathered, and is therefore usually under-rated. Bird also appears to have made tombs of a wide variety of types. The Sir Orlando Gee (*c.* 1705) at Isleworth, Middlesex, shows him continuing the tradition of the bust monument, but giving it a baroque liveliness and at the same time displaying considerable skill in portraiture. His later and more ambitious works, such as the tomb of the Duke of Newcastle in Westminster Abbey, made from the designs of James Gibbs, fall outside our period.

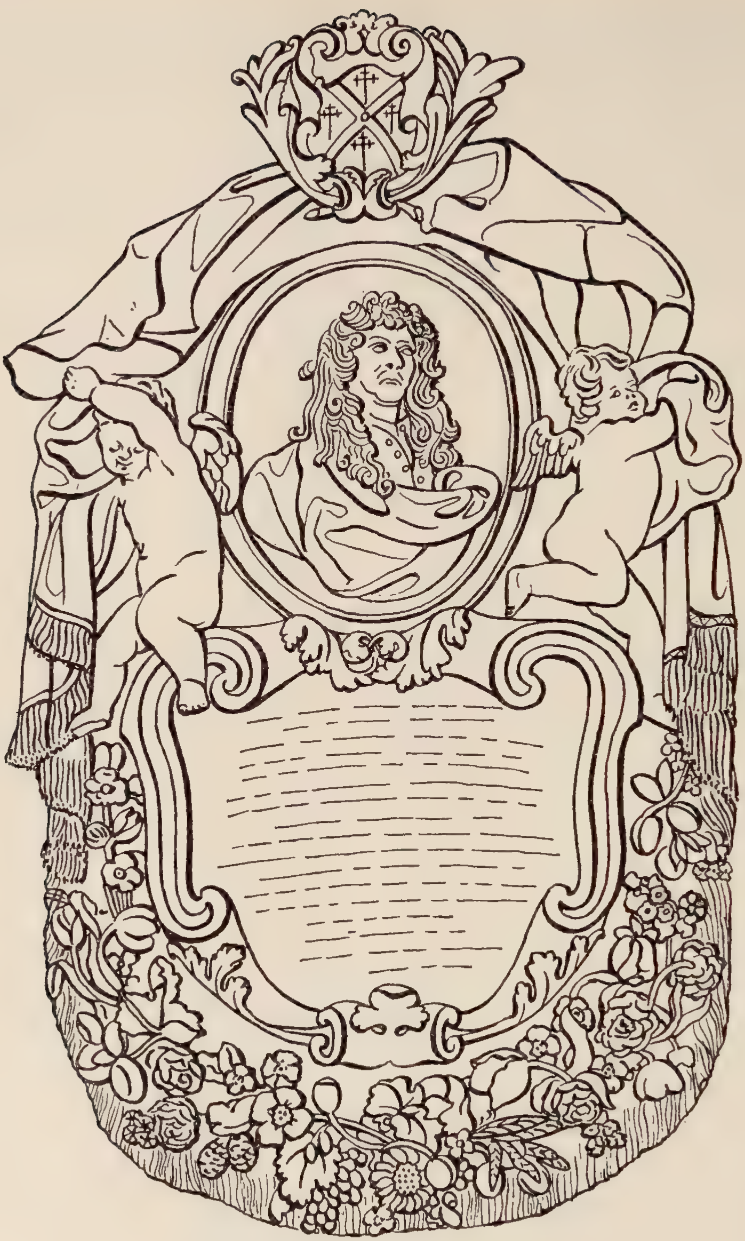
Several other English sculptors of ability – Richard Crutcher, Thomas Green of Camberwell and Thomas Stayner – were producing work of good quality in the early years of the eighteenth century, and there were also competent men in the provinces. In the case of many elaborate, ambitious tombs the artists are still unidentified. And, in addition, there is a great quantity of attractive work on a more modest scale. The innumerable wall tablets, without figures, though often with beautifully designed shields, drapery, cherubs' heads, skulls or flowers, bear witness both to the good level of English craftsmanship and also to the wish for commemoration felt by men of all classes.

SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY

There is no good general survey except K.A.Esdaile, *English Monumental Sculpture since the Renaissance* (1927), which is now somewhat out of date. M.D. Whinney and O.Millar, *English Art, 1625–1714* (1957), Chapters VI and X give a rather fuller account of Stuart sculpture than has been possible here. For individual sculptors see R.Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660–1851* (1953).



Two cherubs' heads carved in wood by Grinling Gibbons in Trinity College, Cambridge.



Monument to Tobias Rustat (d.1693), in Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge, probably by the workshop of Grinling Gibbons.

Silver

Silver

N. M. PENZER

With the death of Elizabeth I and the end of the House of Tudor we move from a period of rugged splendour, domestic upheaval and the protracted strain of foreign wars, to one of peace and comparative safety, a much-needed breathing-space before the Great Rebellion was to cast its shadow over the land and destroy so much that was rare and beautiful. So far as social, economic and artistic England was concerned, the early Stuart era was merely a continuation of the Elizabethan. The union of the Crowns meant little more than that a Scottish king now sat on the English throne, but the two countries remained as distinct and aloof from one another as ever. In the north the end of the Border war was gradually to replace the fortified castle with the manor-house, and a period of peace at home was to encourage the spread of domestic architecture and the pursuit of all that formed part of a gentler mode of life.

James had exchanged a poor country for one rich and prosperous, and he was determined to do all in his power to see that it remained so. His first act, then, was to make an official end of the war with Spain, and this he did in 1604 by concluding a peace treaty with the Constable of Castile, Don Juan Fernandez de Velasco, Duke of Frias, envoy of Philip III. On such occasions an exchange of plate or jewels was customary, but in this case James saw an opportunity of stressing the sincerity of his peaceful intentions in no uncertain manner. The treasures of the Tudors lay in the Jewel-house – and at his mercy – and without qualm or compunction he removed for the gratification of the Constable over 29,000 oz. of priceless bejewelled gold cups and gilt plate, including the famous Jane Seymour ewer and basin, and the Royal Gold Cup of England and France, which had been the cherished possession of royalty for over two centuries.

But James had previously caused drawings of the gifts to be made, and on seeing the bare shelves of the Jewel-house immediately ordered his goldsmith, John Williams, to make replicas, never realizing that such a thing was impossible.[1] However, before the end of 1611 he had paid Williams over £90,000 – an enormous sum – for new plate, which all too soon was to be used to alleviate financial embarrassment. In the latter part of James' reign the royal collection was regarded not as plate, but as treasure to be melted down, sold or pawned as occasion demanded. Such a regrettable course of action had been forced on Elizabeth in 1600, and in future it was to become a precedent, until finally in 1649 misguided Puritan zeal was to destroy anything that was left. But we need not dwell further on this distressing subject.

The gradual change

The English goldsmiths still used German sheets of ornamental designs, but a lighter touch was soon to be detected, and although the sideboards of the rich still groaned under a mass of highly decorative plate, great changes were about to commence. These were caused by a new activity, a general 'movement', an urge to create which only a settled state of peace could engender. It first affected all branches of architecture, industry and commerce, and so in turn was to dictate change and innovations in both the style and decoration of plate.

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[1] A. J. Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I*, 1955, pp. 137, 138.

Although such great Jacobean houses as Audley End, Bramshill and Hatfield still retained many features noticeable in Elizabethan houses like Longleat, Burghley, Theobalds, Wollaton and many more, the position of the Great Hall had changed. Instead of being lengthwise to the main front, it was now built at right angles to it, and so became, except on special occasions, a reception hall, rather than a banqueting hall, and the earlier parlours were to become the dining-room and withdrawing-room. Such rooms, being of only one storey in height, tended to create a much greater feeling of privacy and homeliness than had ever been possible in the lofty raftered Great Hall, constantly filled with guests, retainers and servants. As a consequence of this change, ceremonial plate, especially the Great Salt, Cups of Assay and elaborate centre-pieces, gradually became out of fashion, and the smaller rooms demanded smaller and more personal types of plate, unpretentious silver rather than garish gold and silver-gilt.

At the same time James kept his palaces well supplied with plate, for he revelled in his newly-acquired pomp and circumstance, of which lavish entertainment formed an important part. The new Banqueting House at Whitehall, built by Inigo Jones, had its own 'great gilt cupboard of estate', in which was kept a sufficient quantity of plate both for use at table and also to furnish the cupboards and side-tables with an imposing array of the more striking and decorative pieces. Included among the plate were doubtless examples of cups and salts surmounted by an obelisk or steeple, which have been described as typically English, and quite unknown elsewhere. As these vessels are interesting from many points of view, and because the great majority of extant specimens date roughly from 1602 to 1619, we shall make them the first subject of discussion.

The steeple-cup

From the earliest times the steeple, pyramid or obelisk had been a symbol of greatness, power and achievement, a symbolism observed in such great Tudor houses as Montacute, Burghley and Wollaton Hall. It was a favourite ornamentation in the screens of the halls at the Universities, it was cut to shape by lovers of topiary and was woven into tapestries, while it is very familiar on monumental statuary in Westminster Abbey, and in many parish churches. No wonder, then, that James I, a firm believer in the Divine Right of Kings, should look with favour on the steeple. Although the steeple appeared on drinking-cups and bowls before 1559, and Sir Nicholas Bacon presented one in gold to Elizabeth in 1573, so far as existing examples are concerned the earliest appears to be that of 1593 at Creeting St Mary, Suffolk. As a chalice the steeple-cup was suitable in shape and size, while the cover, if still used, formed an attractive and not unecclesiastical ornament. This may partly account for the fact that nearly fifty steeple-cups are to be found in British parish churches. Those belonging to Livery Companies and Corporations bring the number to well over a hundred. Of the sixteen examples at the Kremlin, nine lack covers, but the number includes two very fine specimens presented by James I. There are four characteristic features. These are: (1) The egg-shaped bowl and cover. (2) The short baluster stem with attached grotesque brackets bounded by horizontal collars. (3) The trumpet-shaped foot with spreading base. (4) The cover, which completes the ovoid outline, with a solid or pierced steeple, usually three-sided, resting on curving caryatid brackets set on a low reel-shaped platform. The forms of embossed or engraved decoration include the usual acanthus foliage, both on the stem and as a calyx to the bowl, fruit, flowers, plain strapwork, trefoils, fleurs-de-lis, scallops, gadrooning and fluting. Less often we find a Dutch motif of rippling sea and the heads of marine monsters, as on the 1627 Tait Cup at the Victoria and Albert Museum (M. 80–1921). Apart from the usual egg-shaped pattern, two other types should be noted. The first is gourd-shaped, elaborately engraved, with a calyx of acanthus leaves, the bowl supported by a forked and twisted tree-trunk. Good examples occur at Hutton Buscel, Yorks (1611) and at the Armourers' and Braziers' Company (1608), both of which have solid steeples surmounted by a finial of a Roman soldier. The second type is globular, and very rare. The best example is that of 1604, with a replaced cover of 1677, belonging to the City of Westminster (Pl. 47C).[2] Only six others are known – two at the Kremlin (1605 and 1608), two at Guisborough, Yorks, one at Trinity College, Cambridge (1615) and the last at Canongate, Edinburgh – neither of the last two having covers.

The steeple-salt is much less common than the steeple-cup. Such examples as exist have a circular body with a base resting on claw-and-ball feet, with usually one, and more rarely two, salt containers protected by covers supported on scroll brackets. There was a good example of the former in the Swaythling Collection, while the Victoria and Albert Museum has a double-container type of 1614 (Pl. 47B). The only other type of salt usually considered as 'Jacobean' is the bell-salt. Actually they date back to the time of Henry VIII, while seven are mentioned in the 1559 inventory. The bell-salt consists of two bell-shaped containers, the upper and smaller one fitting closely into the lower and larger one, which latter rests on ball-feet. The conical cover is surmounted by a perforated knop or ball for use as a pepper-caster. The reason for the popularity both of the steeple-salt and the bell-salt at this time is explained by the fact that they were both small types of standing-salts, as compared with those of mid-Tudor days, and were indicative of the passing of the Great Hall.

The only remaining type of standing-salt to make its appearance, before the more personal trencher-salt was to supplant it entirely, was the scroll-salt. It appeared, apparently from France, about 1630, and lasted nearly to the end of the seventeenth century. The chief feature was the three, and later four, brackets or arms which terminated in scrolls and stuck out from the rim of the salt cavity in an outward curve. There were several varieties, the earliest being circular and reel-shaped, to which the term 'pulley-salt' was given at Goldsmiths' Hall. Others are drum-shaped, or square. The object of the arms was not to hold a napkin, but to support a bowl to hold dessert. In describing the Seymour Salt, Pepys made this quite clear and both French and Dutch engravings and paintings prove it conclusively.[3]

Apart from steeple-cups, most of the other standing-cups produced in Jacobean times, such as the coconut and ostrich-egg cups, were merely repetitions or revivals of Tudor types, and do not concern us here. The true Jacobean standing-cup had a conical bowl with a bell-shaped foot surmounted by a baluster stem either with or without brackets. If there was a cover, which was not always the case, it was either conical and produced an ovoid outline to the whole, as with the steeple-cup, or else it had a slightly domed cover with a somewhat elaborate finial, as in the example of 1611 at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Pl. 48B).

The ewer and basin

The only other large pieces of ceremonial plate which call for notice are the ewer and basin, in constant use since the Middle Ages, and to become decorative pieces for the sideboard when the introduction of the fork rendered their use redundant. They are usually spoken of as if they formed an inseparable and matching pair, but the inventories of Tudor sovereigns show that the ewers – or 'lairs' as the more ornate ones were called – outnumbered the basins by nearly two to one.[4] Moreover, no attempt was made to keep a matching pair together, and the ewer was presented to one envoy or ambassador and the basin to another. A further interesting fact revealed by Tudor inventories is that the well-known 'helmet' type of ewer was known before 1521 – the date of an inventory which lists no less than eleven made 'helmet fation'. Until the death of Elizabeth the decoration of the basins was confined to the broad rim and the raised central boss with its surround, but in Jacobean times an 'all-over' ornamentation was introduced, covering the depressed portion, which had previously been left plain, whereby much of the former beauty of contrast was lost. Existing ewers can be classified under four types:

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[2] It is known as the Pickering Loving Cup. See *Insignia and Plate of the Corporation of the City of Westminster*, Cambridge, 1931, pp. 9–13.

[3] *Apollo Annual*, 1949, pp. 48–53.

[4] See A. J. Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

1. The prototype is the 1545–46 ewer, with matching basin, at Corpus Christi, Cambridge – a really lovely object. It has a slightly swelling octagonal body, the sides of which are alternately engraved and plain, as is also the scotia of the round, low foot, but in counter-changed order. The plain, partially rounded handle is angular, while the four-sided spout extends to the entire height of the body. The flattened domical cover, with double 'C' thumb-piece, is enriched with spiral flutings shaped like the heraldic *goutte*, matching those on the basin. Later examples are cylindrical with horizontal bands of ornamentation. The cover is domed, the handle an S scroll, while the foot is often convex, surmounted by a reel-shaped stem.

2. Vase-shaped, of Italian renaissance style. It has a narrow neck with shaped lip and gadrooned mouth. In some cases the shoulder is decorated, in others the entire surface is elaborately engraved and embossed. The tall, curved handle varies from a plain S scroll to a highly ornate terminal figure or animal's head. The stem has a gadrooned collar and spreading foot, often decorated with ovolo moulding. Examples can be seen at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, Eton College, Norwich Castle Museum, Windsor Castle, etc.

3. The chief feature of this type is its absolute plainness. It extends from the reign of Charles I, through the Commonwealth, to that of Charles II. The earlier examples are deep, plain, beaker-shaped, with a long spout stretching nearly the entire length of the body, a curving lip, plain scroll handles and trumpet-shaped stem with a circular foot. Good examples are at Trinity College, Cambridge (1635), and the Barbers' Company (1657). After the Restoration the long spout is replaced by little more than an indentation in the plain rim, while the handle is usually harp-shaped. The body is encircled by a plain rib-moulding, and there is usually a calyx of cut-card work. See Queen's College, Oxford (1668), Drapers' Company (1674 and 1678), King's College, Cambridge (1675), Clothworkers' Company (1676), etc.

4. The 'Helmet' type was revived at the end of the seventeenth century by such Huguenot goldsmiths as Pierre Harache, David Willaume and and Pierre Platel. Apart from the inverted helmet shape, other features are the terminal figure handles, often of great magnificence, masks under the spouts and elaborate calyces of floral design. Owing to their great ornamental value, they persisted long after the introduction of the fork, and when not in actual use, remained as decorative pieces on the sideboards of Livery Company or College Halls.

Drinking utensils

Turning to drinking utensils, mention may first be made of the beaker. Strange to say, the true rôle of the beaker in later Tudor times, and after, was not as a secular drinking-cup, but as a chalice. This was due to the trading between the Netherlands and the east coast towns of England, especially Norwich, and to similar trade communications between the Low Countries and Scotland – especially Aberdeen. The plain type of Dutch beaker appealed strongly to the Scots, and even today nearly a hundred are still used in Scottish kirks in the north-east part of the country. Secular Dutch beakers, with appropriate engraving, were imported for sale in this country, and it is these which from time to time find their way into the sale-rooms. Large quantities of beakers were used by the Puritans of New England, and when Jones[5] made his survey of American churches, he found that no fewer than 577 silver beakers, mostly plain or chastely engraved, were still in use. In England the beaker as a secular vessel never entirely disappeared, partly because of its æsthetic appeal, and partly because of its handy form for easy stacking, whether for hunting parties or for use in college halls.

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[5] *The Old Silver of American Churches*, Letchworth, 1913.

Apart from the beaker, the only Stuart drinking-vessels needing brief consideration are the wine-cups and the tankards. Made for individual use, the charming Jacobean wine-cup is found in various shapes and styles of decoration. They can be conveniently classified under five main types as follows:

1. Shallow, nearly hemispherical bowl, slender baluster stem, trumpet-mouthed or cymbal-shaped foot.
2. Ovoid bowl, similar stem and foot.
3. Bell-shaped bowl, similar stem and foot.
4. Octagonal straight-sided bowl, slender baluster stem with applied open scroll-brackets surrounding upper knop. Feet as above.
5. Beaker-shaped bowl, thick baluster stem, trumpet-shaped foot with convex base.

Some of the above shapes may be based on Venetian glass of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but further research is needed on this subject. A few further notes on these five types are necessary.

1. This type is called 'tazza-shaped' by Jackson, but in view of the constant misuse of this word it should be entirely avoided. The bowl forms a shallow section of a sphere, and exactly resembles the Victorian and Edwardian champagne glasses. Two varieties occur in Stuart times, one quite plain and the other having a network of squares. The plain variety, of which there are twelve (1631–1633–1640) at the Armourers' and Braziers' Company, has a very shallow bowl with a rather flat base, a spindle-like baluster stem and a plain round spreading base. The other variety is deeper, and the lip is left plain for about half an inch, below which a line of depressed dots marks the beginning of a granulated design of punched quadrilaterals resembling Venetian lace glass – *Vetro di Trina*. Usually there is no further decoration, but examples occur in which three large *fleurs-de-lis* alternate with three plain straps extending from the dotted line to the juncture of the plain baluster stem and the base of the bowl.

2. This type is conical or ovoid in outline, often resembling a steeple-cup without its cover. Except in rare cases, the bowl is chased with a broad band of bold floral design on a matted ground occupying the entire central surface, leaving only a plain rim above, and a calyx below, which usually consists of radiating lobes also on a matted ground.

3. The bell-shaped cup has straighter sides and a more rounded base than type 2. Though sometimes plain, the bowls usually have a narrow line near the lip-band, with conventional trefoil pendants, while the calyx displays elaborate *repoussé* ornamentation of fruit and flowers. The plain baluster stems are slender and graceful, the circular, spreading, cymbal-like foot being engraved with motifs taken from the calyx.

4. Each of the eight sides is decorated with a large open flower on a tall, vertical stalk, from which leaves protrude laterally. The design is flat chased, and arranged in bands on a matted ground. The lip is left plain. In several cases a shield is substituted for a flower in one of the panels. The calyx is embossed with fruit and flowers, and the bowls are supported by three open brackets applied to the top of the slender baluster stem. The spreading, cymbal-shaped feet are usually chased with acanthus leaves on a matted ground.

5. This beaker-shaped type is quite plain, and is typical of Charles I and the Commonwealth. The bowl has gently sloping sides with a nearly flat base. It rests on a sturdy baluster stem, which merges into a round foot of the usual cymbal form. In most cases the foot is moulded. There is a fine set of four (1640) belonging to the Leathersellers' Company.[6]

The tankard

The Stuart wine-cup was ousted from its place on the table by the wine-glass, but once the tankard had been introduced it came to stay. Sixteenth century tankards had a cylindrical body tapering upwards from the base, which was usually decorated with lozenge-like ornament and an egg-and-tongue base-moulding. They were comparatively small in size, both in respect to their height and diameter. Other features to be noted are the decorations on the body, or drum, which may be engravings of fruit and flowers and medallion heads, or flat chased strapwork, arabesques, etc., divided into sections by horizontal bands. The handle is a recurving or S-shaped scroll, while the low, domed lid, which is hinged to the handle, is embossed with fruit or chased arabesque work. The finial is vase- or baluster-shaped, and the thumb-piece occurs in a variety of designs. It was this type (Pl. 48A) which extended into Stuart times, and contemporary with it was a perfectly straight-sided type as shown in Jackson, *History*, Fig. 980. A fine example is that of 1602 belonging to the Guildford Corporation.[7]

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[6] *Cat. Historic Plate of the City of London*, Goldsmiths' Hall, 1951, No. 97 and Pl. XLII.

The next ten or fifteen years seems to have been a transition period, and examples are very scarce between 1610 and 1630. The Victoria and Albert Museum has two serpentine tankards, one *c.* 1620 with a high, domed lid and pointed finial (M. 52–1912), the other from the Jackson collection, of *c.* 1630, mounted in plain silver-gilt, with a flat lid, chased with concentric rings and a broad thumb-piece (M. 92–1914). Of the typical plain Charles I tankard, with the flat lid pointed in front, plain scroll handle and tapering cylindrical body, excellent examples are the 1635–36 one at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and the matching pair of 1639, and the single one of 1667 among Christ's Hospital plate.[8] A most unusual example is that in the collection of Earl Beauchamp. It has three royal portraits engraved round the cover, and a flat, cushioned lid bearing the arms of Charles I. It stands on three claw feet, and is dated 1643.[9]

The Cromwellian tankard is recognized by its low, flat-topped cover in two stages, and the wide splayed or skirted base. Several fine examples were to be seen at the Park Lane Exhibition in 1929.[10] The Carpenters' Company has a beautiful specimen of 1653 (no. 411 and Plate XXIX of the 1927 Victoria and Albert Exhibition of Livery Company Plate); while still another equally fine one of 1655, formerly at Barnard's Inn, Holborn, is now in the Earl of Rosebery's Collection (see Jackson, Fig. 988). What Jackson describes as a 'freak' tankard is that of 1649 at Winchester College. It is made in imitation of a slightly tapering cylindrical barrel, with chased vertical lines representing the joints between the staves and two grouped sets of horizontal lines representing the hoops. It has a flat cover with a two-lobed thumb-piece and a short C-shaped plain handle.[11]

With the Restoration the tankard was made in increasing numbers, and to this period we can assign those ordered by Livery Companies and Corporations, as well as by colleges of both Universities. Although the flat lid was retained, it usually had a larger projecting flange with a serrated edge, and the lid was often in two stages, with a convex member separating them. The thumb-pieces were chiefly twin-lobes, scrolls and volutes (such as were later to figure on the 'Onslow' spoon in the mid-eighteenth century). The general shape of the tankard was somewhat squat, drum-like and slightly tapering. Although the great majority were plain, some are embossed with acanthus or palm leaves, and later with cut-card work from the base to nearly half-way up the side of the tankard. Others, from about 1670 to 1685, have the entire surface covered with beautifully engraved trees, birds and flowers in *chinoiserie*. In some instances, from the late seventeenth century to the early years of Anne, the ordinary thumb-piece was replaced by fine cast figures of animals, such as the hedgehog at Balliol (1669), where the tankard is supported by three lions-couchant, or, more usually, the lion-couchant, as at Christ's

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[7] A second similar tankard is 1619. See Oman, *Apollo*, September 1948, pp. 56, 57.

[8] H. D. Ellis read a paper on Christ's Hospital plate at a meeting of the London and Middlesex Society in April 1900, but dated the tankards incorrectly.

[9] See *Cat. to the Park Lane Loan Exhibition*, 1929, No. 283 and Pl. XXIII.

[10] *E.g.*, Nos. 91 (1649), 31 (1651), 691 (1654) and 680 (1655).

[11] See *Burlington Magazine*, July 1903, p. 163 and Pl. V. A very similar one, but with a larger handle, was made by Louisa Courtauld and George Cowles in 1772 (Gerald Taylor, *Silver*, Pl. 19d).

(1678), King's (1701), and Queens' (1703) Colleges at Cambridge, or Jesus College (1701) at Oxford.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century a distinct change in tankards began – the cover was domed and the lower part was spirally fluted, like the contemporary candle-cups which had become so popular. Although the flat-top type persisted into Anne's reign, we always think of a domed lid when we refer to a Queen Anne type of tankard. In some instances (as in the 1708 gallon tankard of the Founders' Company) the lid has a large button finial, while in others (as in the 1713 example of the Ironmongers' Company) both finial and lion-couchant thumb-pieces are retained, and the tankard is supported on four more lions. The sides are slightly bulbous, a feature that at this time began to make its appearance.

In concluding these brief notes, reference should be made to two varieties of tankard of which the prototypes were imported direct from Scandinavia. The first of these is rather squat, with a flat, slightly domed lid, often with a twin-lobe or lion-couchant thumb-piece. It can be quite plain, or completely covered with engraving or embossing. The chief feature, however, is the three ball feet, usually in the form of pomegranates, and fixed to the tankard by applied scroll leaves. They were made chiefly in Hull and Newcastle (the Victoria and Albert Museum has one of *c.* 1670 – Pl. 53B) and also in London.[12]

The other variety which was introduced direct from Denmark to Hull, and found chiefly with York marks about from 1657 to 1675, is the peg-tankard.[13] Although the earliest Danish vessel with pegs is not a tankard at all, but a large, two-handled cup of 1577, it was the ordinary peg-tankard which came over to England. Examples with Hull, Newcastle, Edinburgh and London marks are known, but it was John Plummer of York who seems to have specialized in them (Pl. 50A).

Two-handled cups

Just as the massive Great Salts of the Tudor period were replaced by less pretentious types, and later the Jacobean silver wine-cup had been superseded by that of glass, so also the Hanaps, or Standing Cups, were replaced by the two-handled cups. Although certain rare types appeared in the sixteenth century, such as the vase-shaped renaissance-style covered cups of 1533 at Corpus, Oxford, and of 1555 and 1570 at Corpus, Cambridge, they apparently had no progeny. The so-called 'college' or 'two-eard' cups, confined almost entirely to Oxford colleges, were of peculiar shape (Pl. 50B) – a truncated pear-shaped outline on a low concave base with a moulded rim and two hollow, thick ring handles projecting vertically from the shoulder of the bowl just below the neck – and were never universally adopted. The two-handled cups that were to vary in size and shape and achieve great popularity after the Restoration first appeared in the middle of the seventeenth century. They were usually straight-sided, or very slightly tapering, but sometimes, as with the silver-mounted mother-of-pearl cup of *c.* 1650 at the Victoria and Albert Museum, they were of basin- or semi-circular shape on a low trumpet foot, with ornate cusped caryatid handles. Such handles, often of fine workmanship, are found on most two-handled cups of this period, but plain scroll handles also occur.

From about 1660 the cups appear in two main forms – those with a bulge in the lower part of the body, showing both in this respect and in the embossing of fruit and flowers strong Dutch characteristics, and those with straight sides. To the former the names caudle- or posset-cups have become attached, while the latter are usually known as porringers. Such names are quite arbitrary and applied largely because they appear in inventories and wills, and it has been assumed that it is to these cups that such terms refer. While it is clear that such cups would be used for all domestic purposes, including the drinking of caudle and *eating* of posset, it seems clear that the larger ones were still used as loving-cups. But with the use of the term *porringer* matters are quite different. This word means simply a vessel to hold pottage, and although largely applied to simple vessels of wood and pewter, was also given to elaborately ornamented ones of silver. From a study of the descriptions of the nine porringers mentioned in the 1574 inventory, it is clear that such vessels had two ornamented horizontal handles, and were shallow dishes. In fact, they corresponded very closely with the French *écuelle*, and were used for the same purposes. It is not surprising, then, to find that in his French–English dictionary of 1611, Randle Cotgrave renders *porringer* as *escuelle à oreillons*. It should be realized, however, that both *écuelle* and porringer were also made for personal use. It is interesting to note that one *écuelle* was used by two people, each holding a handle with one hand and a spoon with the other.[14] One imagines that considerable tact and discrimination would have to be shown by the hostess when placing her guests!

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[12] For Danish examples see Boesen and Bøje, *Danish Silver*, Nos. 15a–21.

[13] The phrase 'to take one down a peg' has nothing to do with the peg-tankard, as has been repeatedly stated. The phrase is nautical in origin and refers to a ship's colours which used to be raised and lowered by pegs, the higher the colours the greater the honour, so that to take a person down a peg was to award less honour. Although the pegs were usually inside the tankard, this was not always the case. See *Cat. Festival Exhib. ... Silver*, Cheshire Standing Joint Committee, 1951, No. 61 and Pl. XV.

Although no two-handled English silver porringer exists from the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, we can clearly see one in the hands of a servitor in one of the dinner scenes (folio 208) in the fourteenth century Luttrell Psalter. It would appear that when the larger dish-porringer was supplanted by the smaller personal vessel, the second handle became superfluous, and all existing examples have but one handle. It should be noted that the piercing of this handle acts as a heat insulator as well as affording a simple means of suspension when not in use.

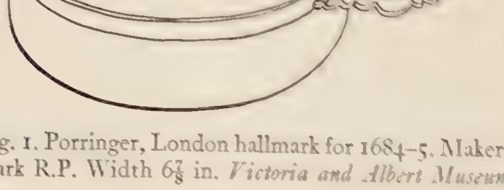

Fig. 1. Porringer, London hallmark for 1684–5. Maker's mark R.P. Width 6⅞ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

As the pewter porringer was naturally much more common than that of silver, many more have survived, and we can learn much from them that helps considerably in our understanding the different uses to which porringers were put. First and foremost we see that the term *porringer* is still universally retained by all collectors of pewter, while for some quite unexplained reason (unless Cripps is to blame) we have, in the past, called such objects in silver by the thoroughly unattractive name of 'bleeding-bowls'. It is satisfactory to note that the Victoria and Albert Museum 'Small Picture Book, No. 17', *Charles II Domestic Silver*, Charles Oman shuns such terms as 'caudle cup' and 'posset cup' and calls them all merely 'cups', while the single horizontal-handled 'bleeding-bowl' is at last correctly called a porringer. Incidentally, confusion also exists with regard to the 'taster', which E. Alfred Jones was inclined to regard as the original of the so-called 'bleeding-bowl'. Reference to the records of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers, however, clears up most of these difficult points. In 1556 this type of vessel was referred to as 'eare dysshes' and continued to be used until July 1596, after which identical pieces hitherto called 'eare dysshes' were henceforth called 'porrengers'. In 1571 'smal pewter Tasters' are mentioned, confirming the use of small porringers for sampling wine. Early silver wine-tasters, however, were very possibly used in place of the assay-cup lid for tasting the wine for poison.[15] Now the first mention of 'blood porringers' is made in 1659, and when the Company laid down tables of weights in which porringers of various sizes were to be made in future, apart from 'smale' and 'greate' porringers, reference is made to 'Ordinary blood porringers' at 1½ lbs per dozen. This works out at 2 oz. apiece, and would indicate small pewter vessels of approximately 3 in. in diameter. Thus it is quite clear that wine-tasters and blood porringers were made *as such*, and of the required size, but that the ordinary food porringer constituted the main product of the Company. In Randle Holme's *Academy of Armory* of 1688 and Dionis' *Course of Chirurgical Operations* of 1733 we see wood-cuts of the blood porringer, but when on 29th May 1661 Pepys slipped six spoons and a silver porringer into his pocket, and *carried them about all day*, we can be quite sure that it was the typical food porringer like the 1684 example (M. 420–1922) shown in the Victoria and Albert 'Small Picture Book' mentioned above. It is obvious, then, that the only safe name to give to all vessels of this period with vertical handles, whether bulbous or straight-sided, is 'two-handled cups', while the term 'porringer' should be applied only to the shallow vessel with the flat, pierced horizontal handle. When the early settlers in New England took the porringer with them it became the most popular domestic vessel in Boston households, and to this day the name has never been altered.

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[14] H. Havard, *Dict. de l'ameublement*, Vol. II, col. 310.

[15] See Richard Warner, *Antiquitates Culinariae*, 1791, pp. 93–106.

The more ornate, two-handled cups stood in the depressed centre of broad-brimmed and heavily-embossed round salvers. In many cases these salvers stood on a foot and presented a most striking and important piece of plate for the centre of the table. See, for instance, the Gloucester set of 1672 in Jackson, *History*, plate facing page 238. Salvers were also included in elaborate toilet sets, as in the Calverley toilet service (240m–1879) of 1683 at the Victoria and Albert Museum (*Charles II Domestic Silver*, Nos. 17 and 21). As the word in its original Spanish sense testifies, the salver was formerly used to hold the cup of assay. After the *salva* (lit. 'preservation') had been made, the cup was presented on a flat dish to which the term *salva* was also applied. The Spanish expression *hacer la salva*, 'to drink one's health', conveys the hope of preservation.[16] In English, by analogy with such words as *platter*, *trencher*, etc., we substituted the -er ending in place of -a. It is interesting to see that the connexion between the assay cup and salver is shown as late as 1721, when the royal inventory records 'One Salver and one Essay cup, gilt, 18 ozs'. Circular salvers were followed by square and octagonal ones, and later still by those of oval shape, but these are outside our period.

The punch-bowl

Apart from new types of vessels created for tea, coffee and chocolate, mention should be made of the punch-bowl and the monteith. Punch had been introduced in England about 1630, and doubtless was made largely in china bowls, and two-handled cups. It was sufficiently well known to appear in such Carolean cookery books as Hannah Woolley's *The Queen-like Closet* of 1670. Owing to the chance introduction about 1680 of a scalloped silver vessel to cool the bowls of glasses in – the passage in Anthony à Wood is almost too well known to quote[17] – the silver punch-bowl made its appearance earlier than otherwise might have been the case. The monteith, as this glass-cooler was called, was soon considered to be an unnecessary luxury, especially as its size was most convenient for serving punch. The scalloped edge was unsatisfactory because the lemon-strainer could not rest comfortably on its edges. The difficulty was overcome by making the rim or collar detachable, but many Livery Companies and Colleges preferred the plain even-rimmed punch-bowl. So far as is at present known, the earliest existing punch-bowls[18] date from 1680 or a little

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[16] Thus our word *credence* means nearly the same thing – a *belief* that the food or drink is safe and free from poison.

[17] 'This yeare [1683] in the summer time came up a vessel or bason notched at the brim to let drinking glasses hang there by the foot so that the body or drinking place might hang in the water to cool them. Such a bason was called a 'Monteigh' from a fantastical Scot called 'Monsieur Monteigh', who, at that time or a little before, wore the bottome of his cloake or coate so notched: UUUU.' See *Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary, of Oxford, 1632–1695, described by himself*. Ed. Andrew Clark, Oxford, Vol. III, 1894, p. 84. The identity of 'Monsieur Monteigh' remains undiscovered. He may have been an Oxford host or innkeeper.

[18] Owing to an unfortunate mistake, Jackson (*History*, p. 797) speaks of three bowls of 1666 belonging to the Skinners, but they have only two and they are dated 1685. It was the Salters who had three (now only two) and these are *c.* 1716.

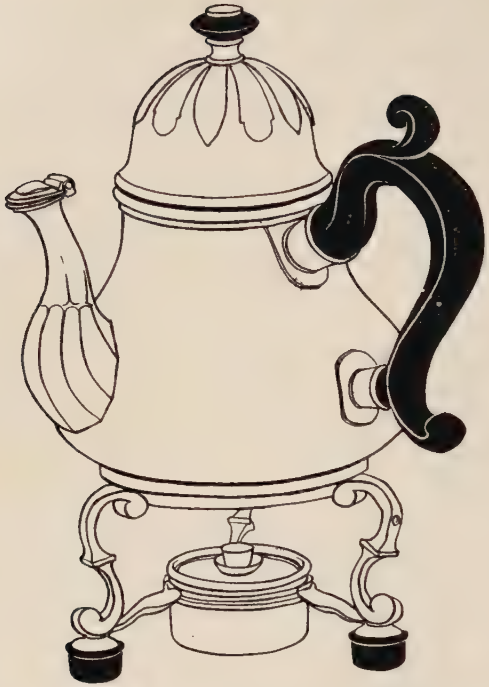


Fig. 2. Tea-pot with stand and lamp, London hallmark for 1705–6. Maker's mark Simon Panton. Ht. 5⅞ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

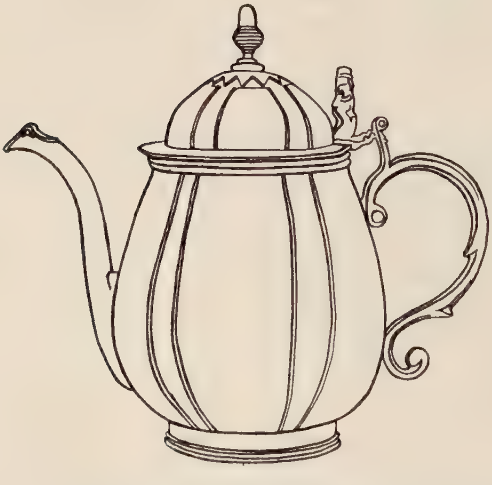
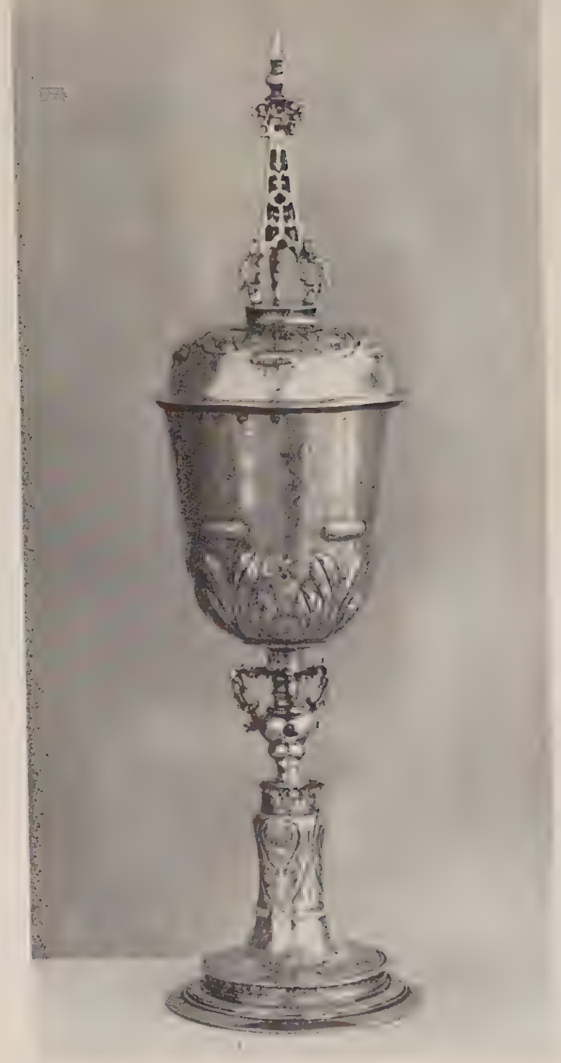


Fig. 3. Gilt tea-pot, about 1685. Maker's mark RH. Ht. 5¾ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

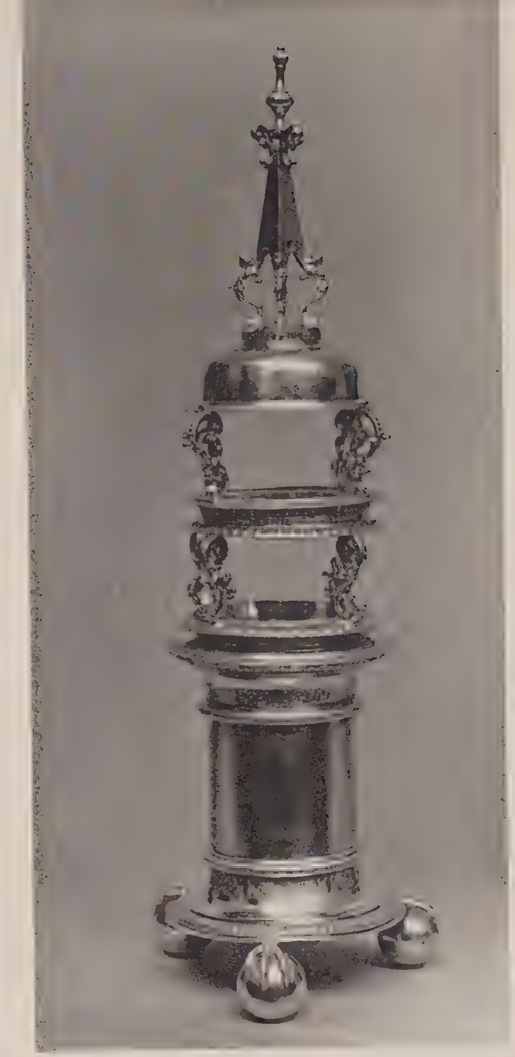
earlier, while several monteiths of 1684 (e.g. Lord Beauchamp and King's College, Cambridge) can be quoted. These are decorated in the *chinoiserie* style and are without handles. In the following year, although the type persists (J.P. Morgan), other examples (Drapers' and Skinners' Company) have a lion's-mask head with round or shaped swing handles. About 1699 (Mansion House, Hearst Collection, etc.) the collar was decorated with foliage and cherubs' heads, and this type remained popular until their disappearance about 1720.

The tea-pot

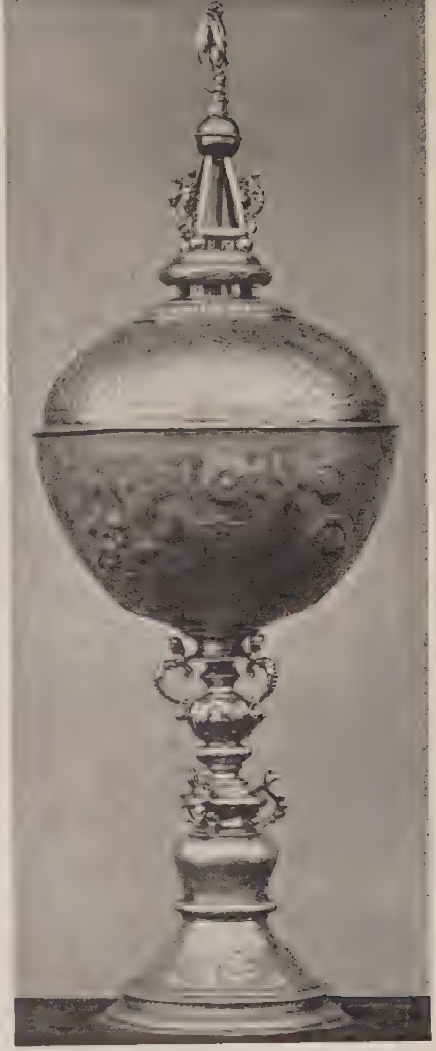
Just as punch was first made in already existing vessels until a suitable silver bowl had been evolved, so also the same thing appears to have happened in the case of tea-pots. Although Pepys took his first cup of tea in 1660, we have no idea of the shape of the pot from which it was poured but we can make a pretty good guess. It would have been a tall tin or pewter pot with a high conical lid copied from the slightly earlier coffee-pot of the same type. Even the first silver tea- and coffee-pots are hard to distinguish as those of 1670 and 1681 respectively at the Victoria and Albert Museum prove. The tea-pot is so called only because George Berkeley, the donor, had no suitable example to copy. Consider the date of the gift. The East India Company had shipped its first lot of tea in 1669, and as a new member Berkeley supposedly wished to ingratiate himself by the presentation of a tea-pot, but the small stoneware ones were too small, so he gave them a coffee-pot and called it a tea-pot! But while the shape of the coffee-pot remained much the same, except for the conical lid, the tea-pot developed from the red stoneware tea-pots made at Yi-Hsing near Soochow, sent over from China with the tea, to suit Dutch methods of infusing rather than pouring boiling water on the leaves in a small handleless bowl. The tea-pots were copied by such Delft potters as Arij de Milde and Jacob de Coluwe, and it is from these that the famous and lovely Queen Anne tea-pots were gradually evolved. At first the shapes were largely based on the Chinese wine-pots and water-pots. An example made about



(A) Steeple Cup, silver-gilt, chased and repoussé. Inscribed 'Mr Richard Chester his gift Beinge Mr of the Corporacion in Ano: Dmo: 1615'. Made by F. Terry. London hall-mark for 1626. Height 17.2 in.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

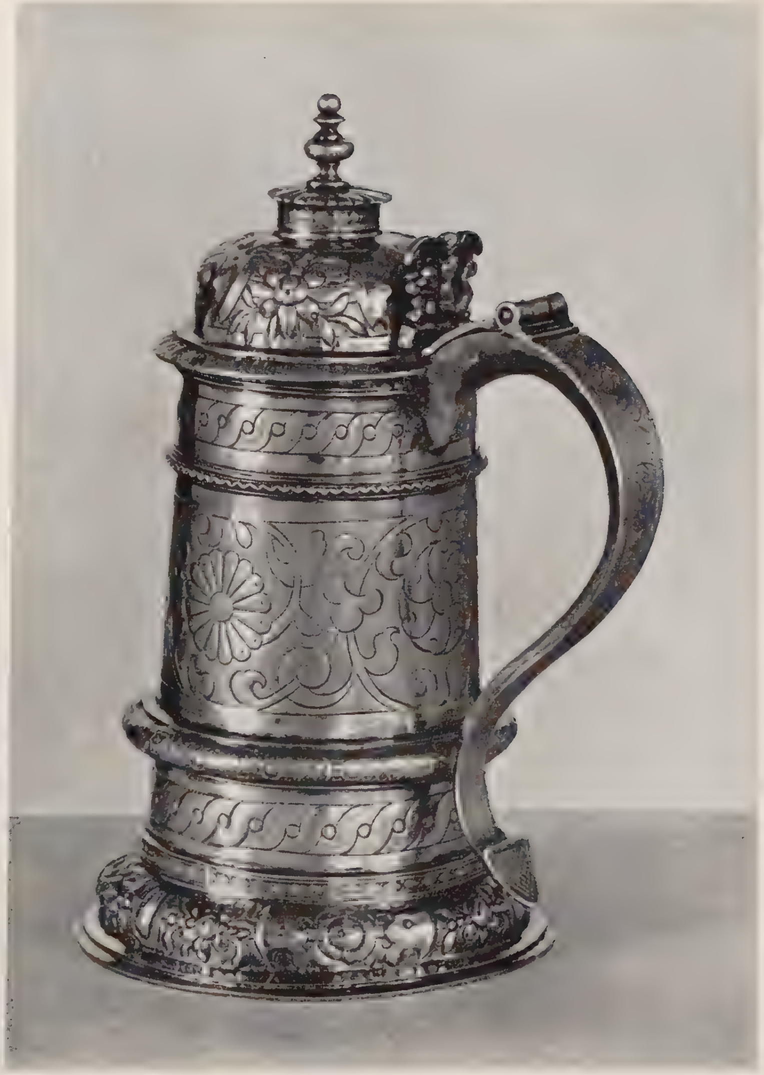


(B) Standing Salt, silver-gilt. London hall-mark for 1614–5. Height 16⅛ in.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

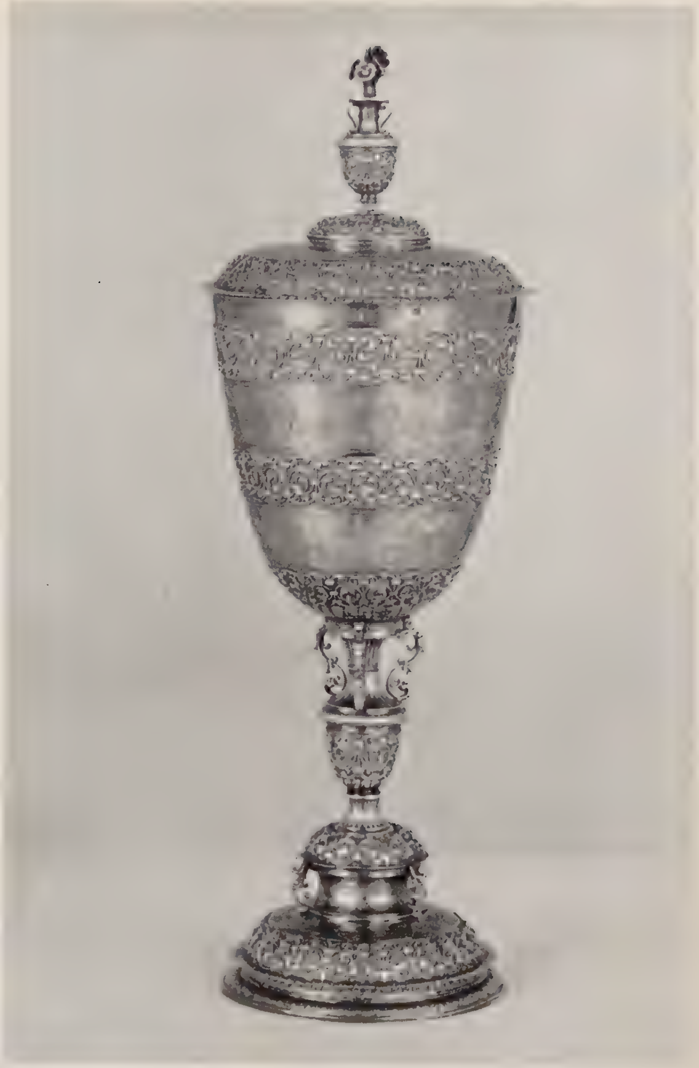


(C) The Pickering Loving Cup, silver-gilt, the bowl engraved with a scroll of foliage, daisies, etc. London hall-mark for 1604–5. Height 16¼ in.
Westminster City Council.

PLATE 47

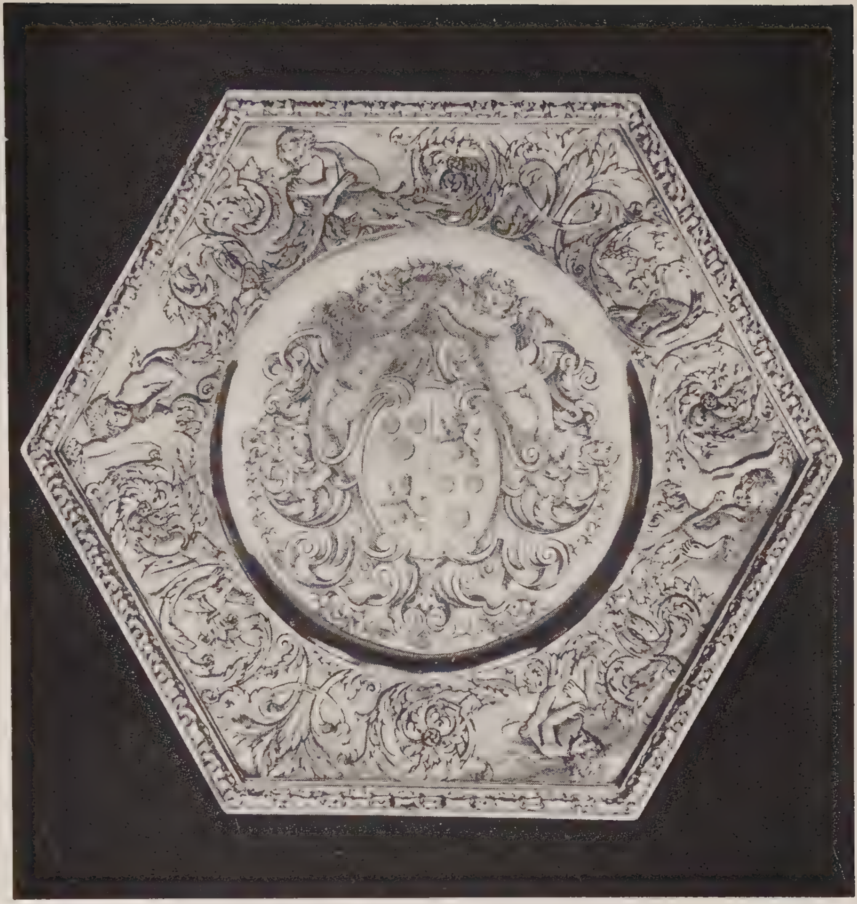


(A) Tankard, silver-gilt, chased and repoussé. Maker's mark R.M. London hall-mark for 1607–8. Height 8.3 in.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

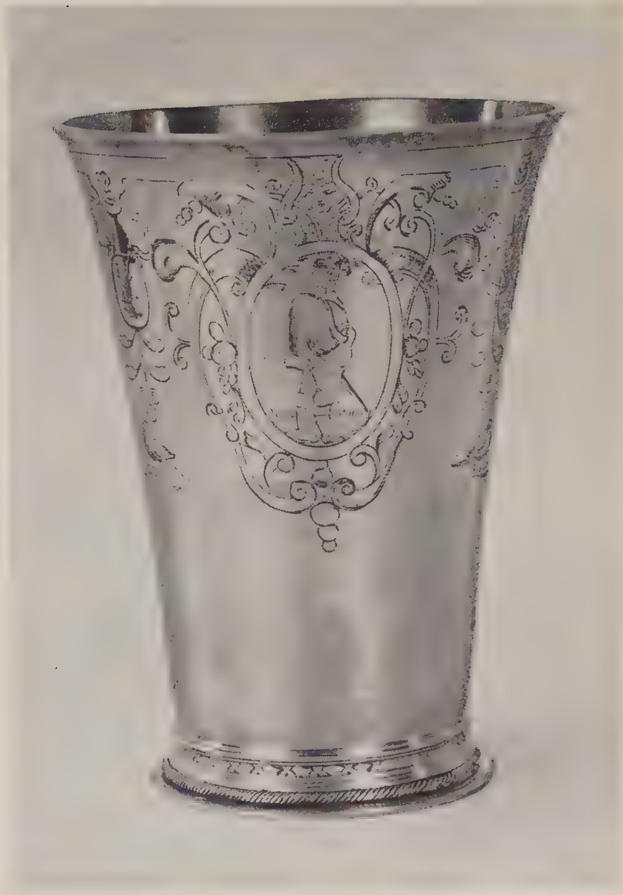


(B) Standing Cup, and Cover, gilt. London hall-mark for 1611–2. Height $18\frac{5}{8}$ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

PLATE 48

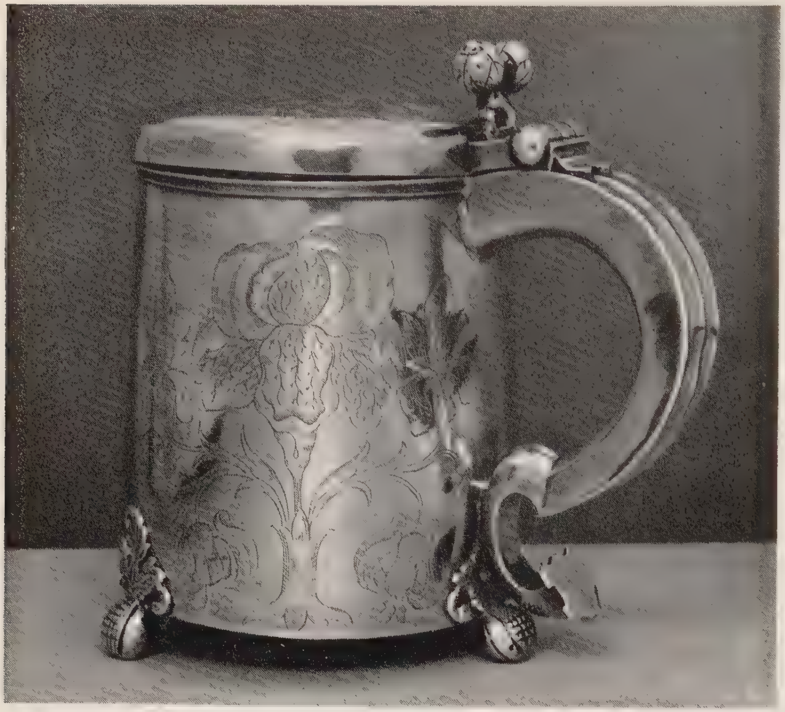


(A) Waiter, gilt, with chased ornament after Jean le Pautre (1618–82). Engraved with the arms of Sir William Courtenay of Powderham Castle, Devon. Maker's mark of Benjamin Pyne. London hall-mark for 1698–9. Width 9½ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

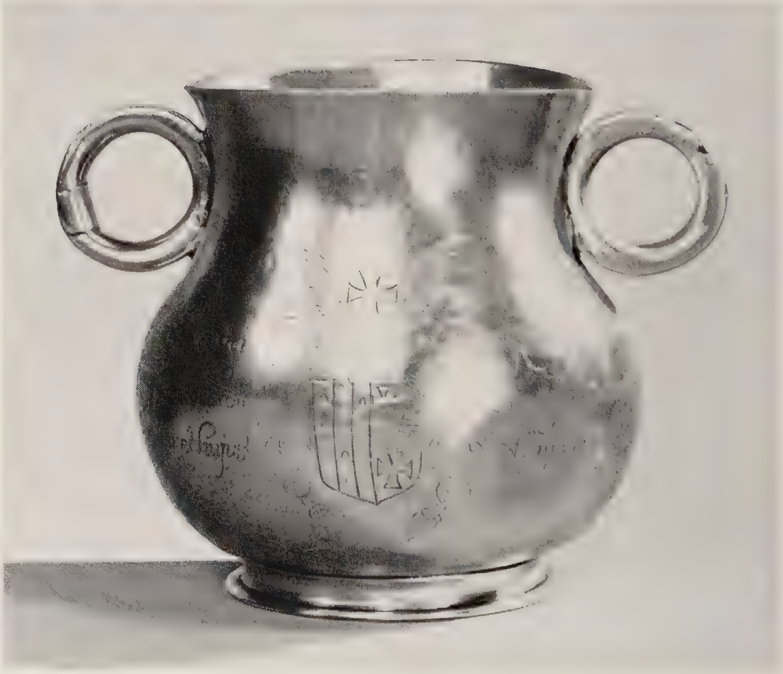


(B) Beaker, gilt inside. Mark P.S. Dated 1648. Height 5¼ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

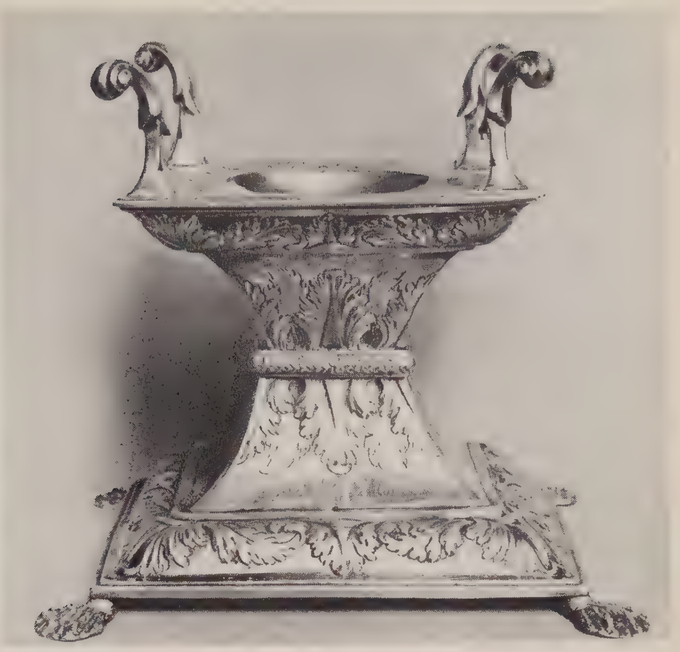
PLATE 49



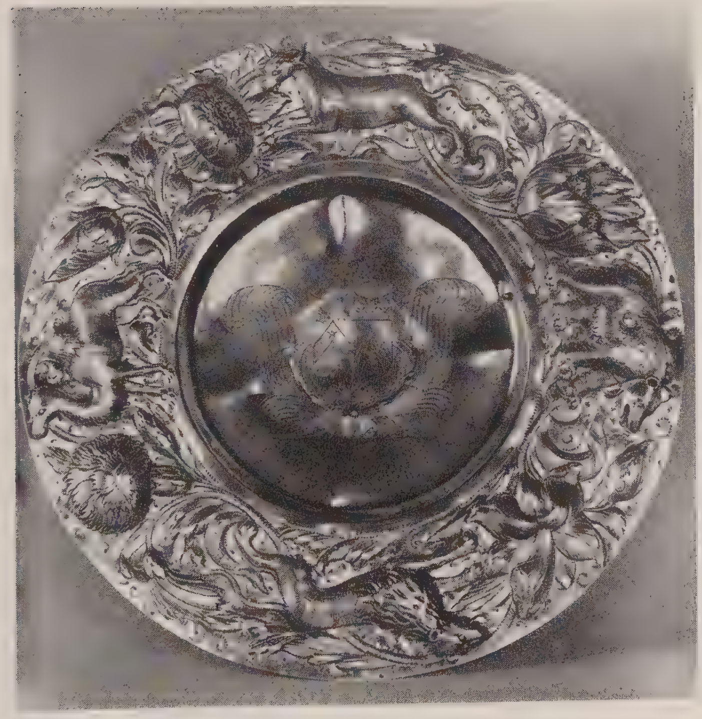
(A) Peg-tankard, silver, engraved with flowers and the arms of Sayer. Maker's mark of John Plummer, York hallmark for 1657. Height 7¼ in.
Victoria and Albert Museum.



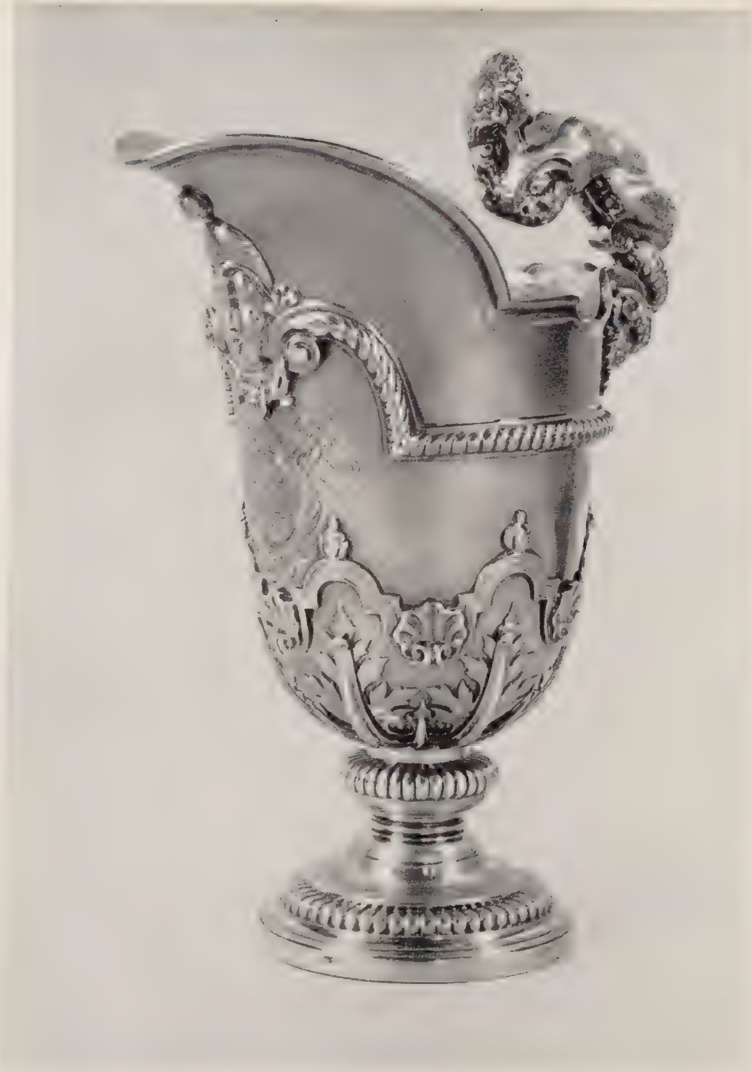
(B) College Cup, Merton College, Oxford. Inscription recording gift by Henry Knapp with date 1657 (date of donor's matriculation). Arms of donor and of College. Known in the College inventories as an 'ox-eye' cup. Maker's mark ET, a crescent below in a shield. 1661. Height 5 in.
Merton College, Oxford.



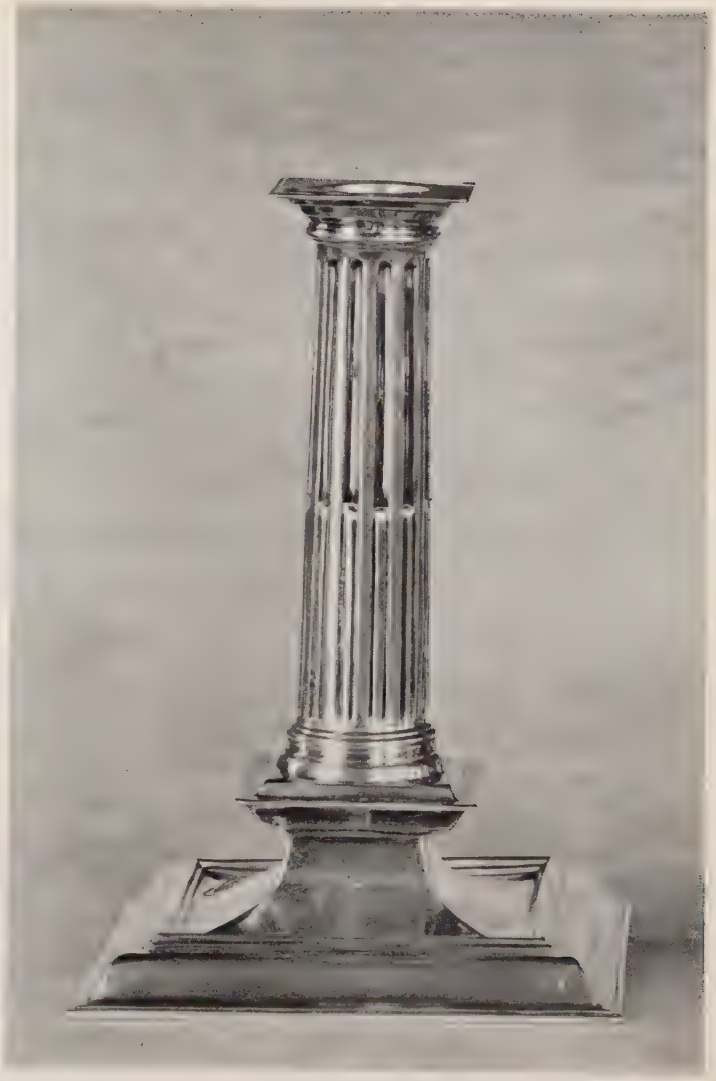
(A) Salt cellar, silver, chased and repoussé. London hall-mark for 1664–5. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



(B) Salver on foot, silver chased and repoussé, the centre engraved with the arms of Rokeby impaling Danby. London hall-mark for 1664–5. Diameter 14.5 in.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

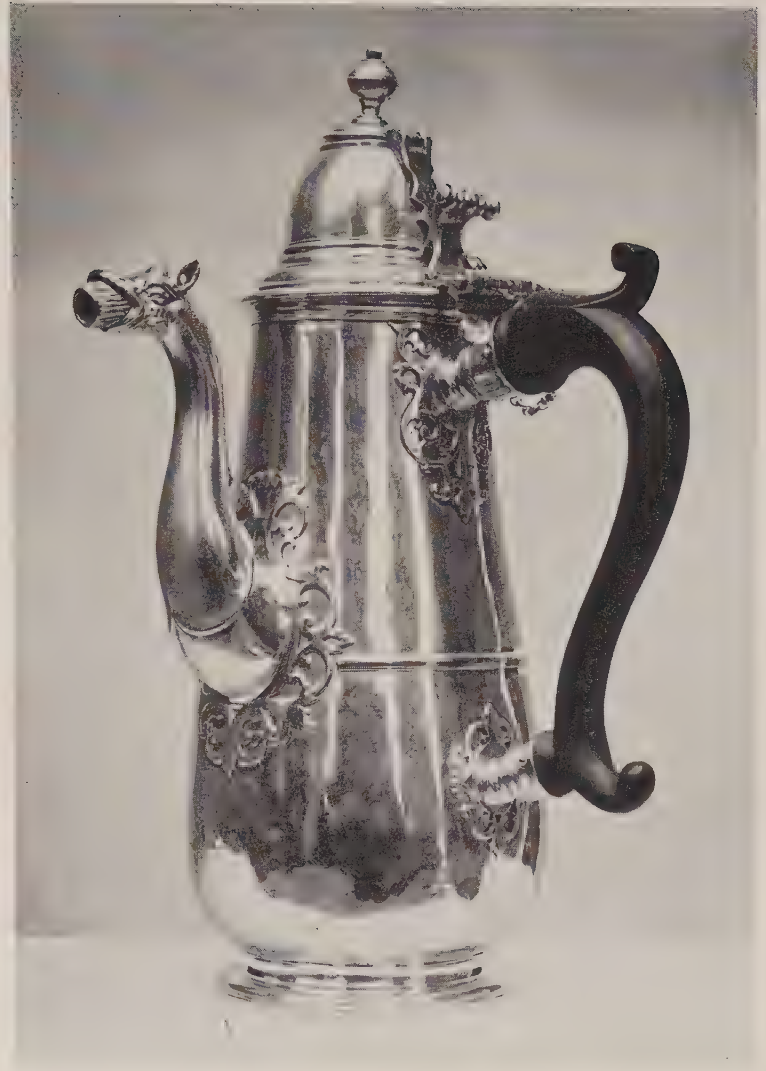


(A) Ewer, gilt. Maker's mark of David Willaume. London hallmark for 1700–1. Height $8\frac{1}{8}$ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

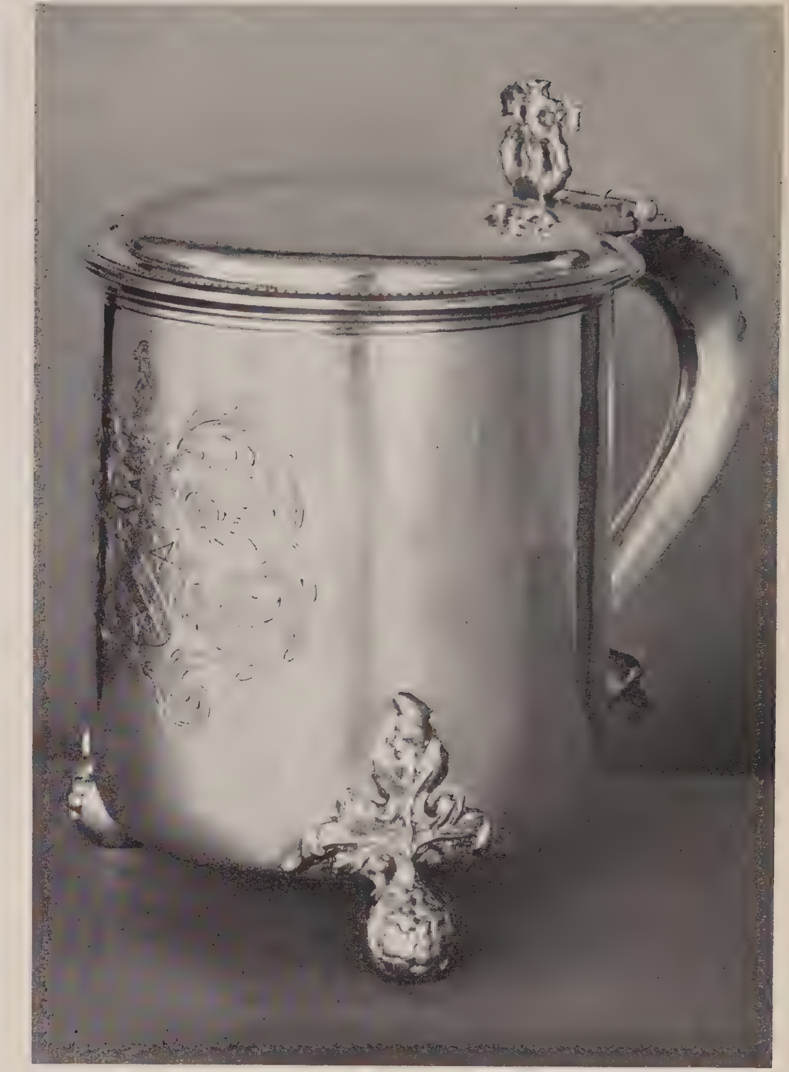


(B) Candlestick. Maker's mark R.M. monogram. London hallmark for 1682–3. Height 7 in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

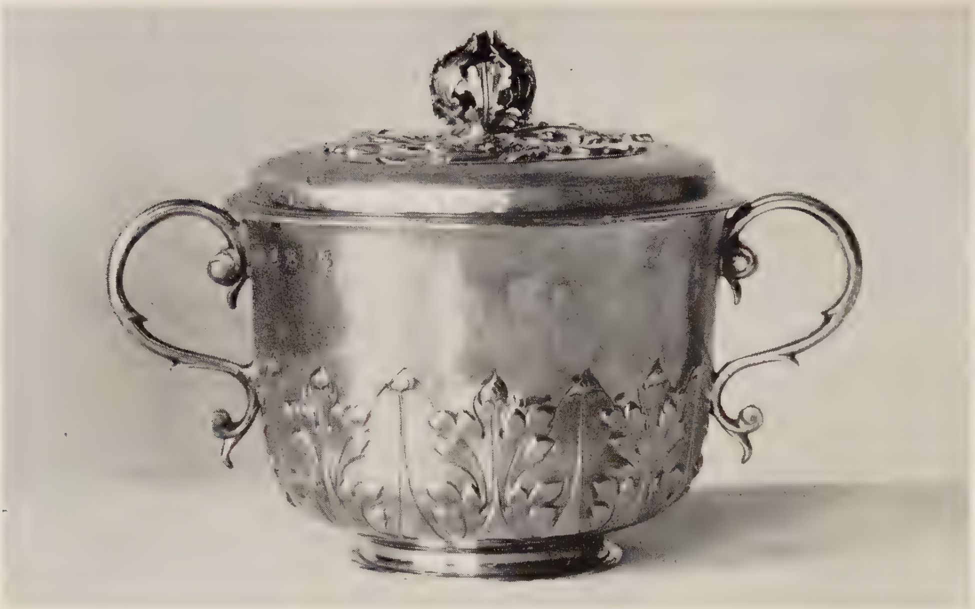
PLATE 52



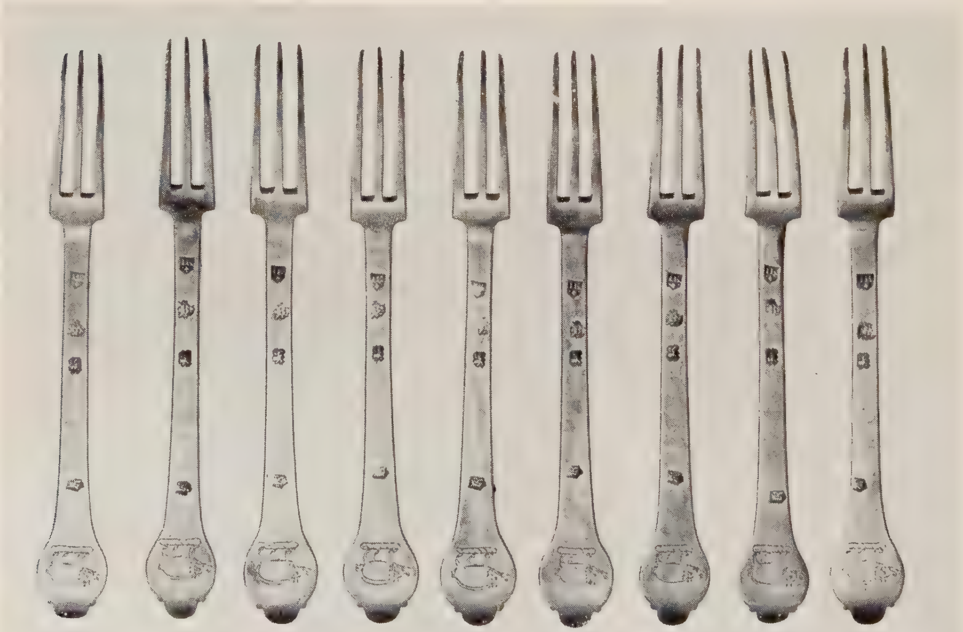
(A) Chocolate-pot. Maker's mark of William Fawdery. London hall-mark for 1704–5. Height 10 in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



(B) Tankard. Maker's mark of William Ramsey. Newcastle hall-mark *c.* 1670. Height 7 in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



(A) Cup and cover. Maker's mark I.B. with a stag. London hall-mark for 1683–4. Height 7⅛ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



(B) Nine Charles II three-prong trifid forks, engraved at the terminals with a contemporary crest. Maker's mark I.K., rose and two pellets below. 1667. *Formerly in the Mount Edgcumbe Collection.*

PLATE 54

1690 by Benjamin Pyne (Jackson, Fig. 1262) is hexagonal, with a curved spout, domical lid and half-hoop handle. A very similar one by Richard Hoare of also *c.* 1690 can be seen at the Victoria and Albert Museum (M. 48–1939). The pear-like shape of these pots persisted, but somewhat more squat in outline, into the reign of Queen Anne, the age of lovely tea-pots. The body was perfectly plain and either rounded or polygonal, with curving 'duck's neck' spout, domical lid hinged to the upper of the two silver sockets into which the C-shaped wooden handle fitted. Stands with lamps were also made, but are now very rare. The Lipton collection contains a fine example of such a tea-pot and stand, the former by Benjamin Pyne and the latter by Isaac Liger; the date is 1707. Another perfect type of Queen Anne tea-pot is the globular or 'skittle-ball' type. It has a straight, tapering spout, a base rim or low moulded foot, a removable lid and a scroll wooden handle fitting into plain silver sockets. The globular pot on a tall foot seems to have been confined to Scotland. Apart from the well-known one by James Ker of Edinburgh made in solid gold, Jackson (Figs. 1270, 1271) shows one of 1708 also of Edinburgh make, and another of later date with the Glasgow mark. Many globular tea-pots were made in America by such well-known silversmiths as Jacob Hurd, Paul Revere (senior) and Nathaniel Hurd, but in all cases the spout was of 'duck's neck' shape.

Space will not allow us to deal in any detail with coffee- and chocolate-pots, which resembled each other very closely in their earlier forms. They were tall and mostly cylindrical and tapering with a high-domed cover, hexagonal ones being of rarer occurrence. In the case of chocolate-pots the handles were usually set at right angles to the curving spout, and although they are also found in coffee-pots the handles and spout are usually in a straight line. The most unusual type of chocolate-pot, claimed as the earliest recorded, appeared at Sotheby's on 20th June 1935. It was of inverted pear shape on a moulded base, a swan-neck spout, large wooden C-shaped handle in silver sockets and a low, domed lid with cut-card ornament surmounted by a removable terminal for the insertion of the *molinet* for breaking up and stirring the chocolate. It was made by George Garthorne in 1686.

Lighting appliances

Turning now to lighting appliances – candlesticks and sconces – we find that with the single exception of a two-branch candlestick of silver and rock-crystal (Jackson, Fig. 1105) no examples of either exist prior to Stuart times, and even then they are of great rarity. The destruction of these objects must have been enormous for they occur in quantity in the 1574 inventory of Elizabeth I – both socket and pricket variety – while numerous references are found in wills as well as in many other inventories. We can only guess at the shape of the early Stuart candlestick, but judging by early seventeenth century examples in base metals, apart from later examples in silver, we can conclude that it would consist of a plain, cylindrical barrel with a grease-pan placed low down protecting the hand. The base would probably be either cymbal-shaped or resembling an inverted bowl. In 1663 Charles II sent, among other vessels, a pair of candlesticks of that date to the Czar Alexis.[19] The cylindrical bands, embossed with tulips and foliage, have a projecting convex band some 3 in. from the plain flat nozzles. The broad-spreading foot is embossed with animals and fruit, while midway up the barrel is a wide, flat grease-pan also heavily embossed. The candlesticks are 17 in. in height and have a base diameter of 14⅜ in. Other types of candlesticks found during the reigns of Charles II, James II and William and Mary include those based on the Doric column, the clustered column and the baluster-stem. The broad bases may be shaped, square or octagonal, either plain or gadrooned. The nozzles are usually fixed, and the grease-pan has disappeared. The thick wick of only semi-combustible material led to the use of snuffers with a scissor-like action and small attached container to receive the candle-wicks. They either rested on a plain rectangular or shaped pan (called a 'slice' by Pepys), or fitted into a vertical

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[19] See E. Alfred Jones, *Old English Plate of the Emperor of Russia*, Pl. XXV.

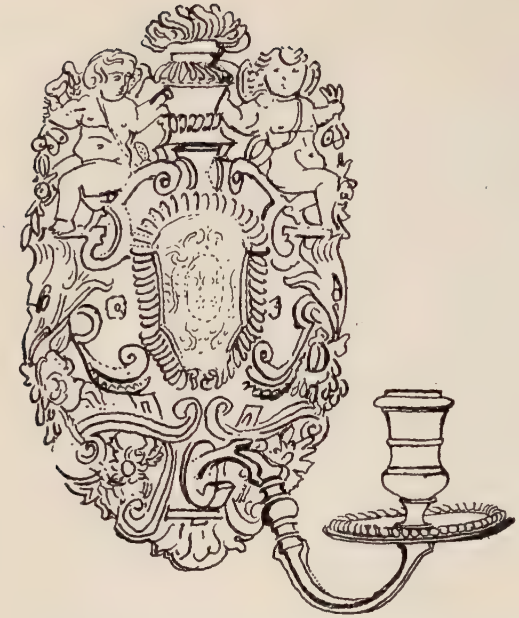

Fig. 4. Sconce, one of a pair. Silver, made by John Rand of Lombard Street. English, London hallmark for 1703–4. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

receptacle with a handle. Excellent examples of both types (1682 and 1696 respectively) can be seen at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Pl. 52B).

The cast candlestick came in about 1700, and during Queen Anne's reign flourished in all its plain simplicity and beauty. Full advantage was taken of the use of plain faceting by which reflection was shed on the other table silver, imparting to it that soft loveliness and charm that only candlelight can give. Wall sconces, known in Tudor days as 'hanging candle-stickes', 'candeleplates' or 'candelsticke plates' appear in the Elizabethan inventory, already cited, under the general heading of 'Chaundellors'. The candle-holders could be either of the socket or pricket variety, or even interchangeable, while the back-plates were both plain and, later, highly embossed and engraved. They lasted throughout Anne's reign, and the inventory of George I (1721) shows that 195 still existed in the royal palaces. Probably the finest collection of sconces dating from the times of Charles II and James II is that now open to public view at Knole. The term 'branches', found in inventories, means chandeliers, but in late Georgian days it was used to mean the arms of a sconce. The usual extinguisher was conical in shape, being attached to a rod for sconces and chandeliers, while it was hooked on to hand candlesticks, for which the flat-plated scissor-like douter was also used.

The spoon

And now we come to the consideration of that piece of plate which is at once the oldest and most personal of all – the spoon. As we are concerned only with the forms it took in Stuart times, there will be no need to deal with the early fig-shaped bowl and its contemporary types of knop. At the same time it must be realized that in speaking of the spoon during any particular period we are dealing with two totally different things – spoons still in use from earlier times, and spoons of a type that had not appeared before. Thus spoons used in Jacobean times were very largely Elizabethan, if not earlier, for a silver spoon was a precious thing, and once acquired was treated with the greatest care and affection, to be handed down from father to son, as is proved in wills all over the country. In the ordinary way people used spoons of latten, pewter or brass [20] so a silver spoon – usually the first, and often the only silver object that many a family possessed – was an acquisition of which a man might well be proud, for it bespoke a certain standard of prosperity, if not of affluence. The spoon formed the ideal christening or wedding gift and could be a single one – perhaps surmounted by the finial of an apostle corresponding to the name of the child – or a whole set, if a wealthy family was concerned. The apostle spoon then, apart from its religious significance, had a wide appeal which assured for it a long popularity well into Stuart times. Other forms of finial, such as the diamond-point, the acorn knop, the wrythen knop, the hexagonal knop etc. had disappeared long ago, while for some reason or other slip-tops, seal-tops, baluster-seal tops and lion sejants lasted into the seventeenth century. As to bowl form, the early fig-shape almost imperceptibly merged into the less elongated and broader shouldered pear-shape which remained popular well into Jacobean times. The early hexagonal stem gradually gave place to one with wider back and front facets, while, especially in smaller spoons, the stem became thinner. The flattened stem of the seventeenth century appears at its fullest development as the thin, flat Puritan spoon.

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[20] See F. G. Hilton Price, *Old Base Metal Spoons*, 1908.

Turning to types of spoons that first appeared in Stuart times, we can mention the stump-top of James I, the Puritan and its variants from the latter part of the reign of Charles I to the end of the Commonwealth, and the trifid of the Restoration which was to become the type from which all later spoons developed. The chief distinguishing feature of the stump-top is the long tapering octagonal stem which is rounded at the end like a broom-handle. As with London slip-tops the date-letter is struck near the top of the stem. The bowl is oval, but whereas in examples of about 1630 the greatest breadth is just below the centre of the bowl, in those of about 1660 it has moved nearer the juncture of the stem and bowl, and a more perfect oval is formed.

The well-known Puritan spoon first appeared in England about 1643. It was probably imported from the Continent, where flat spoons had been made at an earlier date than in England. It was pure chance that it happened to reach England at a time when its severe plainness so well suited Puritan taste. After the Restoration this plain stem formed an excellent surface to take a running pattern of scroll foliage, while a short rat-tail, if there was one, could be made very ornate by the addition of engraved acanthus leaves. The bowl of the average Puritan spoon can be described as oval, but in some examples it is nearly round. The flat stem tapers slightly as it reaches the bowl, which it joins with only a very small drop. The top of the stem is sometimes referred to as a 'stump end', but in view of the stump-top spoon, the term is to be avoided. It might be described as having a square-top or straight-top. As can be seen in both French and English examples, the straight-top was often broken by one or two notches, suggestive of the cleft end of the trifid which was soon to follow the Puritan. Although the London Puritan type ended about 1670, examples are found in the Provinces for at least another ten years, many of them having decorated stems.

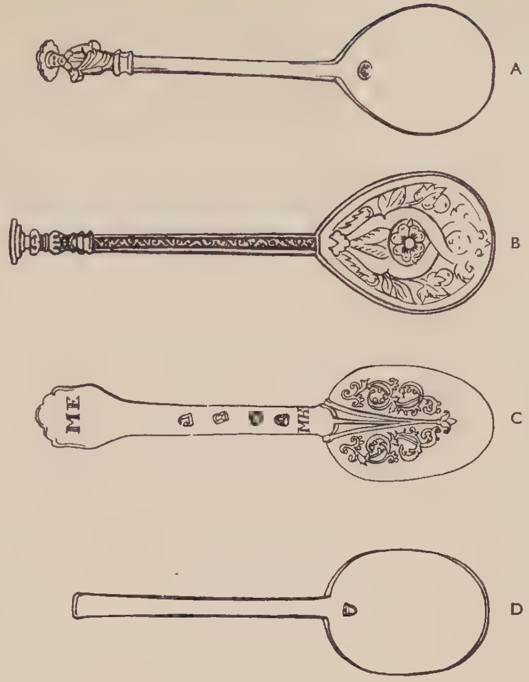

Fig. 5. Four English silver spoons. (A) Apostle type, London hallmark for 1610–11 (?). (B) Seal-top type, Exeter hallmark, seventeenth century. (C) Rat-tail type, Taunton hallmark, second half of seventeenth century. (D) Puritan type, about 1660. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

The trifid, or double-notched spoon, appears very soon after the Restoration and shortly replaced all other types. As with the Puritan spoon, the trifid appears to have come from France. Its chief features, apart from the trifid top, are the flat stem often slightly tapering, but sometimes with practically parallel sides, the oval bowl with level edges set just below the level of the stem, and the rat-tail with a ridge in the middle, and a pointed channel either side. In early examples the two clefts or notches are cut very near to the sides of the stem, thus producing a broad central section, semi-circular in outline and usually turned up in the direction of the bowl, while the two lateral sections are very small. In later examples the notches are more evenly distributed and the central section, though no longer a semicircle, projects in elliptical form. By this time both the teaspoon and fork had made their appearance, and all were trifids of one sort or another, from the small condiment spoon to the large hash or basting-spoon. The trifid lasted to the end of the reign of William III and is occasionally found in Anne's reign, but it had nearly disappeared by 1690.

The successor to the trifid was what has often been described as the 'wavy line' or 'wavy end', in consequence of it having no notches, but still preserving the projecting central lobe. No satisfactory name for the type, however, has yet been found. Jackson preferred to call it 'transitional', and other names include 'cat-head', 'dog-nose', 'chair-back', or 'shield-top', so there is plenty of choice. Apart from its end, the main features are the flat stem, which gradually becomes rounder, the rat-tail, which later was to be reduced to a 'drop', and the narrowing and gradual lengthening of the bowl. In some late examples the projecting lobe has been bent right back to form a kind of hook. When this bent-over portion ceased to be free, and became welded to the main part of the spoon, the extra thickness so produced led to the appearance of a central ridge with lateral concavities sloping towards the edges, and the outline of the top is a perfect semicircular curve. To this type of spoon the name 'Hanoverian' has, not altogether happily, been given. Although rare before the time of Queen Anne, the marrow-scoop handle makes its first appearance about 1697. Apart from apostle spoons,[21] which do not really concern us here, among others with human finials appearing in Stuart times are the so-called Maidenhead, popular in the sixteenth century, the rare 'Virgin-and-Holy-Heart' finial, as How calls it, which appears as late as 1606, the 'Moor's head' or 'head-and-neck' finials, and the curious half-length nude female finials found on spoons considered to have been made by John Quyche of Barnstaple, *c.* 1590–1630. Their origin is problematical, but they would appear to be derived from German prototypes.[22]

In conclusion mention should be made of a spoon which appears to have been introduced about 1630, or possibly a little earlier, known, owing to its Oriental form, as a Buddha-, Krishna- or Vishnu-knop. They were made, it seems, only in Plymouth and Barnstaple. Whether they are merely a variant of other terminals made as a curiosity by certain enterprising West Country goldsmiths, or whether, as Jackson suggested, they had some connexion with the trade that was carried on between England and the Orient in the sixteenth century, seems to be entirely unknown.

From the spoon it is only natural to pass on to the fork, although hundreds of years separates their first introduction on the English table. We may well ask why it was that so obvious and useful a utensil as a fork never came into general use until the Restoration. The answer, if not altogether satisfactory, seems to be that with meat and poultry cooked until it fell from the bone, and the smaller knife of the *écuyer tranchant* used to steady the joint in cutting, there was no need for the individual fork. It was not, however, a change in cooking that caused its introduction. It was the gradual knowledge and popularity of the fork that not only altered the style of cooking, but also banished the basin and ewer from the table. It has been customary to ascribe the use of forks mentioned in early inventories to the eating of green ginger, pears, mulberries, etc., but when we find no less than seventy-three listed in the 1574 inventory, we can but conclude that many of them, especially those which fitted into canteens, were for use at 'banquets', the course of sweetmeats, fruit and wine which followed the principal meal. Apart from the flat two-pronged fork of 1632 at the Victoria and Albert Museum, the earliest existing set is apparently that of nine three-pronged forks by I.K. (possibly John Keech) with the date-letter for 1667–68 (Pl. 54B). They belonged to the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe,[23] formerly of Cotehele, Cornwall. The collection also contained a rare three-pronged marrow-scoop fork and a set of six trencher salts by the same goldsmith. The former bears only the maker's mark, but the salts are also 1667. Owing to the fact that nearly every book on silver [24] deals with the New, or Britannia Standard of silver, which was compulsory from 25th March 1697 to 1st June 1720, and thereafter optional, it has been considered unnecessary to go over the same ground again. So too the history and effect of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, resulting in an influx of skilled Huguenot goldsmiths who were to do so much to raise the standard of English craftsmanship, need no emphasis here.

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[21] For these we can now consult the *magnum opus* of the late G. E. P. How, *English and Scottish Silver Spoons ...*, 3 vols., 1952—.

[22] See Charles Beard's article in the catalogue of the Ellis spoons, Sotheby's, Nov. 14th, 1935, No. 158–60. Very similar finials occur on a set of knife, fork and spoon in the Zschille catalogue, No. 87.

While many articles in use during late Stuart times have not been discussed – such as all accessories to the serving of tea, mustard and pepper pots, cruets, standishes, furniture, toilet sets, baskets, vases, wine-coolers, fountains, snuff-boxes, etc. – they all extend into Georgian times, and concern a later volume of the present series.

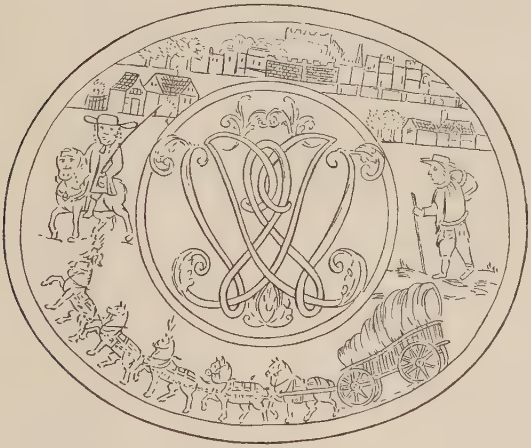

Fig. 6. The lid of a snuff-box, *c.* 1685. Maker's mark I.H. between two stars. Width 3¾ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

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[23] They were sold, together with the marrow-scoop fork, the trencher salts and other plate on 24th May, 1956, at Sotheby's. See the illustrated catalogue, Pls. IX–XI.

[24] But see especially Jackson's *English Goldsmiths and their Marks* (Chapters II to VI); and J. P. de Castro, *The Law and Practice of Hall-marking Gold and Silverwares*, 2nd edition, 1935.

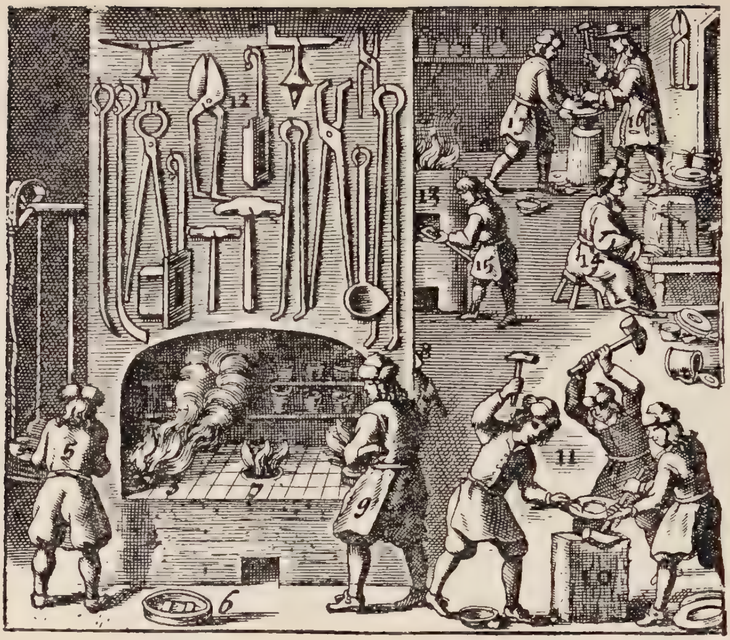
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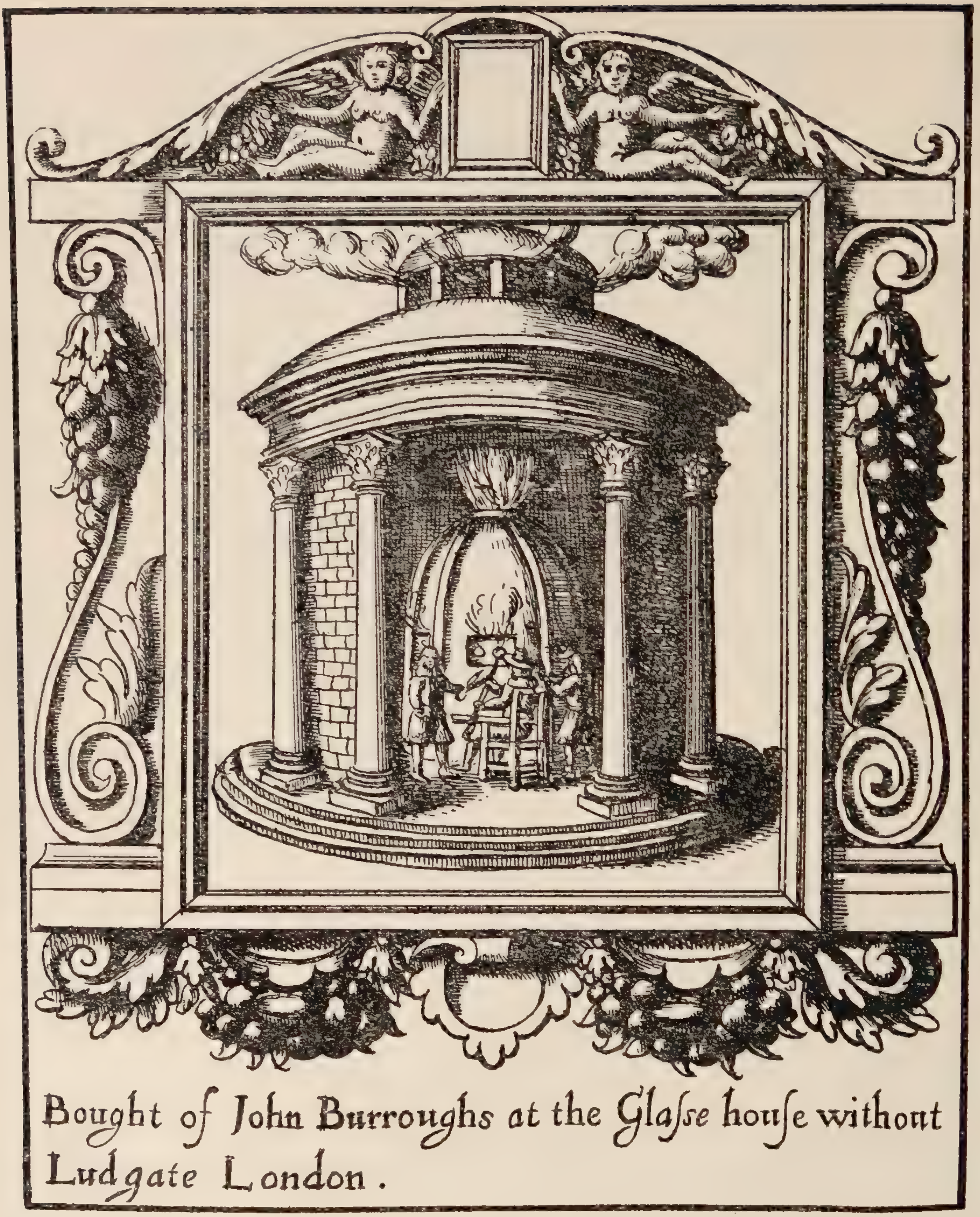
Fig. 7. A Goldsmith's workshop in the reign of Charles II. From *A new Touch-Stone for Gold and Silver Wares*, London, 1679.

Pottery, Porcelain and Glass



Bought of John Burroughs at the Glaſse houſe without Ludgate London.

Fig. 1. A glass-maker at work in front of a glass furnace, in a possibly somewhat fanciful setting. From the bill-head (enlarged) of John Burroughs, Master of the Glass Sellers' Company, 1681–82.

Pottery, Porcelain and Glass

R. J. CHARLESTON

Lead-glazed earthenware

Lead-glazed earthenware has had a continuous history in England from at least Anglo-Saxon, and probably from Roman, times. In the seventeenth century, however, it takes on a special character. Whereas in the sixteenth century the potters had had recourse, in much of their best work, to a glaze coloured green with copper and to decoration formed by moulding, in the seventeenth century other forms of ornamentation come to the fore. The first hints of these developments are to be seen in the sixteenth century, when, particularly in some of the northern potteries, a dark-bodied earthenware was decorated by means of pads of white clay cut into designs and applied to the vessel. This technique was taken up and greatly developed during the succeeding century. The earliest large and coherent body of wares decorated by this means, however, is to be credited to one of the southern counties. At Wrotham, in Kent, a brickworks was already at work towards the end of the sixteenth century, and on the site a number of wasters have been found of the hard-fired red pottery with a dark glaze which, if of sixteenth century date, would be called 'Cistercian' ware (cf. *The Tudor Period Guide*). Pottery of this sort was still made in the seventeenth century, however, and the Wrotham wasters are no doubt those of the common everyday pots made for purely utilitarian purposes (cf., however, Pl. 55A). Of far greater interest is the large series of pieces decorated with white 'slip' (clay of a creamy consistency) which can be associated with the Wrotham potters. The earliest of these usually take the form of a 'tyg' – a mug with slightly outsplayed sides, with three or more handles disposed at equal intervals round the perimeter of the pot (Pl. 55C). Such early pieces (the first dated example is of 1612) are usually sparingly ornamented with pads of white clay bearing simple impressed devices such as rosettes, plant-sprays, fleurs-de-lis, lions rampant and the like: the double-loop handles are frequently decorated with a twist of red-and-white clay let into the upper loop, which is surmounted by a white cottage-loaf finial (Pl. 55C). Towards the middle of the century the decoration becomes more elaborate, with liquid white slip being applied from a spouted can in dots and dashes, or forming simple decorative motifs and inscriptions. The dashes were frequently used in conjunction with the applied pads in such a way that the latter looked as if stitched on to the pot. The red clay used was of two tones – a darker showing deep-brown under the glaze, and a lighter showing up as reddish-brown – while the white slip appeared of a cream or yellowish tint owing to the iron impurities in the glaze. The pots were frequently stamped with initials (Pl. 55A), and these can in many cases be connected with potters known to be working in Wrotham at the time. The dated series continues until at least 1739.

It is evident that the elaborately decorated wares described were not ordinary productions, but must have been made especially for weddings, christenings, betrothals and the like. They often bear, in addition to the potter's initials, those of the intended recipient. In one case the initials are those of the potter and the girl whom he is known to have married. The forms most frequently found, apart from the 'tyg' already described, are globular cups with a single handle of the double-looped form, elaborate four-nozzled candlesticks, jugs, puzzle-jugs and, very rarely, large dishes. These last are remarkable, not only for their rarity and large size, but also because they are decorated in an exceptional technique. The dish was first coated with a layer of 'slip', and the design was then cut through this layer to the red clay below, showing up in red on cream (*sgraffiato* technique).

Far less ambitious and fanciful than the Wrotham wares, but overlapping them in date, is a kind of slipware which is frequently found in the London region and must have been made there. These wares, usually jugs, mugs (Pl. 55B) and cups, are decorated in a rather thin cream-coloured slip on a light red ground. The majority of dated examples fall in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, and this fact and the circumstance that many of them bear pious inscriptions (such as 'Remember God' or 'For Earth I am') suggest that this pottery was made either for Puritans or to conform with the canons of propriety expected in a predominantly Puritan city. The same considerations may have dictated the somewhat impoverished style of decoration which is common to most of them. This consists of little more than one or two feathery stylizations of acanthus leaves, groups of dashes, wavy lines and the like. The absence of later dated pieces has prompted the suggestion that the potteries which made this ware were destroyed in the Fire of London in 1666.

Of much greater consequence were the slipwares made in Staffordshire. Here in due course practically every possible combination of the potentialities of slip-decoration was triumphantly exploited. This whole class of slipwares has sometimes been called 'Toft' ware, from a name which appears frequently on some of the finest examples of this pottery. These are normally large dishes, some 17 to 22 in. in diameter and 3 in. deep, with a flat base and a broad, flat rim (Pl. 56A). Such pieces are normally coated with a layer of white slip (showing up rather yellowish under the lead-glaze), and the design is then drawn on with a darkish brown slip, any areas required to be of a solid colour being filled in with a slip of a redder tone. The rim was decorated with a trellis pattern of contrasting lines of the two red slips. Finally, the design in the well of the dish was picked out with dots of a white slip, which endow it with a lively sparkle. The motifs most popular on these dishes include loyal portraits of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, the royal and other arms, and emblems, such as the Pelican in her Piety and the Mermaid combing her hair. Signed Toft pieces are known dated 1671 and 1674, whilst a third piece may have been made before 1680. These great dishes were almost certainly not the routine productions of the potters who made them, but, like the Wrotham wares, commemorated special events in the lives of the people who commissioned them; and they would have stood on dressers for show, rather than have been exposed to risk in use. The same may be said of the large and elaborate many-handled posset-pots (cf. Pl. 56D) of a slightly later date, and of the model cradles, often of a considerable size, which were made to commemorate the birth of a child (Pl. 56C). To this circumstance we no doubt owe the survival of a surprisingly large number of these fine pieces.

To the technical repertory of the potters of the great slipware dishes (Pls. 56A, B), the latter part of the seventeenth century made a number of additions. Notable among these was the use of slip-combing, in which trails of slip, contrasting in colour with the surface of the piece to be decorated, were laid on in parallel lines and then 'combed' into feather patterns by drawing a point across the lines so made (Pl. 55D). Slightly dished oblong trays with patterns produced in this way have continued to be made in country potteries from that day to this.

Another way of handling slip-trailing was to lay on the lines of contrasting slip and then, by jogging the dish, to cause them to run into patterns somewhat resembling those of marbled papers. The Staffordshire (and other) potters also availed themselves of the *sgraffiato* technique already referred to, which also exploits the contrasting colours of dark and light clays. Finally, the second half of the seventeenth century saw the introduction of a method of decoration which was fraught with significance for the future development of the pottery industry in Staffordshire. This was the use of convex moulds of hard-baked clay, into which designs had been incised while it was still soft. Over these were pressed thick sheets of clay, the design being thereby transferred in raised outline. Into the depressions so formed, clay of contrasting colours could be poured to obtain the necessary chromatic effects. This technique was the first portent of the mass-production methods which were, in the eighteenth century, to make the pottery industry one of the leaders in the Industrial Revolution.

Staffordshire, however, although coming in the course of the seventeenth century to a prominence which it never subsequently lost, was only one of many centres in which lead-glazed pottery was made. Dark-glazed pottery had been made in Derbyshire in the previous century, and Tickenhall in particular is credited with a type of ware in which designs were cut out from pads of white clay and applied on a dark ground: less plausible is the attribution to this centre of a number of the types of slipware already here ascribed to Staffordshire. It seems reasonable, however, to credit the Derbyshire potteries with some of the particularly hard pottery with dark, almost metallic, glaze which seems to carry on the Tickenhall characteristics of the sixteenth century in shapes of the seventeenth century, or even later. Somewhat similar pottery, with dark-brown glaze shading off into various tones of purple and green, was made at a variety of centres in our period. In Wiltshire, somewhere in the vicinity of Salisbury, a red-bodied pottery, usually with a dark purplish-brown glaze, was decorated by means of incised or applied inscriptions (Pl. 56D), sprays of foliage, interlaced ornaments and so forth. Somewhat similar wares were made at Buckland, in Buckinghamshire, from 1701 onwards. At Gestingthorpe, in Essex, in the course of the eighteenth century, was made an analogous red-bodied pottery, covered with a yellow glaze flecked with dark brown, and decorated with incised inscriptions and rough sprays of flowers: since there was a brick-works here in 1693, it is reasonable to infer that pottery of this type was made in our period also.

All the pottery so far described owes its decoration solely to the use of various coloured clays under the yellowish lead-glaze of the period, or to incised ornaments. At other centres, however, advantage was taken of the possibilities of staining the glaze itself by means of copper- or manganese-oxide. At Donyatt, in Somersetshire, were made 'tygs', posset-pots, dishes and other shapes, decorated by scratching through a white slip to the red clay, and by staining the otherwise yellow glaze with a green mottling produced by means of brass or copper filings. Many of these pieces bear dates in the second half of the seventeenth century. To Fareham, in Hampshire, is ascribed a type of posset-pot made of a light-red clay and decorated with simple designs and inscriptions formed from notched strips of light-coloured clay, often stained purple or green with manganese or copper. These mostly bear dates in the opening years of the eighteenth century.

Stoneware

Stoneware is a type of pottery made of a clay sufficiently resistant to withstand firing at very high temperatures – so high that the clay vitrifies. Such a substance is in itself impervious to liquids. To improve its appearance, however, a glaze was often used on it. This was obtained by shovelling into the kiln, at the height of the firing, quantities of common salt. This volatilised, and combined with the constituents of the clay to form a glassy surface-layer on it. Salt-glazed stonewares of this type had been imported into England from Germany in quantity during the sixteenth century, and even in Queen Elizabeth I's reign there appears to have been an attempt to replace this costly import by a home-manufacture. Nothing is known of the fate of this venture. The same tale is repeated in the seventeenth century. In 1626 a patent was granted to Thomas Rous and Abraham Cullen to 'use, exercise, practise, and put in use the arte and feate of frameing, workeing, and makeing of all and all manner of potte, jugge, and bottelle, commonly called or knowne by the name or names of stone potte, stone jugge, and stone bottelle. ...' Nothing is known of the stoneware, if any, made by this partnership, and the same is true of another joint patent granted in 1635 to three capitalists seeking to exploit the coal-firing process for, among other things, the 'Makeinge and Dyeinge of all sortes of Panne Tyles, Stone Juggs, Bottles of all sizes ... and other Earthen Comodityes within this our Realme, which nowe are made by Straungers in Forraigne Partes; ...'

The commonest form of stoneware, as these quotations show, was the wine-bottle or -pot, the former most frequently being decorated with a bearded head in applied moulded relief. Such bottles are usually referred to as 'Bellarmines' after the Cardinal of that name who, by his unremitting opposition to the reformed religions, made himself obnoxious to northern Europe. The bottles are supposed to satirize his short stature, his full figure and his hard countenance. That they were referred to by contemporaries as 'Bellarmines' is certain, since in Ben Jonson's play *The Ordinary* occurs the passage:

> 'Or like a larger jug that some men call
> A Bellarmine ...'

At a later date, however, as has been pointed out by Mr Martin Holmes,[1] 'the man with the beard' came to be identified with the great Duke of Alva, another anti-Reformation personality well hated in northern Europe. Evelyn the diarist wrote in 1697 of Alva: 'Of whom there are a Thousand Pictures (not on medals only, but on every Jugg-Pot & Tobacco Box) showing a most malicious, stern and merciless aspect, fringed with a prolix and squalid Beard, which draws down his meager and hollow Cheeks, Emblems of his Disposition.' Whoever was represented, the 'jug faced with a beard' was a commonplace of seventeenth-century literature: and the innumerable fragments of such bottles which are excavated in this country bear witness to their almost universal employment. Most of them were probably made in the Rhineland, although some may be the unrecognized products of the kilns of Rous and Cullen. When we come to the second half of the seventeenth century, however, we are on safer ground.

In 1671 a patent was granted to a certain John Dwight for 'the Mistery of Transparent Earthenware, Comonly knowne by the Names of Porcelain or China, and Persian Ware, as alsoe the Misterie of the Stone Ware vulgarly called Cologne Ware'. In 1676, and again in 1677, John Dwight entered into contracts with the Company of Glass Sellers to supply them with stonewares. On the site of Dwight's pottery at Fulham were discovered in the nineteenth century a certain number of stoneware bottles which must have been of his making (Pl. 58A). They reveal certain differences from the normal German stonewares, to be seen in the details of the medallions applied to the body of the bottles, and in the technical peculiarity that they do not appear to have been cut from the wheel with a string, and therefore do not show the elliptical string-marks on the base which are a common feature of German stoneware pots. Dwight's fine stonewares, however, were of quite a different order. Dwight himself had been an ecclesiastical lawyer, and was a characteristic man of the late seventeenth century – many-sided, interested in the arts and sciences, and above all of an experimental frame of mind, like a true member of the Royal Society. As the terms of his patent show, he imagined himself to have discovered the secret of making porcelain. It is evident, however, from his recipes, some of which have come down to us in transcripts from his own notebooks, that what he made was a whitish salt-glazed stoneware, often so thinly potted as to be translucent. The drab, mouse-coloured and brown colours at his disposal were skilfully exploited by Dwight to produce a variety of decorative effects. White and mouse-coloured clays were kneaded together to produce a marbled effect; white reliefs were used on a brown ground; and occasionally oxide of cobalt was employed to stain a white clay blue. By these means were produced bottles and mugs of a very high ceramic quality. Far more important, however, were the figures made in the same

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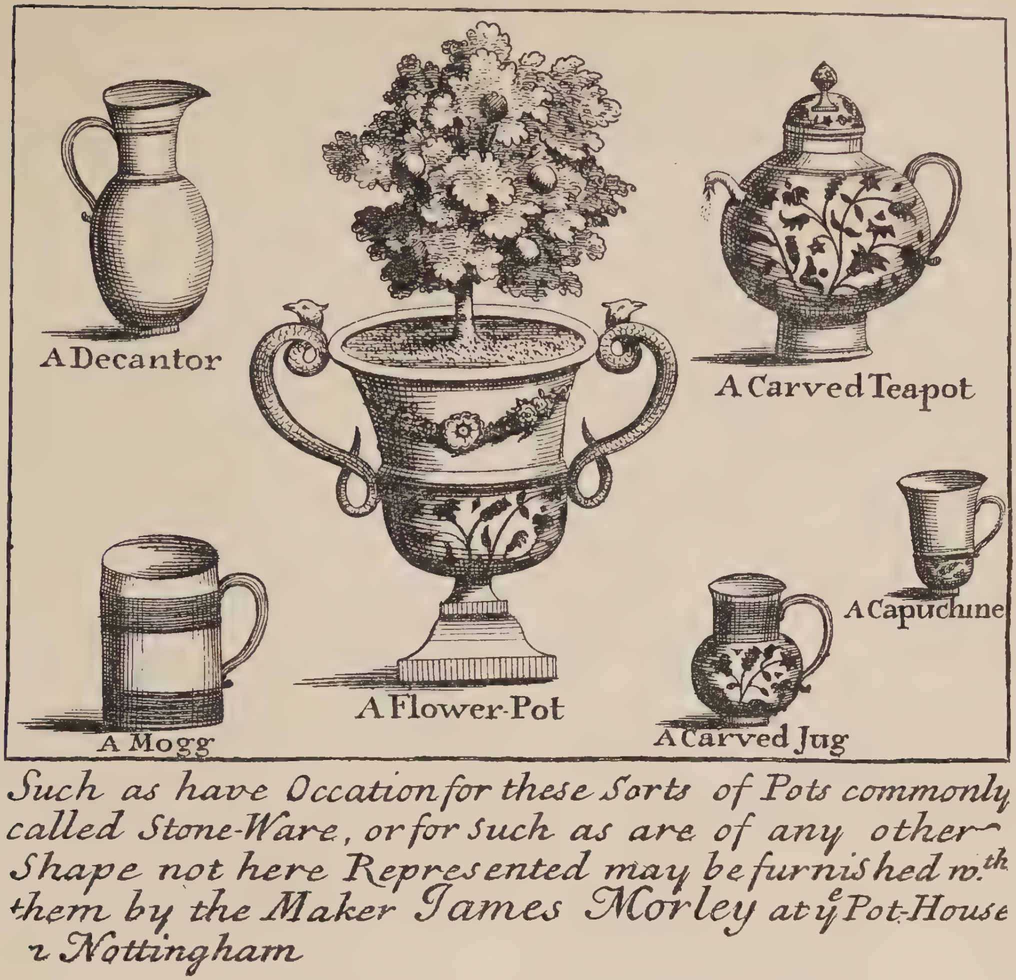
[1] Martin Holmes, "The So-Called 'Bellarmine' Mask on Imported Rhenish Stoneware", *Antiquaries' Journal* XXXI (1951), pp. 173 ff.



Such as have Occation for these Sorts of Pots commonly called Stone-Ware, or for such as are of any other Shape not here Represented may be furnished w.th them by the Maker James Morley at ye Pot-House Nottingham

Fig. 2. Copperplate advertisement of the Nottingham stoneware potter, James Morley, about 1700. *The Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

materials. These are usually regarded, and rightly so, as representing a zenith in English pottery. Not only did the material lend itself admirably to modelling, its tightly-fitting glaze in no way obscuring sharpness of detail, but the figures were made by an artist of great skill. It is not known who he was, but it may have been Dwight himself; his fellow-member of the Royal Society, Dr Plot, said of him that he had 'so far advanced the *Art Plastick* that 'tis dubious whether any Man since Prometheus have excelled *him*, not excepting the famous *Damophilus* and *Gorgasus* of *Pliny*.' The Dwight figures include Royal portraits and mythological personages, but the most eloquent of all are undoubtedly the effigies of the potter's own daughter, Lydia, one showing the child recumbent on her death-bed, the other showing her rising in her shroud to meet the Resurrection (Pl. 58B). They reveal a very strong feeling in the artist.

In 1693–94 John Dwight brought actions against a number of other potters for infringing his patent of 1684, which confirmed and extended the patent of 1671. Among those named were

Aaron, Thomas and Richard Wedgwood, of Burslem, in Staffordshire, and James Morley, of Nottingham. Little is known of stoneware-potting in Staffordshire at this date, but it is an interesting fact that in a list of Staffordshire potters working about 1710, drawn up by Josiah Wedgwood considerably later in the century, Dr Thomas Wedgwood is shown as making 'brown stone', whilst others made 'stone' and 'freckled' ware. These literary references are supported both by fragments of stoneware excavated in Staffordshire and by intact pieces of almost certain Staffordshire origin. Of the former class are fragments of mugs decorated with bands of horizontal reeding and applied relief-sprigging of characteristic seventeenth century type: some of them bear the crowned cipher AR, and come from mugs of certified capacity. Although these initials are not always to be taken at their face-value, in this case there is no reason to think that the mugs were not made in the reign of Queen Anne. Furthermore, in the Enoch Wood Collection (assembled in Staffordshire in the early nineteenth century, before the trade in antiquities had properly begun) were three small mugs which are relevant in this context. One is in buff stoneware with a broad brown band round the top: the other two are of virtually identical shape, but of a mottled lead-glazed earthenware. It is reasonable to assume that the first is of the 'dipped white stoneware' referred to by Wedgwood, while the others are of the 'freckled' ware. Either category, but especially the first, might be classed as the 'brown mugs' of Dwight's law-suit.

The case of James Morley is simpler. Stonewares of a lustrous light-brown surface are known with inscriptions which connect them with Nottingham, and with dates commencing in 1700. These pieces, often decorated with incised designs or with ornaments pierced through the outer layer of a double-wall (Pl. 58D), frequently agree in shape and style with those represented in Morley's own trade-card, now preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Fig. 2).

Of greater ultimate importance than either the Wedgwoods or James Morley, however, were two other potters indicted at the same time in Dwight's suit. These were John and David Elers, then of Fulham, who were accused of infringing the patent as regards 'brown muggs and red theapotts', corresponding to the 'Cologne' wares and the 'Opacous, Redd, and Dark coloured Porcellane or China and Persian Wares ...' of Dwight's patent. These red teapots imitated the stoneware teapots of Yi-hsing, which were at this time being imported into England by the East India Company (see p. 101 below). Probably as a result of Dwight's litigation, the Elers withdrew to Staffordshire, and set up a pottery at Bradwell Wood, near Newcastle-under-Lyme. The scientist Martin Lister wrote in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1693: 'I have this to add, that this clay, *Haematites*, is as good, if not better than that which is brought from the *East Indies*. Witness the *teapots* now to be sold at the potters in the *Poultry* in *Cheapside*, which not only for art, but for beautiful color too, are far beyond any we have from *China*; these are made from the *English Haematites* in Staffordshire, as I take it, by two Dutchmen, incomparable artists.' The work of the Elers has been reasonably well determined. It consists of unglazed red teapots, globular mugs (Fig. 3), reeded straight-sided mugs, cups and saucers, and tea-bottles (small caddies). Most of these pieces are decorated with sprays of flowers and leaves moulded in relief, but some have figural decorations in relief on recessed panels, the latter being, in one instance, backed with gilding. One or two examples of the Elers' work are known which are decorated with simple enamelling. This is perhaps the first enamelling carried out on European ceramics, and is noteworthy for this reason, if for no other. The Elers were apparently silversmiths by training, and the transference from metal-work to pottery of a technique hitherto exclusive to the former may well have occurred more readily to them than to more ordinary potters. This jewel-like enamelling (Pl. 58C), mainly in white, may well have a continuous history in England from the Elers' time down to the middle of the eighteenth century. A dated example of 1706 shows that it survived the Elers' period of activity in Staffordshire, for they are known to have returned to London by 1700 at the latest. Their importance resides in the fact that by the fineness of their work they set a standard hitherto undreamed of in Staffordshire. It was destined to inspire the potters there during the vital formative period of the industry in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Tin-glazed earthenware ('delftware')

The expression 'delftware' is something of a misnomer in so far as the greater part of the tin-glazed pottery made in England during the seventeenth century is concerned, for the industry was well established in this country long before Delft rose to eminence as a city of potters. In fact, the making of tin-glazed earthenware, as was shown in *The Tudor Period Guide*, was transplanted here from the Spanish Netherlands. They had in turn received it from Italy, the fountain-head of this painted pottery (there called *maiolica*). English 'delftware' potteries are known in the late sixteenth century both in East Anglia and in Aldgate, London. Although some 'delftware' was made in Norwich during the second half of the seventeenth century, however, the emphasis throughout the Stuart period is on London. Here, apart from the Aldgate pottery already mentioned, two factories existed in Southwark in the first half of the seventeenth century – in the parishes of St Olave's and St Saviour's. To the certainly English pottery of the period 1600–60 it is therefore more accurate to give the label 'Southwark' or 'London', rather than the more usual 'Lambeth'; since it was not until the period 1660–80 that one or more potteries making 'gallyware' (as it was called by contemporaries) began operations at Lambeth. The position is complicated by the fact that potters from Southwark migrated about the middle of the century to Brislington, near Bristol, and founded a pottery there: this in turn hived off a factory in Bristol itself (the Temple pottery) in 1683. In evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1698 it was stated that 'there are 7 White Earthen-warehouses about *London*: Two at *Bristoll*; and One at *Norwich*, which is since broke'. To the potteries of the London area already mentioned should be added at least one, and probably two, at Vauxhall; while at the very end of our period (in 1710) the manufacture of delftware was begun in Liverpool.

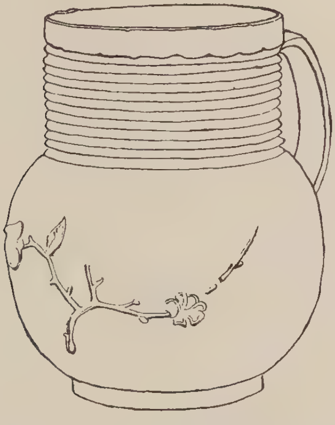


Fig. 3. Unglazed red stoneware mug with relief decoration, mounted with a silver band round the lip. Staffordshire (Bradwell Wood, factory of the brothers Elers), *c.* 1700.

Tin-glazed pottery is a lightly-fired earthenware covered with a lead-glaze made an opaque-white by the use of oxide (ashes) of tin. Its virtues reside in the beauty of the dense white glaze itself, and in the possibilities which it opens up of decoration by painting. Painting on ware of this type, however, offers its own special difficulties. The pottery is first fired to a porous 'biscuit' condition, in which state it readily soaks up the glaze mixture (ground glaze suspended in water) into which it is dipped. On this somewhat rough base the painter has to carry out his designs without benefit of rubbings-out or *pentimenti*. These exacting conditions demand of the practitioner sureness of touch, and the chief virtues of delftware-painting are directness and boldness. The pigments used have to be such that they stand up to a considerable degree of heat in the second firing, when glaze and painting are developed together by the fire. The range of these metallic pigments is therefore limited, being restricted in practice to cobalt-oxide for blue, manganese-oxide for purple and brown tones, copper-oxide for green, antimony for yellow and iron for red.

The 'delftwares' made at the beginning of our period were probably mostly in the general style of the contemporary Netherlands wares, with their echoes of Italian *maiolica*, being painted in the blue, purple, green, yellow and orange palette favoured at the time. Very little pottery of any pretension survives from the first two decades of the seventeenth century, however, and it is not until the founding of the Southwark potteries that an individual English style develops. At first it is most apparent in the shapes used. Typical among these is a small barrel-shaped mug (Pl. 60D), and although of these one of the earliest (1628) is decorated with no more than an overall speckling in manganese-purple, while a later example (1642) still displays the polychrome ornamentation of grotesques derived from the *maiolica* of Urbino, a small number of such mugs, of dates about 1630, are decorated in an entirely new way. Between borders of lines or conventional ornament are painted figures of birds standing on rocks amidst flowers and foliage, with an occasional insect flying in the interspaces (Pl. 60D). Both border-patterns and bird motifs are clearly copied from the imported Chinese porcelain of the Wan Li period (1573–1619),[2] but they are painted with a naïve charm of their own. One finds similarly decorated straight-sided mugs, spouted covered posset-pots, and wine-bottles of the same general shape as Dwight's stonewares (p. 96 above). As important as the decoration is the Chinese-inspired palette in which it is carried out – soft blue on the (sometimes pinkish) white of the glaze. This cool colour-scheme was extended to the embellishment of a range of wares which owed nothing else to imported porcelain – plates, posset-pots, porringers, candlesticks and wine-bottles decorated with nothing more than a coat-of-arms or a cartouche containing the owner's initials and a date; or, in the case of the wine-bottles, little more than the name of the wine, the date and a calligraphic scroll below them in the manner of the flourished signatures of the period (Pl. 60E). This beautiful pottery was made from the 1630's until the 1680's. The dense white glaze which constitutes its chief charm was occasionally left to speak for itself on pieces entirely undecorated by painting.

The delftwares so far described were all made for use. Contemporaneously, however, the London potters were turning out ambitiously painted dishes which were solely for decoration, to be displayed on the court-cupboards where richer people would range their plate. These pieces preserve the polychrome palette of an earlier period, and, from the circumstance that the great majority of them have a border of slanting blue brush-strokes, are familiarly known as 'blue-dash chargers'. The subjects chosen to decorate the centres of these showy pieces included biblical scenes, fruits and flowers, ships, coats-of-arms and representations of the Kings of England. Four types in particular were constantly repeated, and these form the most characteristic 'Lambeth' and 'Bristol' polychrome delftwares of the second half of the seventeenth century. These four are the chargers painted with the story of the Fall (Pl. 57A), with a spray of tulips and other flowers (Pl. 57B), with representations of the reigning monarch (whether mounted, standing or half-length), or with vigorous formal designs of scrolls and curved strokes.

Apart from the decorative and functional pieces already described, mention should be made of the numerous vessels made for medical use. These consist mainly of spouted jars on pedestal feet, and of cylindrical pots, used to contain respectively liquid and dry medicaments; smaller pots for ointment, heart-shaped slabs elaborately painted with the arms of the Apothecaries' Company, for rolling pills, or merely for display; and, finally, one-handled bleeding bowls, and shaving-dishes with a segment out of the rim, illustrating the two aspects of the barber-surgeon's profession. These mainly utilitarian objects were normally decorated in blue only.

The blue-and-white colour-scheme continued in favour throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially in forms of decoration which were of oriental character (Pl. 57D); but towards the end of the seventeenth century the polychrome palette of the 'blue-dash' chargers was discarded in favour of rather more sober schemes, in which blue, manganese-purple, red and green played a dominant part (Pl. 57C).

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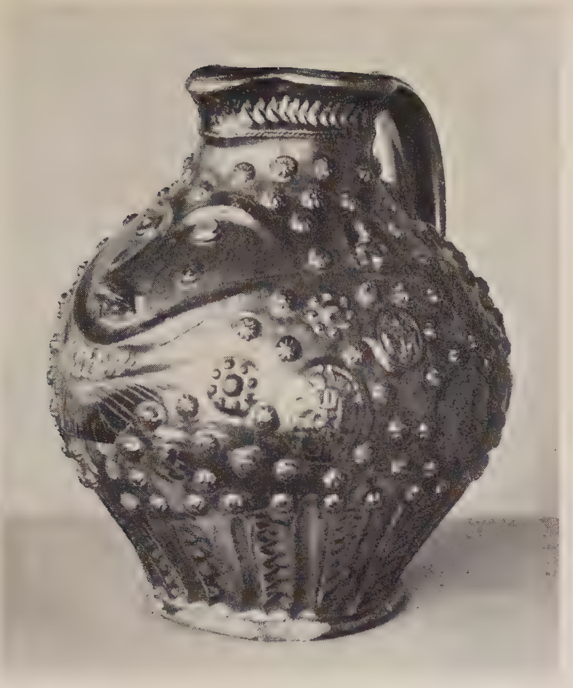
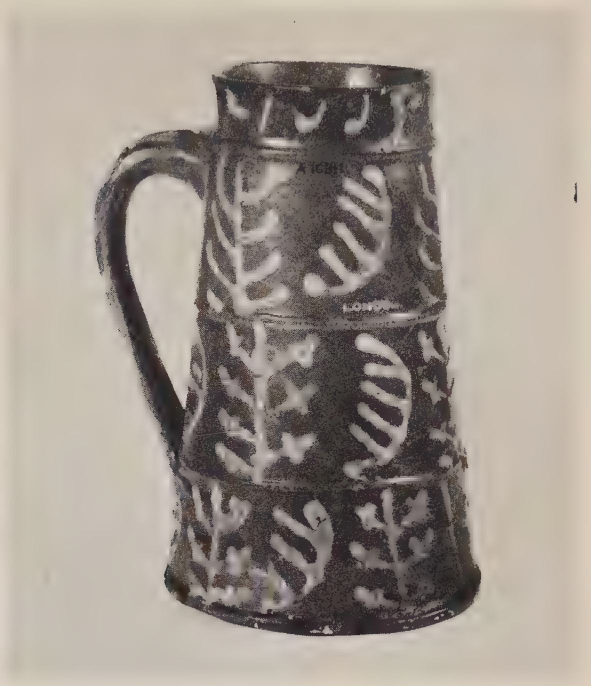
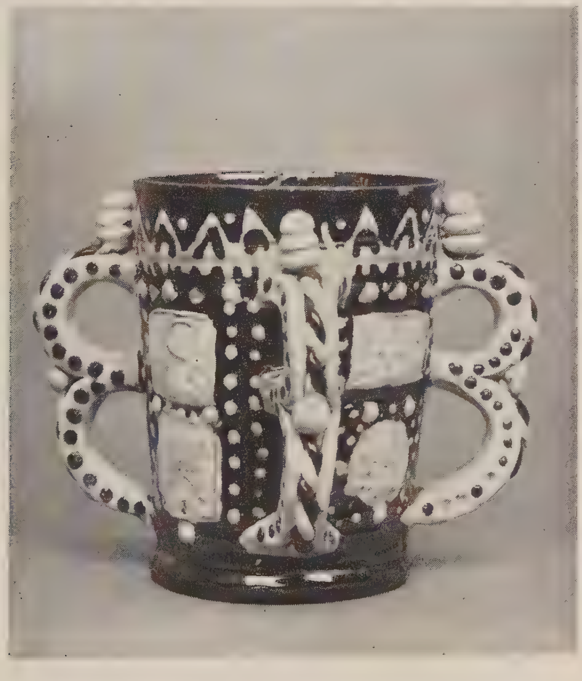
[2] See p. 101 below.



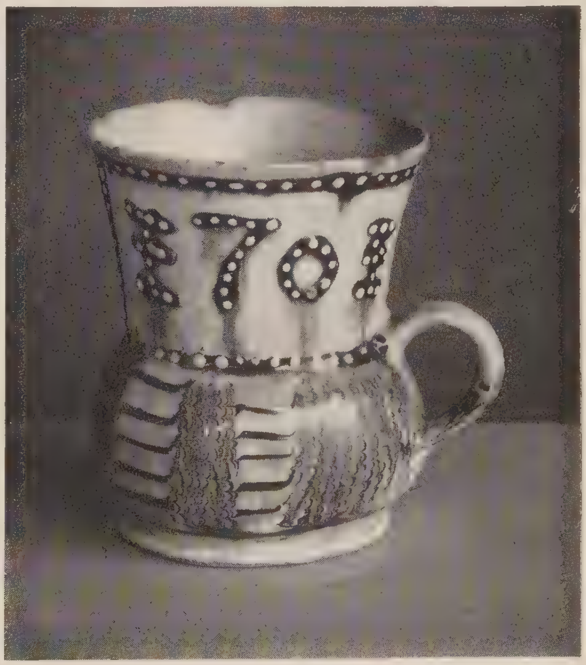
(A) Jug of dark lead-glazed earthenware with applied relief decoration. By the potter John Ifield of Wrotham, Kent, dated 1674. Height $12\frac{3}{8}$ in. *V. and A. Museum.*



(B) Tankard, lead-glazed earthenware with slip decoration. Probably made in London, mid-seventeenth century. Height $7\frac{4}{5}$ in. *London Museum.*

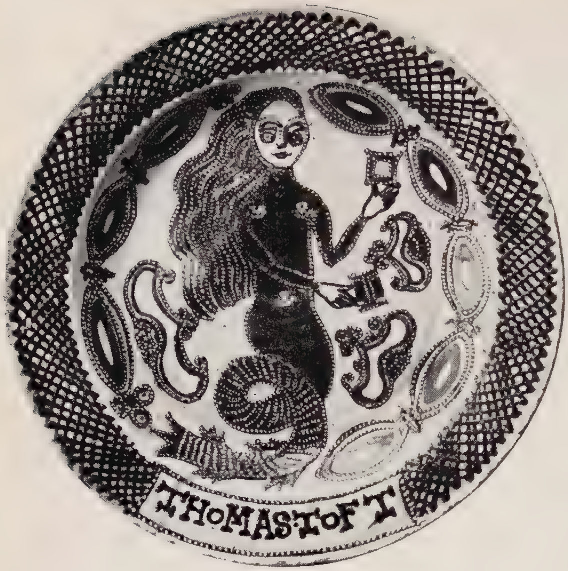


(C) 'Tyg', lead-glazed earthenware with impressed and trailed slip decoration. By the potter John Livermore, of Wrotham, Kent, dated 1649. Height $6\frac{1}{4}$ in.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

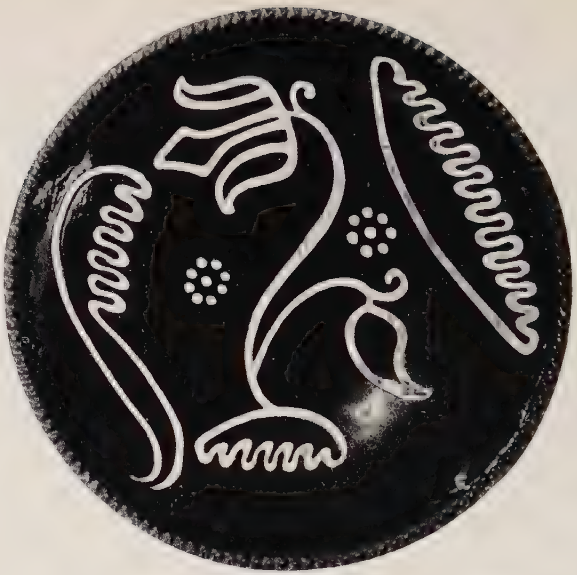


(D) Mug, lead-glazed earthenware with trailed and combed slip decoration. Staffordshire, dated 1701. Height $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

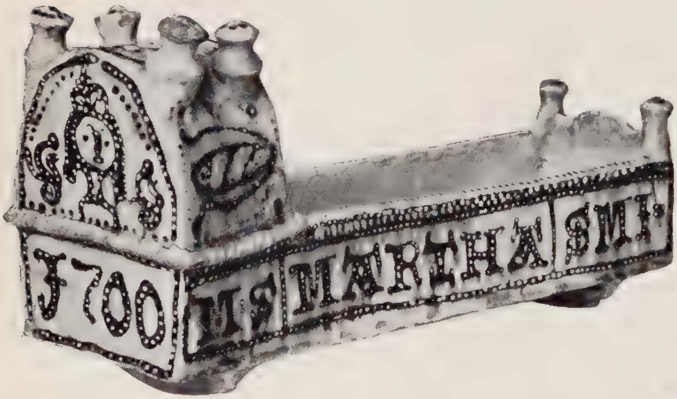
PLATE 55



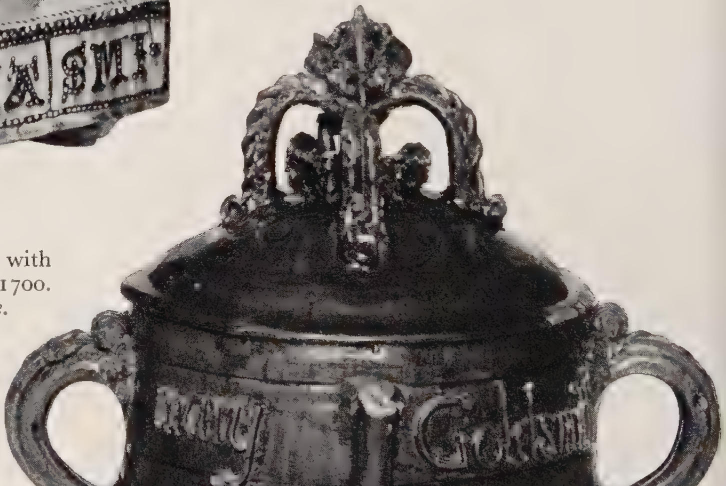
(A) Dish, lead-glazed earthenware with slip decoration. By Thomas Toft, of Staffordshire, about 1675. Diameter 17¼ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



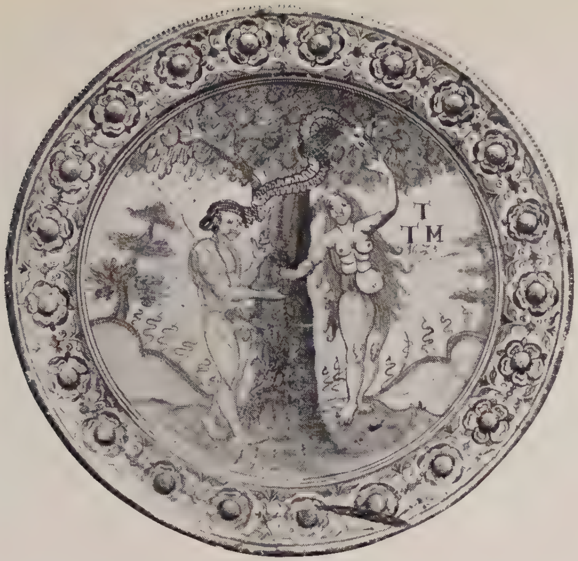
(B) Dish, lead-glazed earthenware with trailed slip decoration. Staffordshire, late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Diameter 13 in. *Northampton Museum.*



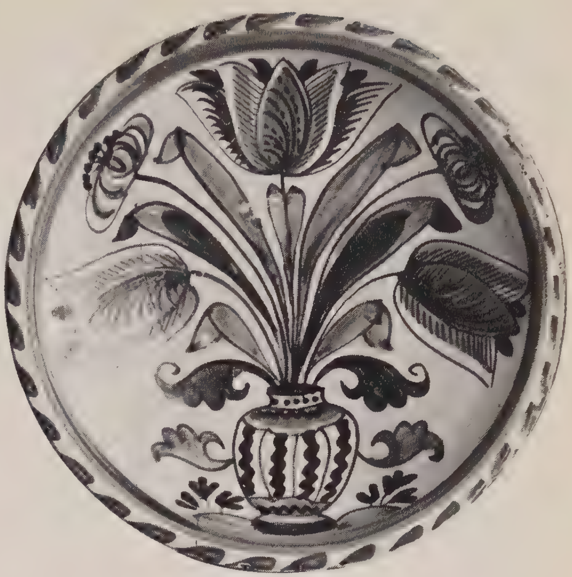
(C) Model of a cradle, lead-glazed earthenware with trailed slip decoration. Staffordshire, dated 1700. Length 16 in. *Fitzwilliam Museum. Cambridge.*



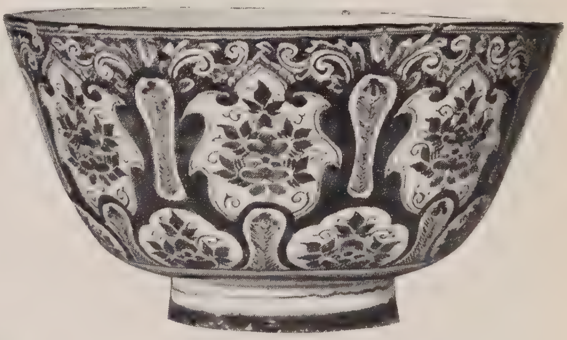
(D) Posset-pot, greenish-brown lead-glazed earthenware. Inscribed 'William and mary Goldsmith'. S. Wilts, dated 1697. Height 8¾ in. *Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.*



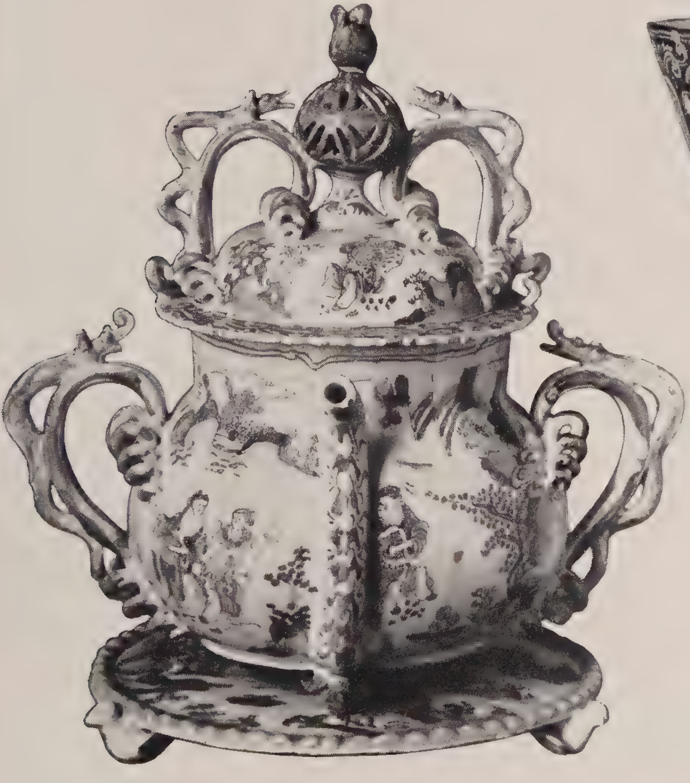
(A) Charger, polychrome delftware. London, dated 1635. Diameter 19 in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



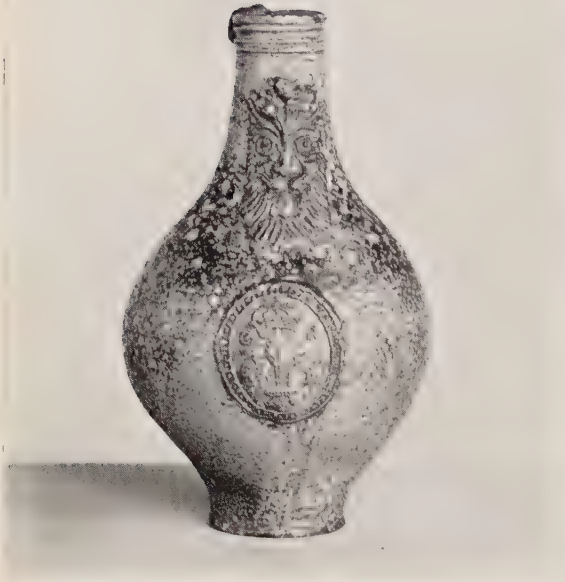
(B) Charger, polychrome delftware. Lambeth, about 1680. Diameter 13¾ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



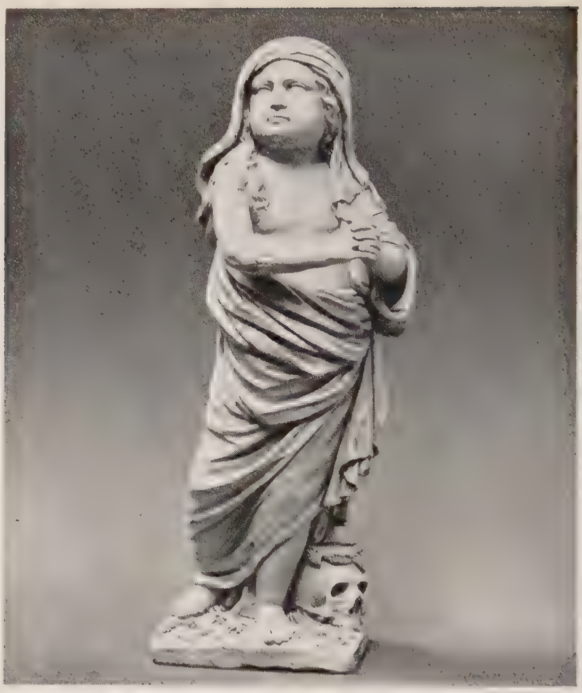
(C) Bowl, polychrome delftware. Perhaps Bristol, early eighteenth century. Diameter 12 in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



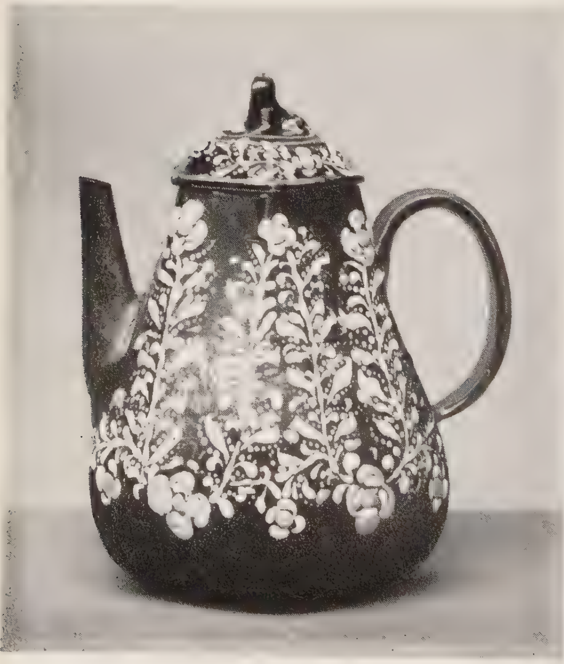
(D) Posset-pot, delftware painted in blue. Lambeth, dated 1685. Height 13½ in. *Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.*



(A) Wine-bottle ('Bellarmine'), salt-glazed stoneware with applied moulded relief decoration, about 1680. Found on the site of John Dwight's factory at Fulham. Height 8 in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

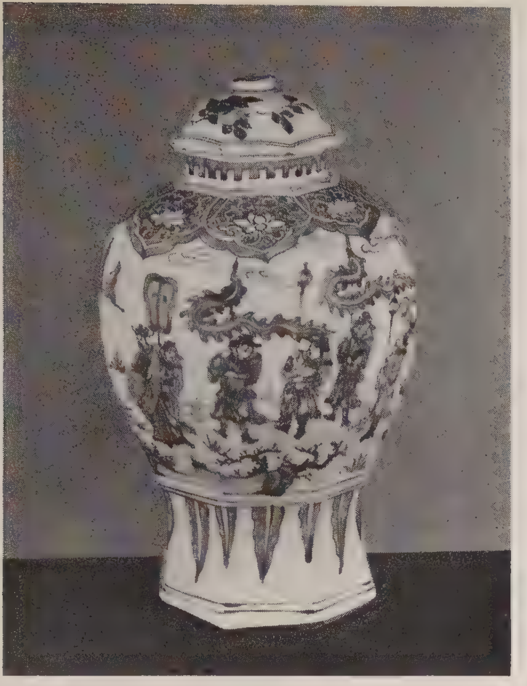


(B) Figure of Lydia Dwight, salt-glazed stoneware. By John Dwight, Fulham, about 1673–4. Height 11¼ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

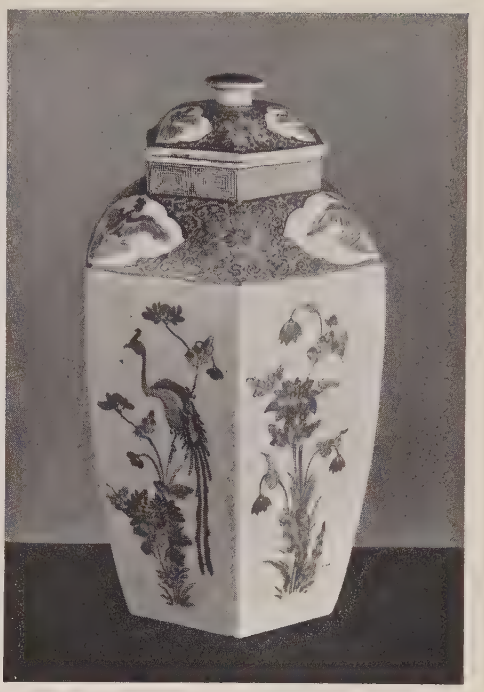


(C) Teapot, brown salt-glazed stoneware with enamelled decoration. Staffordshire, about 1700. Height 5½ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

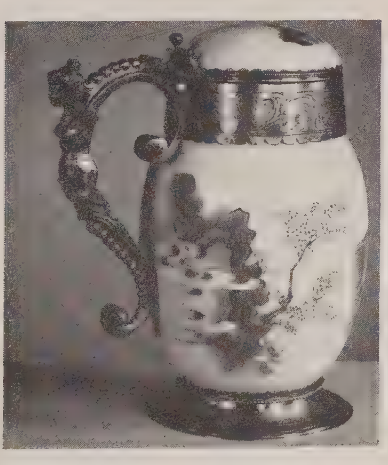
(D) Mug, brown salt-glazed stoneware with incised decoration. Probably by James Morley at Nottingham, about 1700. Height 3⅞ in. *Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.*



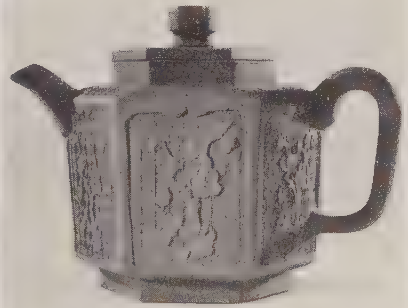
(A) Covered jar, porcelain painted in underglaze blue. Chinese, second quarter of the seventeenth century. Height approx. 13 in. *Hampton Court, by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen.*



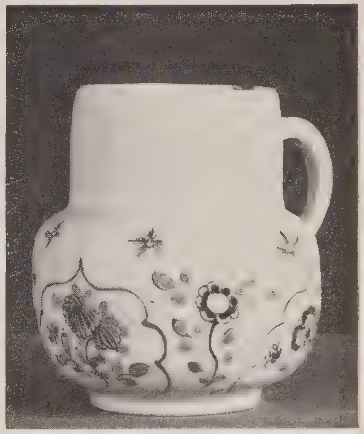
(B) Covered jar, porcelain painted in polychrome enamels in the 'Kakiemon' style. Japanese (Arita), late seventeenth century. Height 12½ in. *Hampton Court, by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen.*



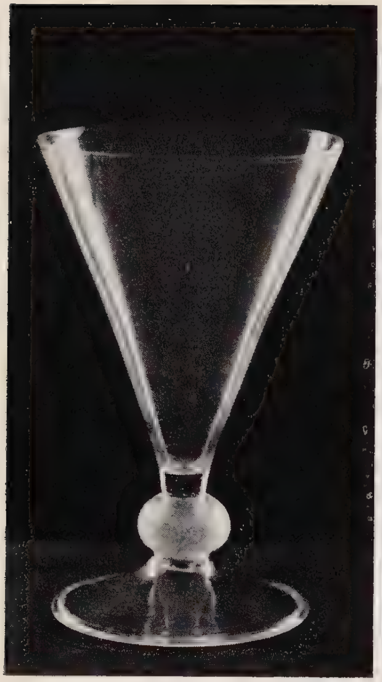
(C) Tankard, porcelain painted in underglaze blue, mounted in a contemporary English silver mount. Chinese, second quarter of seventeenth century. Height 7½ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



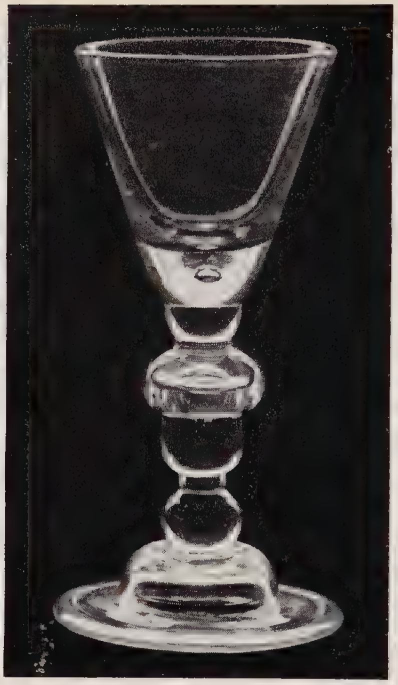
(D) Teapot, unglazed red stoneware with moulded decoration. Chinese (Yi-hsing); late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Height 4⅛ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



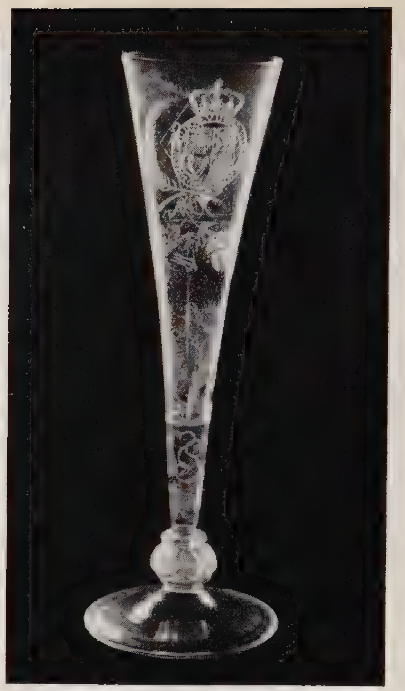
(E) Mug, porcelain with enamelled decoration. Chinese (Tê-hua), late seventeenth century. Height 3¾ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



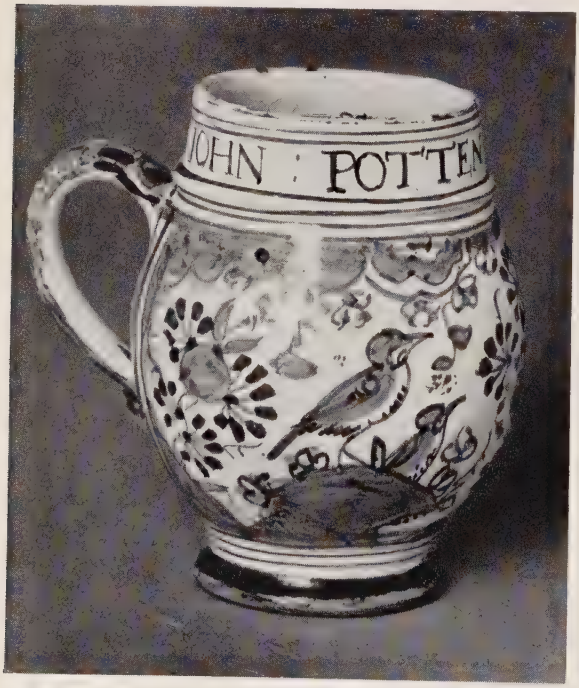
(A) Wine-glass, English or Venetian for the English market, middle of the seventeenth century. Height 6 in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



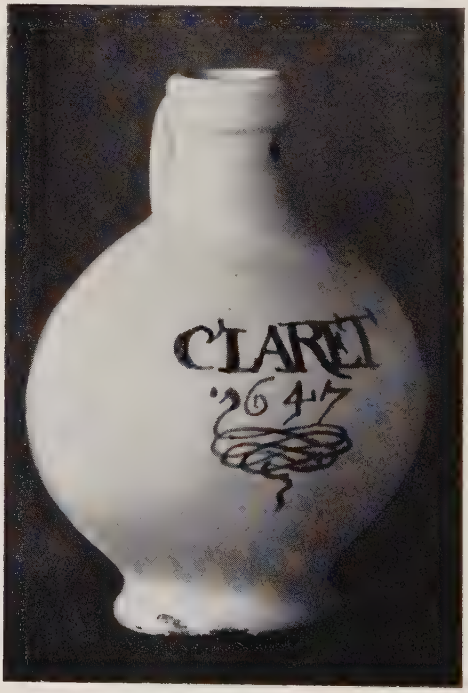
(B) Wine - glass, English, early eighteenth century. Height $7\frac{1}{8}$ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



(C) 'Flute'-glass, engraved with the diamond-point. Arms of England and Scudamore. English, *c.* 1650. Ht $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. *London Museum.*

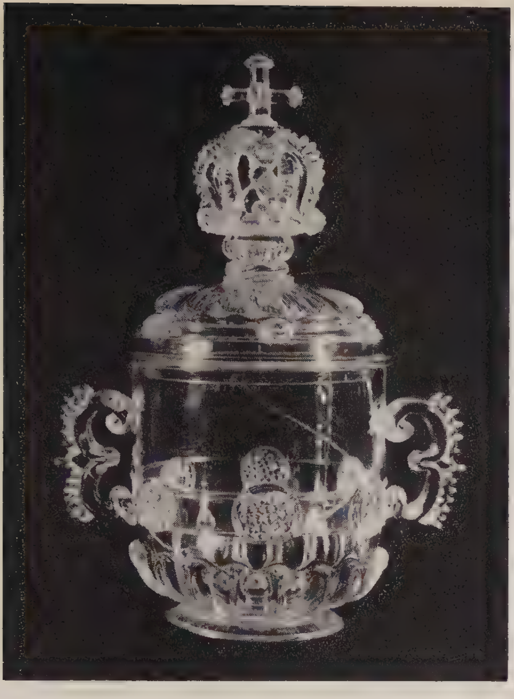


(D) Mug, delftware, painted in blue and inscribed: 'IOHN POTTEN & SVSANNA 1633'. Southwark. Ht. $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. *Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.*

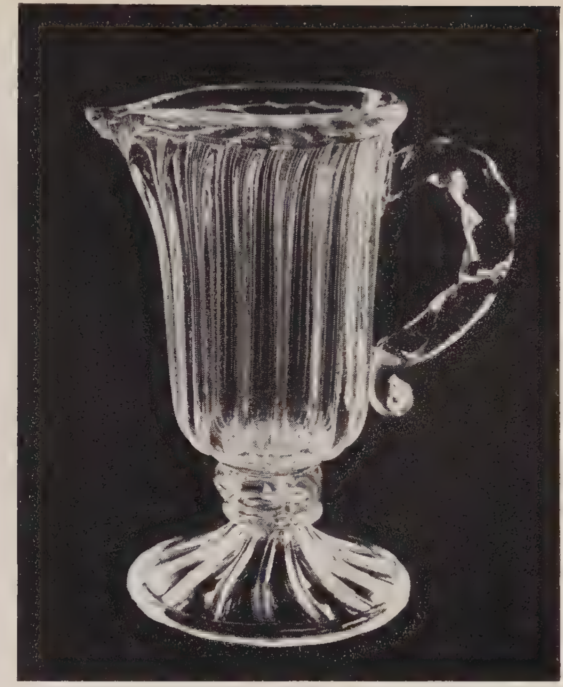


(E) Wine-bottle, delftware, inscribed in blue. London, dated 1647. Height $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

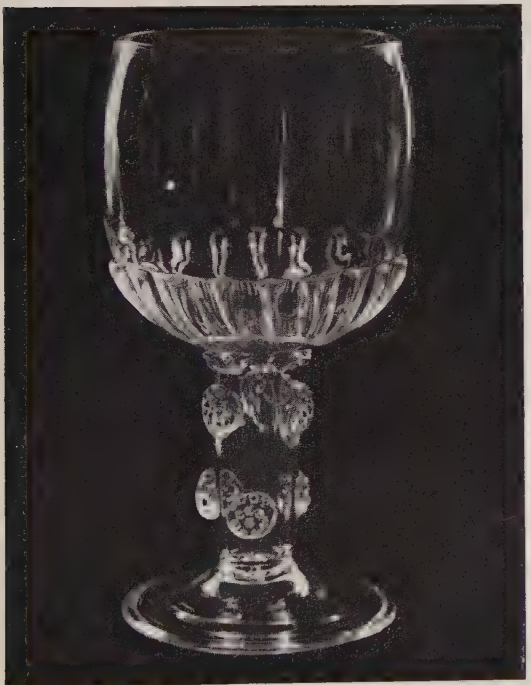
PLATE 60



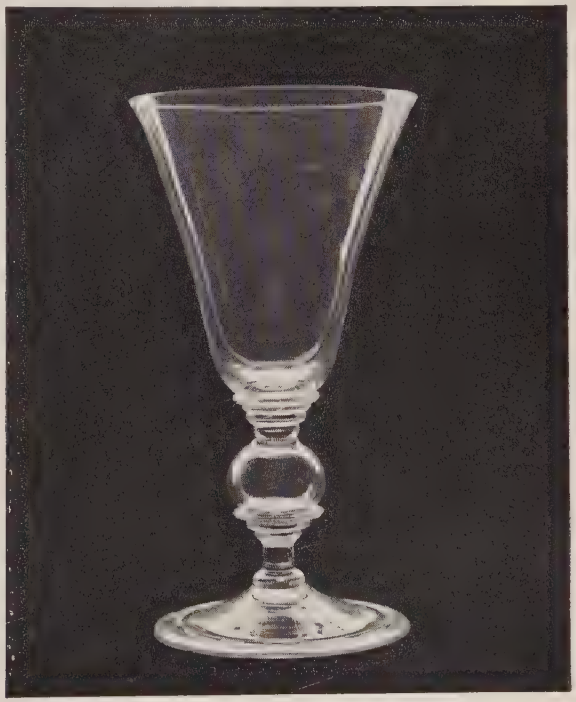
(A) Posset-pot, glass. English, about 1685. Height 12¼ in. *Courtesy Donald H. Beves, Esq.*



(B) Jug, glass. Probably made at the Savoy glass-house of George Ravenscroft, about 1680. Height 10⅞ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

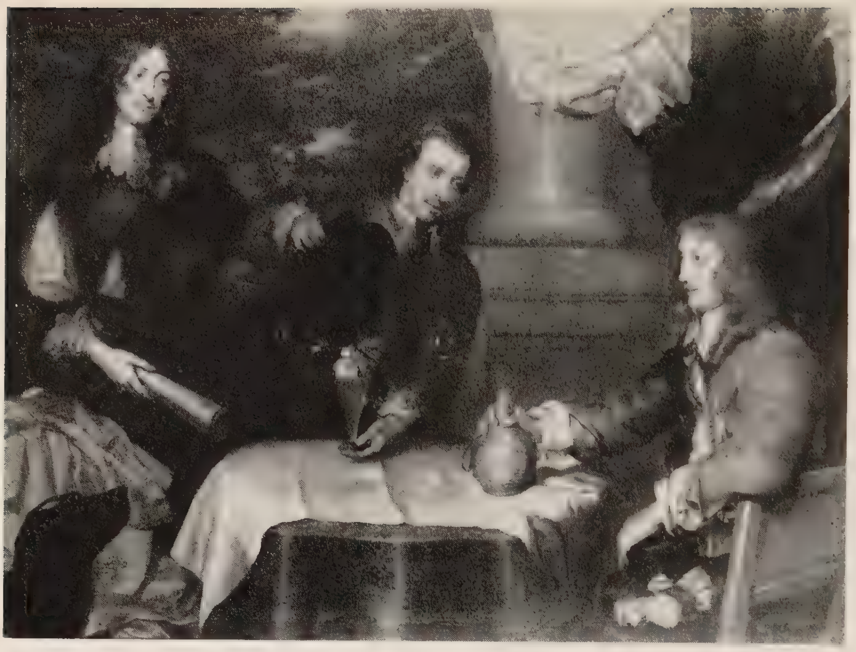


(C) Roemer, glass, with applied impressed 'prunts'. London, about 1680–85. Height 7⅞ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

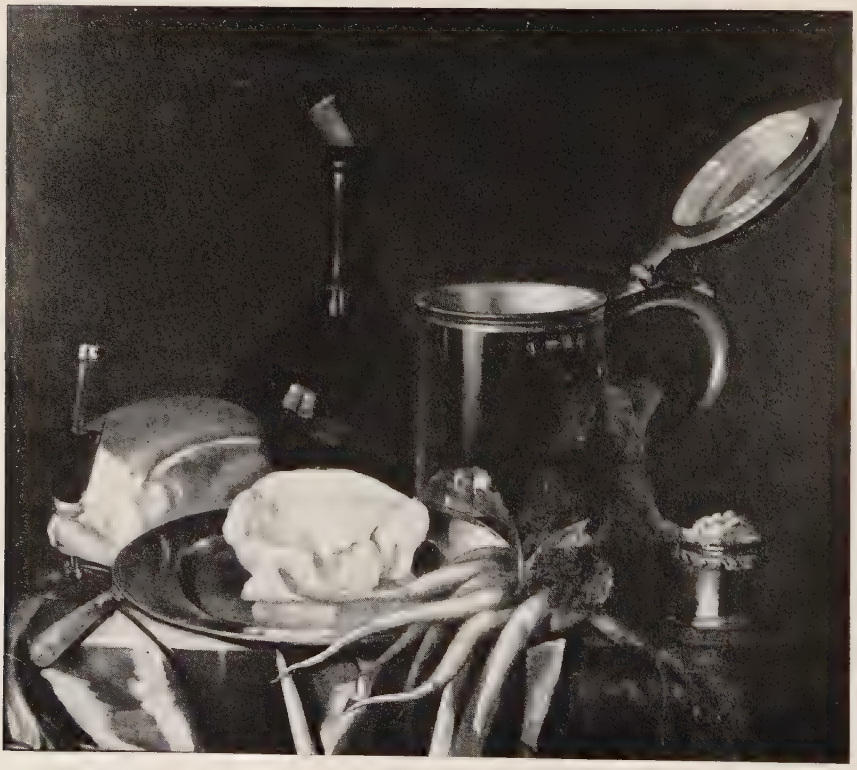


(D) Goblet, glass, the hollow stem enclosing a six-pence of King William III, dated 1690. English, last decade of the seventeenth century. Height 9 in. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

PLATE 61



(A) Oil-painting by William Dobson, said to show Prince Rupert and Col. Murray persuading Col. Russell to rejoin the Royalists. In the wine-glass a red wine. *Courtesy Lord Sandys.*



(B) Detail from still-life in the manner of E. Collier, showing a silver tankard bearing the English hall-mark for 1688, a wine-glass, and a black glass bottle. English, late seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

PLATE 62

Oriental porcelain

Porcelain had reached England in only very small quantities during the sixteenth century, and was accordingly treated with the greatest respect, as its evident superiority to any European pottery warranted. It was normally mounted with gilt metal mounts, both to preserve it and to call attention to its importance – and occasionally to adapt it to European usage. This reverential attitude to Chinese porcelain is evident in the early part of the seventeenth century. In the inventory of Lettice, Countess of Leicester, 'prized the viith day of January, 1634' was 'Item, one pursland boule, with a guilt footte and a guilt cover. xlvs.' (a considerable sum in those days). This may have been a treasured possession from an earlier period, for in the same inventory occurs the more casual entry 'Item, six pursland fruit dishes': but the practice of mounting porcelain still continued at this time, as is shown by Pl. 59C – indeed, many pieces of this type were especially manufactured in China for mounting in Europe, the lid being made separately.

The most usual imports of porcelain during this early period were of bowls, dishes and vases (although smaller items were already being made to suit European taste – in 1638 Lady Brilliana Harley made a present to a friend of 'two cruets of chinna, with silver and gilt covers, and bars and feete ...'). Thus, when some East India commodities were 'put to sale by the candle for readie money' in London in 1618, the porcelain consisted of three 'greate deepe bason(s)'; and when the Dutch wished to make a present to Charles I in 1635, they selected 'two large basins of China earth'. This emphasis tended to shift somewhat with the introduction of the oriental beverages – tea and coffee – into this country. In Holland, the Directors of the Dutch East India Company could write to their factors in Batavia in 1637: 'As tea begins to come into use by some of the people, we expect some jars of Chinese as well as Japanese tea with every ship'; but the earliest printed reference to tea in England seems to be a well-known advertisement in the *Commonwealth Mercury* of September, 1658. Of coffee, Evelyn wrote in his *Memoirs* for 1637: 'There came in my tyme to the Coll: one Nathaniel Conopios out of Greece. ... He was the first I ever saw drink coffee, whch custom came not into England till 30 years after.' In this Evelyn was ten years or so out, for from about 1652 that drink ('blacke as soote, and tasting not much unlike it', as an earlier writer had said) was to be had of Pasqua Rosee in St Michael's Alley in Cornhill. For exotic drinks, exotic cups were fitting; and from about the middle of the century wares for the tea-table assume a greater importance. In 1637 the Dutch East India Company ordered 25,000 tea-cups from its factors, and from that date tea-wares formed a constant and important item in their porcelain requisitions. This change of emphasis is paralleled in England. At a supper-party given by Lady Gerrard in 1652 there is mention of cups and saucers of porcelain, as well as of plates, all in considerable quantities. The saucer, from being a little plate for sauce, as its name implies, was now to become the inseparable adjunct of the tea-cup. Tea was extremely expensive at this period, costing anything between 25*s.* and three guineas per pound, and it was in consequence no doubt drunk weak in the Chinese manner, and in small quantities.

Most of the porcelain so far described would have been of the blue-and-white ware made at the great pottery-centre of Ching-tê Chên, in the Kiangsi province of China. For the brewing of tea, however, 'porcelain' of another sort was deemed appropriate. This was the unglazed red stoneware of Yi-hsing, in Kiangsu, which was highly esteemed by the Chinese themselves for the purpose: in Europe it was sometimes, through confusion with a superficially similar Spanish ware, called *boccaro*. Thus, in 1681 a Treasury Warrant issued to the Customs Commissioners to permit the landing of 'some pictures, pourcellin and Boucaros'. The small teapots made from this red ware were usually decorated with sprays of prunus-blossom in relief (Pl. 59D), and it is to such ware that an advertisement in the *London Gazette* of 14th to 18th February 1695, refers: 'At the Marine Coffee House in Birchin-lane Cornhill, on Friday the 1st of March at 3 after Noon will be exposed to Sale by the Candle, fine red figured and flowered Tea Pots, Chocolate Cups, and other Curiosities. ...' The red teapots, chocolate-cups, saucers and tea-bottles were copied by the potters in Holland, and in England by John Dwight and the Elers brothers (see p. 98 above).

The porcelain hitherto described has been mainly of a utilitarian character, however exalted the uses to which it was put. At the same time, however, porcelain vases and bowls were being used for purely decorative purposes, as one may occasionally see them represented in the contemporary Dutch paintings of interiors. Wycherley in his *Plain Dealer* (1674) makes Olivia say of porcelain that it is 'the most innocent and pretty furniture for a lady's chamber'. Hitherto most of the porcelain which had reached England had come via Holland. About this time, however, it began to be imported by the English East India Company, although considerable imports direct from China do not seem to have begun much before 1700. As to the scale of the trade at this date we have not only the records of the East India Company, but the words of a contemporary seaman, a certain Barlow, who was serving as chief mate and China pilot on the *Fleet Frigate*: '... And having all things ready, on Monday the 1st day of February 1702-3, we set sail from a place called "Whampow" in the river of Canton in China, praying God for a good passage to England, being a full ship and laden with goods, namely: 205 chests of China and Japan ware, porcelain ... and a great deal more loose China and Japan earthenware, which was packed up on board ....' The great quantities, often running into tens of thousands of pieces, which suddenly flooded the market as the East Indiamen reached home, caused the prices of porcelain to fluctuate violently. Thus it stands on record that in 1699 'the price of chinaware is fallen 12s. in the pound'. Normally, however, the demand for porcelain was greater than the supply, and in years of war prices might rise to three times the normal. In addition to the inherent high cost of a rare commodity brought from so far away, the English customer had to pay duty on his porcelain at the rate of 33 per cent.

Despite high prices, however, enormous quantities of porcelain were absorbed by Europe during the second half, and particularly the last quarter, of the seventeenth century; and it began to be used purely for decoration in a way hitherto undreamed of. This fashion was given in England the supreme impetus of being taken up by the Queen. Already whilst still in Holland, Queen Mary had contracted a passion for porcelain, and in her country residence of Hunsslardiek, near The Hague, she had an audience chamber which was described in 1687 as 'very richly furnished with Chinese work and pictures ... The chimney-piece was full of precious porcelain, part standing half inside it, and so fitted together that one piece supported another'. This interior must have been the modest counterpart of certain rooms in German palaces, where every available space was filled with great pyramids of porcelain of every shape and size. This conception, on a more modest scale, was carried to England when King William III and his Queen began to rebuild and redecorate Hampton Court in 1689. The traces of this provision for porcelain are still to be seen in the shelf-topped corner fireplaces in many of the rooms, and much of Queen Mary's Chinese and Japanese porcelain is still to be found there (Pls. 59A, B). Defoe wrote in his *Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724–27): 'The Queen brought in the Custom or Humour, as I may call it, of furnishing Houses with *China*-Ware, which increased to a strange degree afterwards, piling their *China* upon the tops of Cabinets, scrutores, and every Chimney-piece, to the Tops of the Ceilings, and even setting up Shelves for their *China*-ware, where they wanted such Places. ...' This was indeed the China-mania, of which we hear already in Wycherley's *The Country Wife* (first acted 1672 or 1673), when Lady Fidget says: 'What, d'ye think if he had had any left, I would not have had it too? for we women of quality never think we have china enough.'

As has already been said, the vast majority of the pieces brought home from China were blue-and-white, and these display the changing styles of the time, from the Wan-li (1573–1619) plates and dishes, with their birds on rocks, deer and other motives, through the 'Transitional' period (Pl. 59A) consequent upon the breakdown of Ming power, to the classic period of K'ang Hsi (1662–1722), when the power of the Manchu dynasty was stabilized upon the Imperial Throne. Occasional pieces in other modes of decoration, however, reached Europe. Queen Mary possessed late-Ming wares with purple- and green-dappled glazes, and the East India Company records make reference to other types of coloured wares. Japanese porcelain, particularly that from Arita, exported by the Dutch through their trading centre near Nagasaki, was much favoured; and at Hampton Court are some splendid pieces in the Kakiemon style from Queen Mary's collection (Pl. 59B). Side by side with such pieces in decorative *ensembles* might be found figures and vessels in the creamy *blanc-de-chine* porcelain made at Tê-hua, in Fukien (Pl. 59E).

Glass

During the sixteenth, and the greater part of the seventeenth, centuries European glass was dominated by Venice. The fine thin glass-metal (dubbed 'cristallo', from its approximation to natural crystal in appearance), and the extraordinary dexterity of the Venetian workmen, combined to produce glasses of unrivalled elegance and fantasy. An English traveller writing in 1648 about Murano (the glass-making island close to Venice) says: 'Here continually ... are Fornaces to make Glasses, which for the variety of the worke, and the Chrystall substance, exceed all others in the world, and are transported to all parts: out of which merchandise *Venice* drawes infinite summes of money.' Potentates all over Europe tried to set up in their own dominions glass-houses working in the 'façon de Venise', and many were successful, despite the fact that severe penalties were exacted by the Venetian state from any glass-worker who left Murano and revealed its secrets abroad. An account has been given in *The Tudor Period Guide* of the setting-up in England of a glass-house manned by Italians and making glass of the Venetion kind. Glass nevertheless continued to be obtained from Venice sporadically throughout the seventeenth century, sometimes by special licence (as when, in 1619 and 1635, the import was otherwise specifically forbidden), sometimes through such agencies as were empowered to import it. It does not seem to have been in practice very difficult for anybody with influence in high places to get hold of Venetian glass. Such people would probably be more particularly anxious to obtain the highly-wrought goblets, with fantastic stems and finials, which were the delight of seventeenth century glass-making. No doubt such a glass is referred to in an inventory taken at Marston Hall in 1605: 'It. – one great knotted glasse *wth* a Couer called Charynge Crosse' (cf. Pl. 61A).

Glass-making in England during the first half of the seventeenth century was, like other industries, characterized by the system of monopolies. A somewhat confusing structure of privileges, apparently to some extent overlapping, was cleared away by an edict of 1615 which forbade the use of wood for firing glass-furnaces. The control of the glass industry was thereby effectively put in the hands of a combine which had at its disposal a successful method of coal-firing. This combine included among its members a certain Sir Robert Mansell, an Admiral and erstwhile Treasurer of the Navy. After a tour of naval duty in the Mediterranean in 1620, Mansell successfully set about buying out the other members of the company, and in 1623 obtained from the King a new grant of letters patent to 'use exercise practise sett up and putt in use the arte feate and misterie of melting and makeing of all manner of drinking glasses broade glasses windowe glasses looking glasses and all other kinds of glasses, bugles bottles violls or vessels whatsoever made of glass of any fashion stuff matter or metal whatsoever with sea cole pitt coale or any other fewell whatsoever not being tymber or wood'. This complete control of the glass industry was exercised by Mansell until at least the period of the Civil War, and during the Commonwealth the industry was still sufficiently flourishing to be a fruitful source of revenue. Whether it remained so completely under Mansell's control during this period, however, is uncertain, and Mansell himself died four years before the Restoration of Charles II in 1660.

No glass certainly made in England between the accession of James I and the end of the Commonwealth is known, but there are two sources of information which throw light on the types made. The first is Mansell's own list of his products, supporting a petition to the House of Lords, probably in 1639. From this it appears that he made principally wine-glasses and beer-glasses in three different types of material – 'ordinary' and two sorts of 'cristall', of which one was somewhat more expensive than the other. Apart from these, he made 'mortar-glasses' (probably small bowl-like lamps), looking-glasses and 'Spectacle-Glasse Plates', window-glass and green glass of all sorts. The wine-glasses were no doubt in the main stemmed forms, the beer-glasses being cylindrical beakers on a low pedestal foot, of the type described and illustrated in *The Tudor Period Guide*. We can fill in details from the second source of our information concerning the glass-making of this period – fragments excavated on English sites. These occur in considerable quantities, and often have a character which seems to mark them off from Venetian products of the same period. In the first place, their metal is frequently somewhat inferior, being rather thick and relatively lacking in translucency and lustre (these may represent Mansell's second-quality 'cristall'): in the second, their shapes and decoration often diverge from the Venetian norm. The parts of wine-glasses most frequently found, because most robust, are the stems, and of these (apart from the normal Venetian type of pear-shaped stem moulded with lions' masks and festoons) two patterns occur particularly frequently – those with a ladder-design moulded on a pear-shaped stem, and those which are plain with a profile varying from that of a fairly squat pear to that of a finely tapered 'cigar'. Occasionally a stem occurs which shows the complex treatment of coiled threads or of applied wrought 'wings' familiar in the Netherlandish and Venetian glass-making of the time. This decoration is referred to in the Mansell list as 'of extraordinary fashions'. The English glass-houses of this period were still partly manned by Italian workmen, some of whom are known to have been capable of this work. The rather subdued character of this decoration may have been due either to the sobriety of English taste, or to the modifying effect of English workmen's collaboration in their making. Wine-glasses, and cylindrical beer-glasses, are occasionally decorated by means of applied threads of opaque-white glass. The 'ordinary Drinking-Glasses' of the 1639 list were no doubt of common green or greenish glass of the type made, for example, at the Woodchester glass-house and described in *The Tudor Period Guide*.

After the Restoration there was a return to a modified system of patents and monopolies, in which the Duke of Buckingham played a leading part, if only as a figurehead. For the first ten years of the period, however, imports of glass from Venice were permitted, and of greater significance than the monopolists in the evolution of glass in England were two new factors. The first of these was the rise of the Glass Sellers' Company, incorporated in 1664: the second was a gradual movement in European taste away from the light and fantastic qualities of Venetian glass towards a conception of glass as a surrogate of rock-crystal. The Glass Sellers' Company was a powerful and active organization, and by its position as intermediary between glass-house and customer, was able to influence the design of glass for the English market. Some of its members regularly obtained their supplies from Venice, and the orders of one of them, accompanied by detailed drawings, have fortunately been preserved, enabling us to form an idea of current taste in glass (Fig. 4; cf. Pl. 60A). These orders were sent by the firm of Measey and Greene to the house of Allesio Morelli at Murano, between 1667 and 1673. Minute instructions as to quantities and quality were given, and among these specifications occurs the significant phrase 'verry Bright cleer and whit sound Mettall'. This illustrates the second formative influence referred to above – the striving after a solid and clear glass resembling rock-crystal. In 1660 a Frenchman, John de la Cam, had signed an agreement with the Duke of Buckingham for the making of 'Cristall de roach (cristal de roche) for and during the continuance of the Terme of Tenne yeares'. The agreement did not run its full term, and in 1673 a more important project was set afoot, when a certain George Ravenscroft, who had been en-

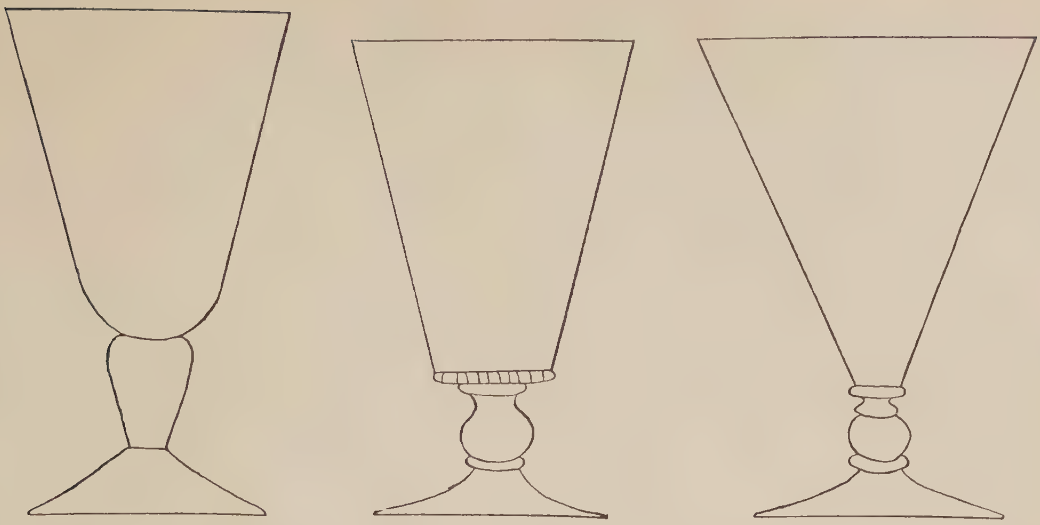


Fig. 4. Drawings for wine-glasses from amongst those sent by John Greene to accompany his orders for glass to Allesio Morelli in Venice, *c.* 1670. *British Museum.*

gaged in the Venetian trade, started a glass-house in the Savoy. Within a year Ravenscroft applied for a patent for 'a particular sort of Christalline glass', and in 1674 he signed an agreement to supply glasses to the Glass Sellers' Company. This first type of glass suffered from a defect due to excess of alkali in the composition and known as 'crizzling' – a proliferation of tiny gleaming hair-lines in the body of the glass, often accompanied by a roughening of the surface. Ravenscroft, however, continued his experiments, probably under the ægis of the Glass Sellers' Company, and finally evolved a revolutionary new type of glass containing oxide of lead. This happened in about 1675, and the new metal was signalized by the use on vessels made from it of a seal impressed with a raven's head (from the Ravenscroft crest). At least seventeen such sealed vessels or fragments are known, and include bowls, bottles, jugs (cf. Pl. 61B), globular mugs, posset-pots, and wine-glasses of two forms.

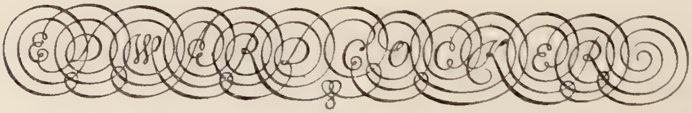
The use of lead-oxide in glass spread throughout the 'white' glass-houses in the country before the end of the seventeenth century, and the ratio of lead was continuously increased until, by about 1700, the metal took on a dark and 'oily' brilliance. In Ravenscroft's glasses, and more markedly in the great covered goblets and posset-pots (Pl. 61A) of some ten years later, the traces of Italian workmanship are clearly to be seen, albeit modified to an anglicized idiom. Towards the close of the century, however, and particularly in wine-glasses, there emerged a style which was wholly English. This concentrated on the stem of the drinking-glass, in which it worked innumerable variations by different combinations of balusters and bulbs and flat dics. In all these a just proportion is observed between the bowl, the stem and the foot of a glass, and the sobriety and harmony of this style accord well with the taste of the 'Queen Anne' epoch (Pls. 60B, 61D, 62B).

Apart from the 'white' glass made for the table, green glass was made at a number of glass-houses up and down the country. Windows and wine-bottles formed the main produce of these houses, but small globular and cylindrical bottles for apothecaries, and scientific and medical glasses of many sorts were also made. The typical wine-bottle of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had a flattened spherical form, and was usually of thin glass protected by a covering of wicker (Pl. 62a) or of leather. Thus, in an inventory of 1610 there occur under the heading 'In the Buttery ...' the entries: 'Item, 4 leather bottles of glasse. Item, 2 wicker bottles, one of glasse'. Before the middle of the seventeenth century, however, a globular bottle of thicker and tougher glass had been evolved, perhaps originally for the storing of beer. In H. Platt's *Delightes for Ladies* (1644) occurs the passage: 'When your Beere is ten or twelve dayes old, whereby it is growne reasonable cleere, then bottle it, making your corkes very fit for your bottles, and stop them close ...' By the middle of the century, bottles are mentioned which were tough enough to be sent by carrier and which contained wine: in 1651 Phineas Andrews, in Berkhamsted, Herts., sent to his friend Henry Oxenden, in Kent, 'two doussen glasse bottles of the best Canary Dick Weeden hath'. The earliest dated bottle bears a seal stamped 1657, and from now on we are able to follow accurately from dated and datable seals the evolution of the bottle shape (cf. Pl. 62b), right up to the appearance of the modern wine-bottle. Cork-screws are not known before 1686, and the binning of wine cannot have been practised much before this date. Mineral waters, however, were already being bottled, and Celia Fiennes in her *Journal* says of Tunbridge Wells (1697): '... they have the bottles filled and corked in the well under the water and so seale down the corke which they say preserves it ...'

In the seventeenth century there was little distinction between the shapes of glasses used for different types of drink. Greene's drawings include stemmed types which could be used for beer as well as wine, and beaker shapes which could be used for wine as well as beer. The distinction, however, was rigorously observed at table. Shortly after the Civil War Lord Fairfax issued the following instructions to the servants of his household:

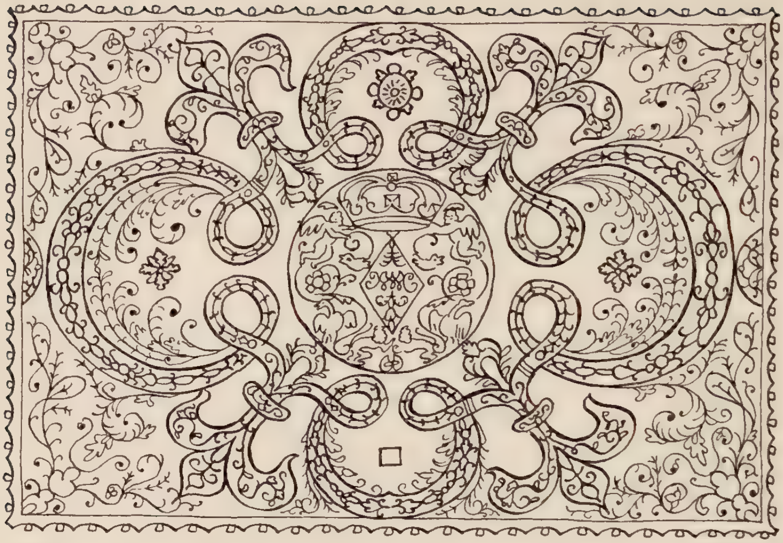
> 'The Cup-board.
>
> Let no man fill beere or wine, but the cup-board-keeper, who must make choice of his glasses or cups for the company, and not serve them hand over heade. He must also know which be for beer and which for wine; for it were a foule thing to mix them together.'

Glasses were at this period kept on the cup-board, both for decoration and for use; in the latter case they were handed to the diners as called for, the glass being held by the foot (cf. Pl. 62a), and not by the bowl or stem. One exception to the indiscriminate use of glasses for different drinks seems to have been provided by the 'romer' (German 'Roemer'), a glass with a globular bowl, a wide, hollow stem decorated with applied patterned blobs of glass, and a conical foot. This glass, which was made in England (compare Pl. 61c), was reserved for Rhenish wine; it is always seen in the Dutch still-life pictures of the seventeenth century. It is possible also that the tall tapering 'flute' glass (Pl. 60c, cf. Pl. 62a) was used mainly, if not exclusively, for Spanish wines. Thus Richard Lovelace, writing in 1649, speaks of 'Elles of Beare, Flutes of Canary'.



Edward Cocker's signature in a *trait* from *Penna Volans*, 1661.

Domestic Metalwork



The lid of a jewel casket, with the crowned cypher of William and Mary, made of steel, covered with velvet, overlaid with pierced and engraved brass and steel. English, 1688–1694. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

Domestic Metalwork

G. BERNARD HUGHES

The Stuart home differed little from the late Elizabethan in its domestic metalwork until followers of Charles II introduced a new elegance during the 1660's. Technical accomplishments were for the most part held in leash by powerful politicians possessing the sole right to manufacture and sell articles of commerce. The result was that prices were kept at artificially high levels until the early 1690's, domestic accessories and utensils being made from metals differing little in quality from that available to late Elizabethans. Brass-workers, for instance, were compelled to import plates of Flanders latten because English-made plates were of poor colour, lacked brilliance, were variable in texture and contained numerous air-bubbles which showed as surface flaws on finished work. They were liable to split, too, during manipulation.

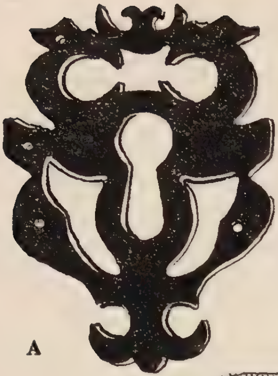
Clocks continued down to about 1660 to be poor timekeepers needing frequent repair (Pl. 63). Records show that a simple weight-operated clock in gilded copper cost £10 – equal to about £150 in present-day values. Two such clocks included in the Earl of Northampton's inventory taken after his death in 1614 were each entered as a 'chamber watch with an Alarum', the second being further described as of 'copper and guilte in a case'. Its second-hand value was £4. The Earl also possessed a watch, inventoried as 'a clocke of golde and crystall sett with rubies and diamonds, £45'. This was accompanied by a small jewelled hour-glass to check its time-keeping, additionally valued at £13.

Sir William Ingilby of Ripley, Yorkshire, paid £10 for a striking clock in 1616, and in 1629 the household accounts of Lord William Howard, Naworth Castle, record the purchase of 'a clocke for My Lord, bought of Mr Jo. Charleton'. Shortly afterwards 'a waynescott frame for my Lord's new clock' was bought for 1*s*. 6*d*. and a 'glasse for the clock case' 2*s*. 6*d*. Subsequently Rauphe Smith, clocksmith and sun-dial maker, was called upon to mend the clock, charging 6*s*. 8*d*. for three days' work and travelling expenses. Entries of 'one dosen yeards of lyne for clock stringes for my Lord, ij vj' were frequent.

The pendulum as a clock regulator was invented by Galileo in 1641, but overlooked by clockmakers until 1656. Pendulum clocks provided a greatly improved standard of timekeeping and were first made in England by Fromanteel of London during 1658. Soon both clock and pendulum were enclosed within a tall wooden case, thus forming the long-case or 'grandfather' clock.

Little change was made in domestic door-locks during the first half of the Stuart period apart from minor improvements in the mechanism. Cases of Flanders latten were made, except between 1660 and 1675, when its importation was prohibited and English plate was used. Such locks displayed a flawed surface and a dull lustre.

Rim-locks now began to be made in suites, often with a different key for each lock and a master key capable of opening the entire series, no matter how extensive. Such a suite of locks was fitted to the doors of Marlborough House when it was built, and they still operate perfectly. From the 1680's high relief decoration was cast in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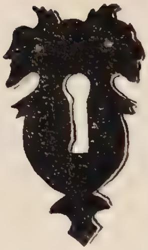
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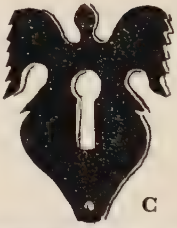
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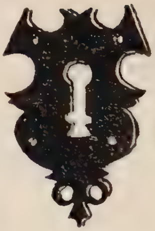
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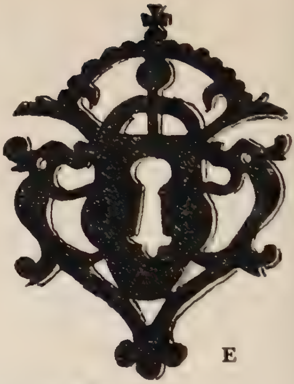
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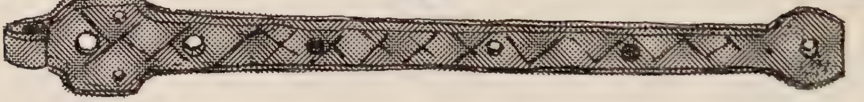
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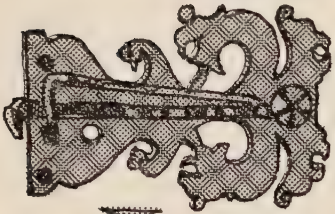
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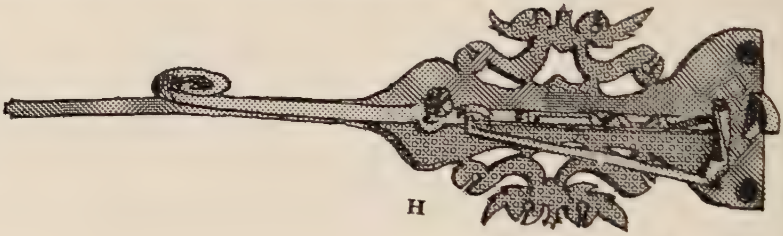
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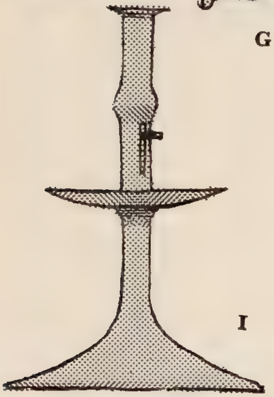
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A TO E Keyhole escutcheons of bloom iron hammered into plate with filed outlines and sawn piercing.

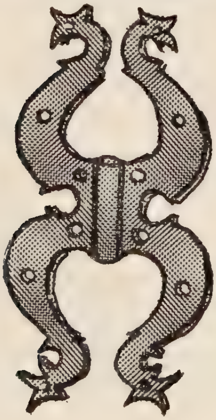
F Strap hinge in wrought iron, common in the seventeenth century.

G, H Casement latches of wrought iron such as were made by seventeenth century iron workers.

I Brass candlestick with adjustable slide, third quarter of the seventeenth century.

J Double cock's head H-hinge. K Door latch in wrought iron. L Adjustable candleholder in wrought iron, thirty inches long when open.	Typical of mid-seventeenth century ironwork

All in Victoria and Albert Museum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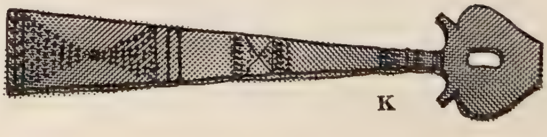
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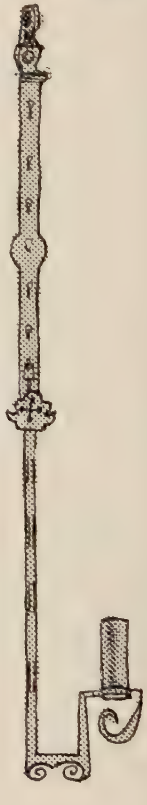
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'prince's metal', a brass alloy resembling gold, invented by Prince Rupert. This ornamental plate was riveted to the lock face, extending across the latch end: often a coat of arms was used here. By 1700 the top plates were cast throughout in 'prince's metal' with all-over decoration in relief, chased and engraved. Delicate filigree work was associated with beautiful reticulated lace-like perforations laid over plates of blued steel. Locks were now sold with matching hinges, catch-plates and key escutcheons. The corners of the brass cover and the keyhole surround were enriched with applied steel ornament cut in delicate designs.

Interior door-hinges were now usually of the H-type, the ends of their long, narrow plates following the arching outlines of the period. In later hinges the plates were curved and terminated in matching 'cock's head' outlines such as a crowing cock with the beak open or closed, the comb exaggerated or omitted, and the breast full or almost flat. Others might display serpents' or griffins' heads.

Illumination was considerably increased in rich households by including a reflecting sphere in chandelier design, and by using candles of wax and tallow clarified by an improved method. Fine chandeliers of latten followed Flemish patterns, several socketed arms extending from a boldly-shaped baluster stem, terminating beneath in a large burnished reflecting sphere of Flanders latten. Following the introduction of finer English latten at the end of the seventeenth century the branches might be brazed directly to the reflecting sphere, gadrooned ornament also being incorporated as an additional aid to reflection.

Such a chandelier was usually suspended by a chain: more rarely it hung from a suspension rod of wrought iron centred from a large ceiling rose and lavishly ornamented with flowers, leaves and scrollwork, enriched with gilding and colourful paints. Chandeliers less costly than either were produced by village blacksmiths in simple patterns such as several socketed branches curving outward from a plain central stem.

Brass candlesticks until the 1690's were made by late Tudor methods, English brass being used almost exclusively. Improvement in the quality of bought candles brought about a reduction in the size of the drip-pan, which now became separated from the foot. This was at first set high above a trumpet-shaped foot, a style revived from early Tudor days. The stem might be plain or horizontally corrugated and might have a cushion knop. This style had been abandoned by the mid-seventeenth century in favour of a cylindrical stem rising from a low, wide, slightly concave circular foot. The neck-ring which had encircled the stem immediately below the socket had become emphasized into a bold knop by the 1600's. The brass candlestick foot of the late seventeenth century was usually domed, supporting a baluster-and-knop stem. By 1690 the drip-pan had been abandoned in favour of a socket rim expanded into a saucer-shaped nozzle. The oblong aperture in the socket gave way early in the seventeenth century to a small circular hole, and by the end of the Stuart period no aperture was considered necessary.

Improvements in brass-casting techniques during the 1690's facilitated production. Lead was added to candlestick metal making it softer and smoother, more pliable, rather yellow. The introduction of greater furnace heat at this time drastically reduced the number of tiny gas-bubbles in its texture. Stem and socket could now be cast in separate halves and brazed together, leaving the centre hollow.

So far brass candlestick design had been little affected by the silversmiths, but in the 1690's for the first time brass founders copied characteristic forms in Carolean silver. Circular feet might be highly domed or deeply concave, thus providing greater reflecting surface, the central rise supporting a baluster stem in which the knops might be gadrooned.

The Tudor candle-snuffer with its airy double-pan was superseded in the early years of the 1600's by a new type with a single open-sided semi-circular box attached vertically to the under-blade. To the upper blade was fixed a flat press-plate fitting into the box. When the snuff was cut from the wick the plate forced it against the inner wall of the box, where it was at once extinguished.

These snuffers were lavishly ornamented until the late 1640's. Stems were then connected to the bows with S-shaped scrolls, and a smaller box was fitted, now rectangular with incurved corners. A fine quality example would pair with a rectangular dish upon which the snuffers lay when not in use.

Midway in Charles II's reign there began a vogue for snuffer trays following the silhouette of the snuffers themselves. This was followed by the upright snuffer stand with a vertical socket to receive the snuffer box, and standing on a short baluster stem, and was in silver, succeeded by brass and fine steel. Attached was a narrow vertical loop to receive the hook of a cone-shaped extinguisher. Such stands continued fashionable until early Georgian years.

Whale oil was less costly to burn than candles and most houses supplied this odorous illuminant in servants' and working quarters. When Charles Butler was describing the duties of a maid in 1609 he included making wicks and preparing for use the open-flame oil lamps known as 'sluts'. This lamp consisted of a flat-based circular oil-container hammered from latten or iron and fitted with a small handle or suspension rod. From this evolved the better-known crusie during the early Stuart years. The open-bowl crusie was oval and pointed at one end to support the wick. Fumes were minimized by hanging a water-soaked sponge above the burning flame. This was succeeded late in the seventeenth century by the double crusie, designed to collect the drips that fell from its wick.

From about 1700 a tubular wick holder was fitted into the wick channel, guiding excess oil back to the reservoir and making it possible to dispense with the drip-pan. Oil reservoirs were then enlarged and some lamps furnished with two wicks.

Rushlights, surprisingly, date no earlier than early Stuart days. These inexpensive tallow-covered illuminants, measuring about one-quarter inch in diameter, should not be confused with standard sized candles burning rushes as wicks which caused a writer in *British Apollo*, 1708, to express wonder that 'a Rush Candle should burn longer than a cotton one'.

Because the rushlight was too slender to stand in a socket unsupported, it was held in a pair of iron nippers kept tightly closed by either a weighted lever or a spring. These were spiked and driven into a heavy block of oak which formed a foot. Table rushlight holders from about 1700 might consist of wrought iron throughout, rising from a plain tripod, the tops of the spreading legs being bent to form flat feet.

In the private apartments of houses in districts where mineral coal could be won from outcrops or shallow shafts, coal-burning grates might stand in the wall down hearths. As early as 1580 the household inventory of Daniel Hochstetter, Keswick, included '2 cradles for seacoal fire', the coal costing eightpence a horse load. Coal-burning increased as supplies of wood lessened during the seventeenth century. A four-barred rectangular iron basket grate might stand on four legs or the back might be left barless and the grate placed closely against the fireback.

The Howard household accounts for 1612 first record the acquisition of 'an iron grate xiiij^{s}' at a time when iron cost 2*s*. 4*d*. a stone. The inventory of Sir William Ingilby's domestic possessions at his house in the coal-bearing region of Dighton, Yorkshire, shows that the more important rooms such as Sir William's chamber, the dining and outer parlours, hall and kitchen were fitted with coal-burning iron grates. Relegated to the loft were 'four payre of andyrons'. The fireplace ironwork in the dining parlour consisted of 'one range, fire shovel and tonges, and a fire porr [poker] and two skrenes, one greate one and a little one, a toasting iron and a payre of snufferes xlll^{s}lV^{d}'. In the yard lay sea coal worth £12 and charcoal valued at £1 6*s*. 8*d*.

Firebacks under the name of iron chimneys continued to be made in large numbers throughout the Stuart era, many a specimen displaying a coat of arms surrounded by scrolls and floral motifs, the whole composition enclosed within a moulded rim (Pl. 65B). Commonwealth firebacks were designed with restraint: this was the period of the 'family' fireback when a border of severely plain moulding enclosed the owner's name, the date and various crosses.

The 1660's saw the introduction of firebacks enriched with pictorial design, the Bible, mythology and current history being the chief sources. In newly built houses there was a tendency for fireplaces to be built much narrower than formerly, with the result that fashionable firebacks became taller and narrower with elaborate crests extending upward from their arched tops. Towards the end of the century hearths became perceptibly smaller. Firebacks to fit could be cast thinner than formerly, but the relief work was necessarily lower than in their massive predecessors. Ornament was more graceful and intricate, and bordered with flowering scrolls of foliage and festoons of fruit.

Andirons (Pl. 68), firedogs and creepers followed Elizabethan styles until the 1640's. Figures and demi-figures, often nude, were popular, favourites being cupids with arms lifted high and supporting ornamental finials such as shields of arms. Each foot of the semi-circular arch might be scrolled. During the Commonwealth the earlier ornament was usually lacking, and the arched base became a plain semi-circle with standards relieved only by shields displaying coats of arms or other personal motifs.

London-made bronze andirons 'garnished with silver' became fashionable during the reign of Charles I. The Restoration brought even greater lavishness, sterling silver being used by all who could afford it.

With the flat iron bars available from the 1660's blacksmiths produced symmetrically scrolled and curved work, much lighter in weight than castings and so designed that little welding was necessary. Elaborate cast andirons were made in bronze and brass and cast-iron standards might be faced with fretted and perforated brass or copper sunk into a narrow frame of steel. These might be enriched with finely fretted convex roundels in latten. The steel and brasswork were highly burnished (Pl. 68D).

Andirons of William III's reign naturally reflected Dutch influence (Pl. 68C). Slender, tapering standards of brass or steel rose from heavy iron bases, with elaborate urn- or flame-shaped finials, or with simple acorns or balls which might be flattened or gadrooned. The triangular base, box-like with gadrooned walls, became fashionable, hand-made from latten plate and supported by two scrolled wrought steel feet at the front and a billet bar behind. The standards were composed of three vase-like units, each differing in form, one above the other, all of cast and turned brass, gadrooned and hand-finished.

As fireplaces decreased in size, andirons and firedogs were gradually abandoned in favour of larger creepers, or adapted to support the barred fire-basket. A hole was drilled into each return bar, fitted with an iron peg, thus securely fixing the grate. Creepers were brought to the front of the hearth and used as supports for fire irons.

In some rooms the only metalwork was the fireside equipment, most of it in wrought iron and consisting of fire-shovel, tongs, poker and, for wood fires, a fire fork. The Howard household accounts suggest that these were bought singly and not in matching sets. The shovel, as shown in two woodcuts illustrating the *Roxburgh Ballads* consisted of a round-headed pan, longer than wide, welded to a straight stem terminating in a round eye. The tongs were straight-armed, their ends hammered into flat discs, or, when intended for wood, welded to four-pronged claws. At the top each arm was shaped into a semi-circle, both hinging with a spring into a short tapering square handle with a ball finial.

The down hearth was still protected at night by a fire-pan or curfew measuring about 2 ft. in width and costing 1*s*. 10*d*. to 2*s*., in hammered iron and as much as 30*s*. in Flemish latten chased with a complicated all-over design (Pl. 64A). The grate fire was protected with a wire screen consisting of a wrought-iron frame of the eighteenth century cheval-screen type, filled with the closely woven wire mesh then recently introduced following the speedy production of wire by means of drawplates.

Typical of the metalwork to be found in the kitchen of an early Stuart home was that belonging to William Middleton of Stokeld, Yorkshire:

> 'Kitchin irne – two payr of yrn racks, 1 galibake [a bar or beam in a chimney from which pot hooks hang], 5 crookes, 3 pothucks, xxxiij^{s} iv^{d}; 12 broches [spits]

xx^{s}; 5 dripping pans, xv^{s}; 2 gridiarns, iij^{s}; 3 laddles, 2 yrne forks, 5 chopping knyves, 1 frying pan, 1 skimar, vij^{s} vj^{d}; total iij^{Li}xviij^{s} x^{d}. Brasse – 60 uld pots, xxxvj^{s}viij^{d}; 3 other pottes, 1 posnett, iv^{Li}; 2 brazen mortars, 2 pestells, xiij^{s}iv^{d}; 2 kettels, 7 pannes, 1 yrn band, 1 coper caldren, 1 chofing dysh, xxxxvj^{s}; total, viij^{Li}xvj^{s}. Pewter – in waight, 8 ston and a halfe, iv^{Li}iij^{s}.'

In cottage homes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries simple baking and cooking on a down hearth was carried out by means of a baking-iron or dough grate. This resembled a two-legged trivet with a lengthy handle which might extend horizontally or be bent into a high semi-circular arch. The trivet was pushed into a blazing fire, and upon it was placed either a small portable iron oven or a covered iron cooking-pot to be used as an oven. A portable oven cost about 6*s*. in the early Stuart period (see also Pl. 68A).

Wafer irons, although used in the previous century, were far more common during the Stuart and early Georgian periods. They cost about 8*s*. in the mid-seventeenth century and were substantial tongs with each arm ending in a large circular disc which might be ornamented with a complicated intaglio pattern. They were used with wood or charcoal fires; ordinary coal was found to taint the wafers which were made from a thick spiced batter. This was poured on one of the heated discs and the other closed down over it. When baked the wafer was rolled off the iron around a stick, and when cold was very crisp.

Warming-pans hung in every well-found household during the Stuart period (Pl. 69A). They were less weighty than formerly with thin, tapering iron handles measuring from 27 to 30 inches in length and terminating in loop finials for hanging on the wall when not in use. From about 1625 the handle might be in turned brass with a loose shackle on the finial for hanging. The stem was decorated at both ends and in the centre with turned baluster-and-knop ornament.

During the second half of the seventeenth century handles of brass continued, but considerable numbers consisted of two 15-in. lengths of square or round iron fitted into three brass mountings of baluster and knop formation. From the 1660's handles might be of oak or other hard wood carved with flutes and terminating in large knops. These received polished finish only.

Straight, almost vertical, sides were standard for the ember pan in the brass warming-pan until about 1720. This measured about $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep and $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter with the addition of a flat, 1-in. rim. In later examples the outer edge of this rim might be bent downwards to conceal the iron ring into which the pan was fitted. Thin Flanders latten of fine colour was used for the lid, which measured about a foot in diameter and swung loosely over the ember pan. Lids were highly convex in late Stuart examples.

Warming-pan lids received ornament in the form of punched decoration and low relief work. The design might be encircled with one or two rings of closely spaced holes of $\frac{1}{8}$-in. or $\frac{1}{16}$-in. diameter. In Charles II's reign fine warming-pans were elaborately pierced with fret-cut designs, but the majority were now smoothly plain.

On New Year's Day 1663 Samuel Pepys, invited to the Lord Mayor's banquet, wrote in his diary that only the tables reserved for the principal guests were furnished with knives. Although the food and wine were good and plentiful Pepys complained: 'we had no napkins nor change of trenchers, and drunk out of earthern pitchers.' Trenchers at this time were often of hard battery copper and tinned, thus providing greater resemblance to silver than pewter, and also more resistance to knife-marks.

Otherwise pewter domestic ware resembled that of the late Tudor period with occasional slight differences of form. Plates, for instance, were given a deeper bouge with a less abrupt fall. The wide horizontal beaded rim was encircled with two closely-spaced chased lines, the space between them being slightly concave. From 1660 to the 1690's the rim, now given a slight rise, might be half as wide as formerly, its edge strengthened with oval beading. These beadings prevented careless servants from bending the brims when scouring the plates. A third type, which continued until the end of the period and beyond, had a wide horizontal rim bordered with triple reeding and a beaded edge oval in section, or simple moulding twice as broad as the reeding and a beaded edge of circular section.

Among the new additions to pewter table-ware were dish rings, inventoried at Northwick House in 1705, mazarines and flagons. Mazarines were for serving ragouts – then diced meats stewed with vegetables and highly seasoned. Andrew Marvell in 1673 writes, 'What Ragousts had you to furnish the Mazarines on your table?' Kersey's *Dictionary*, 1706, defined mazarine as 'a kind of little Dishes to be set in the middle of a large Dish for the setting out of Ragoo or Fricassies'.

Another newcomer to the ranks of Stuart domestic metalware was the cistern containing iced water for cooling wines immediately before drinking. These cisterns were in hand-beaten Flanders latten, copper or pewter, and from the 1660's in silver. The Howard household accounts for 1629 show that £2 3*s*. 4*d*. was paid for 'a little copper sesterne to sett flaggons in, in the greate chamber, weighinge 30 poundes and a halfe; one pewter Sesterne, weighing 35 poundes and 3 quarters at 15^{d} a pound; and 2 pewter flaggons weighing 25 poundes and a half at 14^{d} a pound'.

The wine was taken directly from the cask into the flagons, which, contrary to popular conception, were for serving rather than for drinking from. These pairs of 'greate flaggons', tall, weightily massive vessels of thick metal, with slightly conical straight-sided bodies, and hinged lids, stood in a cistern of iced water. In 1667 Pepys commented, 'I see the price of a copper cistern for the table, which is very pretty, and they demand £6 or £7 for one.' This records the introduction of the table wine-cooler made to contain a single bottle of wine.[1]

The wine-cistern, however, still continued in use, its iced water now receiving bottles of wine instead of a pair of flagons. Wine might now be served from a wine fountain of silver, or tin-lined latten or copper, and containing an ice-chamber. This vase-shaped vessel might hold two gallons of wine drawn off by means of a tap.

Throughout the Stuart era Sheffield was a source of inexpensive hard-wearing blades. A dozen could be bought retail for as little as 8*d*. Special purpose knives are noted in household accounts, such as oyster knives at sixpence; mincing knives 1*s*. 10*d*.; voider knives 1*s*.; 'a pair of knives' such as were carried by women 1*s*. 3*d*. (see also Pl. 67).

Spoons beaten from latten or cast from brass were tinned and burnished so that at a casual glance they would be mistaken for silver. When cast terminals were brazed on the ends, these were gilded. The majority of Stuart spoon stems in pewter, tin or tinned brass made before the 1660's were of the type known as 'slipped-in-the stalk', the end of the stem being finished with a slanting cut from the front of the spoon. Then came the trifid-end spoon, its finial hammered into a semicircle which was cut vertically with two deep notches near the sides, dividing the terminals into three sections. From the mid-1670's both sides of the terminal were covered with low-relief scroll decoration. By the 1690's the spoon end was expanded into a series of small arcs, the central larger arc having an upward curve; this was known as the cat-head stem.

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Metalwork, by M.Digby Wyatt, 1852.

English Metalwork, by W.Twopenny, 1904.

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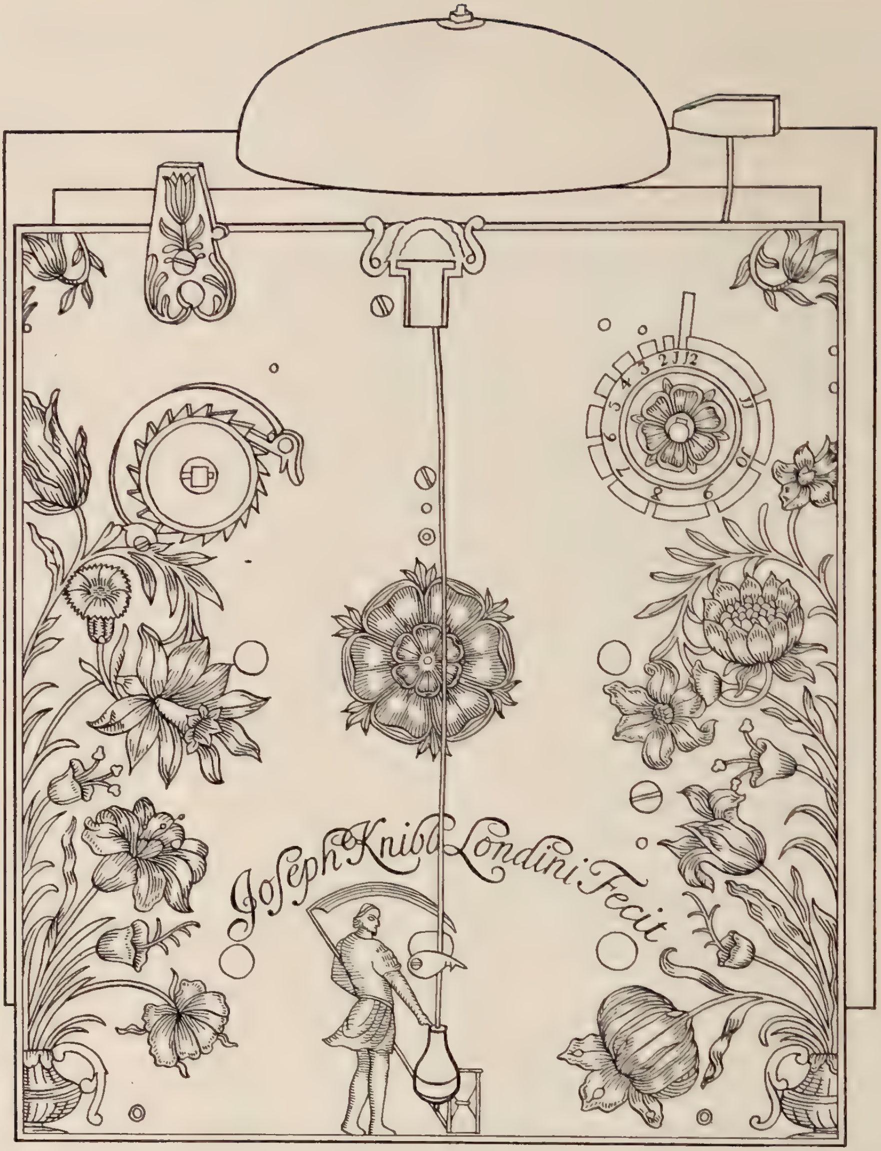
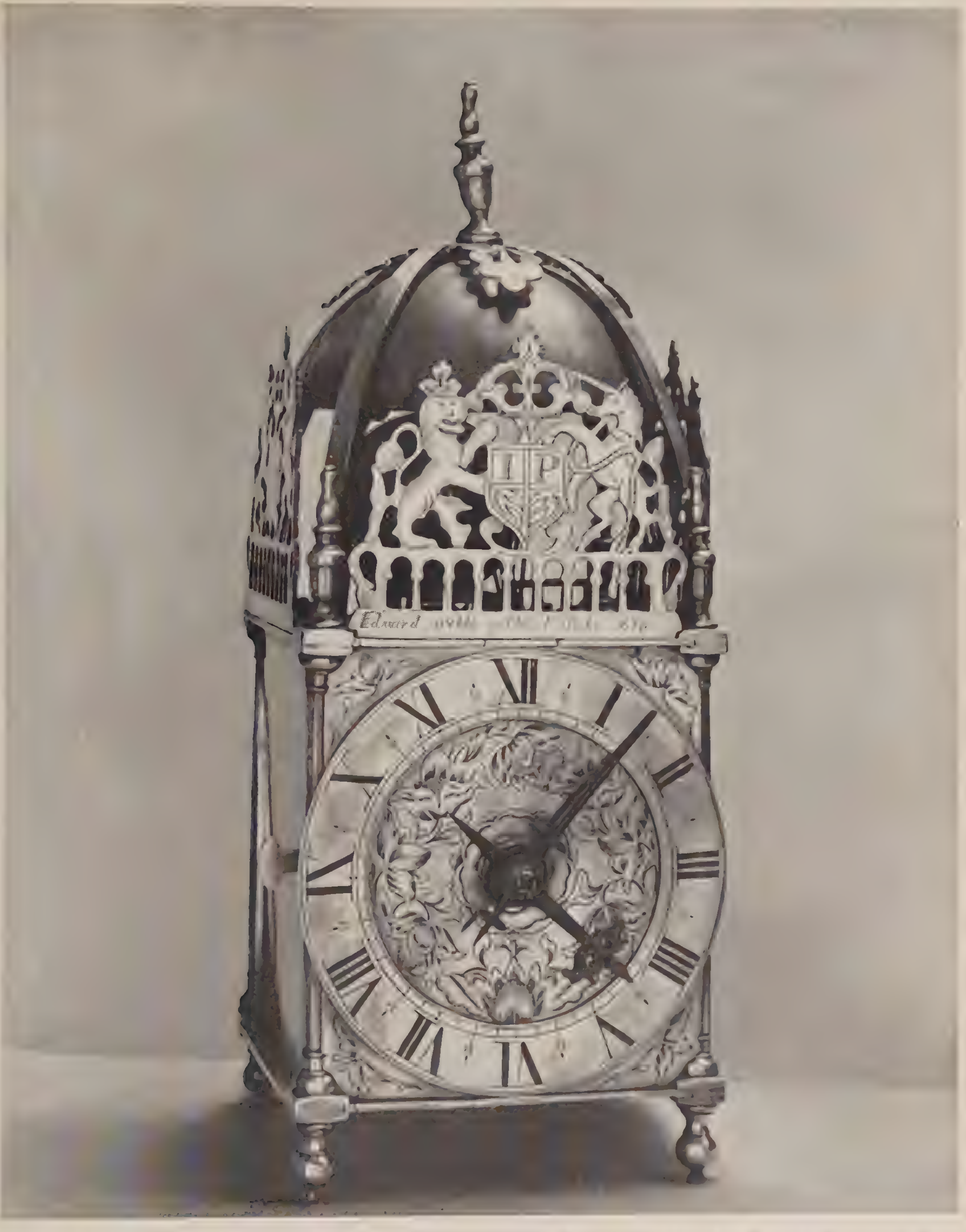
[1] There is a painting in the National Gallery, Dublin, showing such a single-bottle wine-cooler in silver: this still exists, the writer believes, and was made for Lord Santry in 1700 by Anthony Nelme of London. The writer has also seen two other contemporary illustrations.

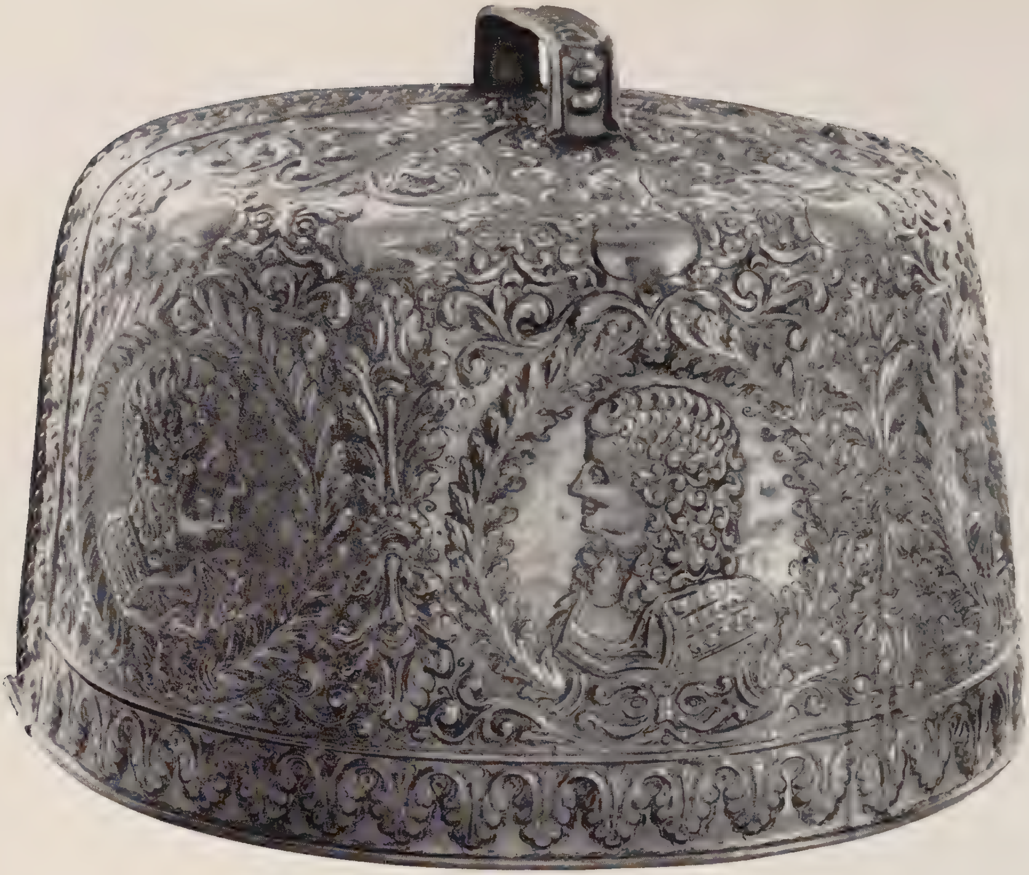

Joseph Knibb Londini Fecit

The engraved backplate of a clock, by Joseph Knibb, *c.* 1675. Described and illustrated in *Furniture Making in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century England* by R.W.Symonds (1955).

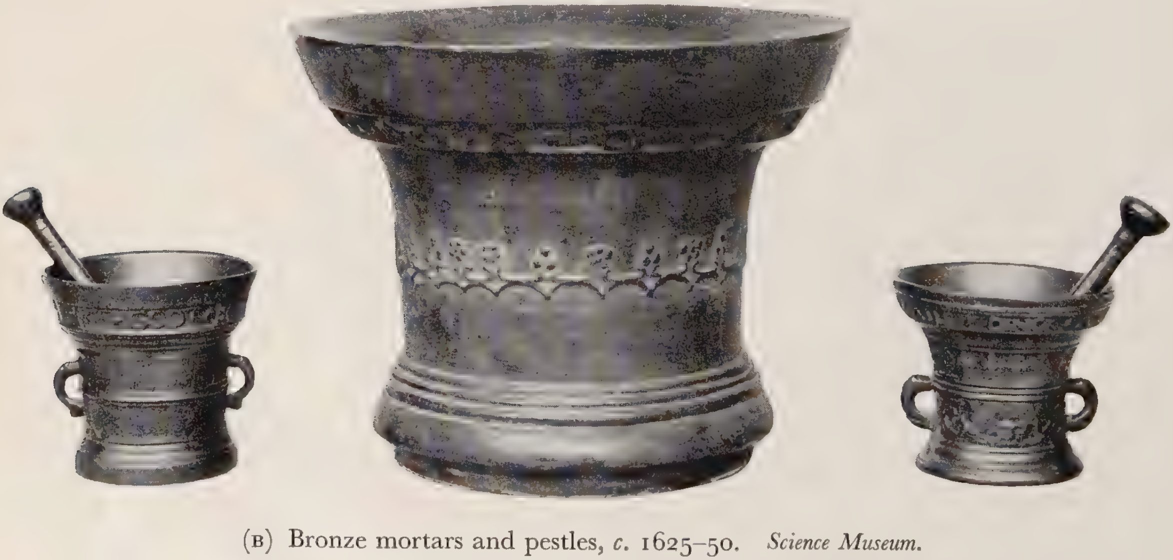


A weight-driven alarm clock of brass, signed and dated 'Edward Webbe in Church Stoke, 1676'.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

PLATE 63

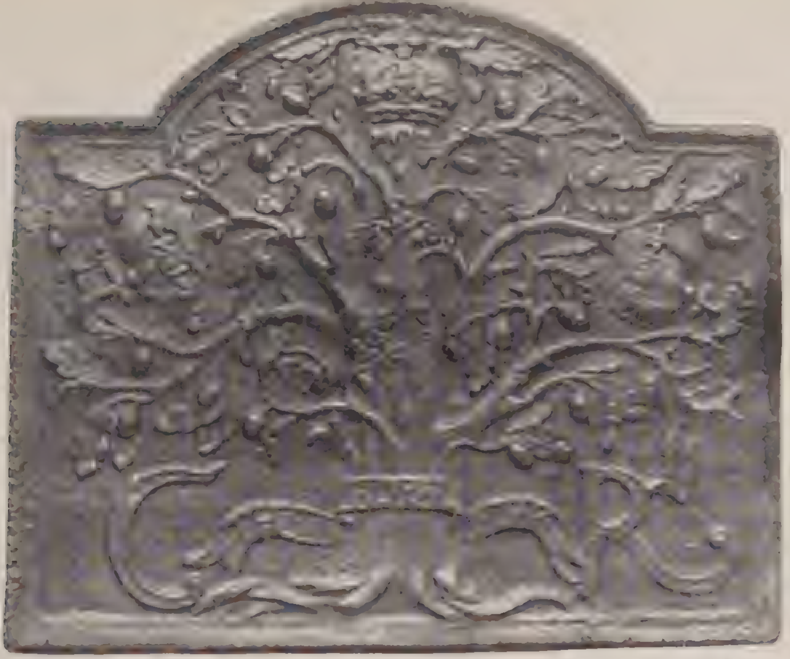


(A) Curfew made from latten decorated with heads enclosed in laurel wreaths and floral ornament. 16 in. high, 24 in. wide. Late seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

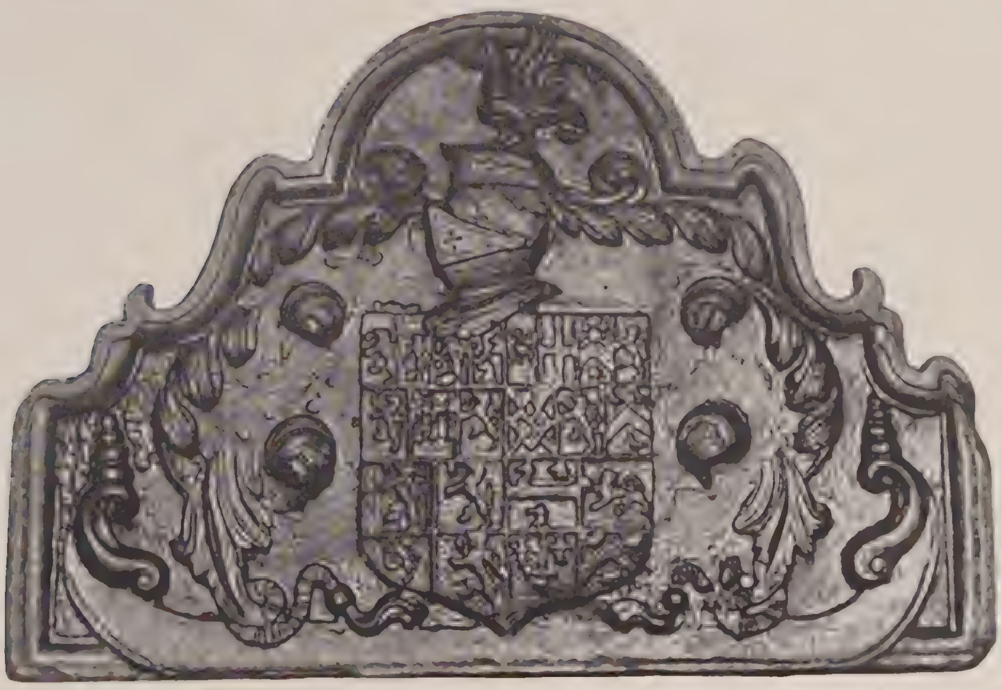


(B) Bronze mortars and pestles, *c.* 1625–50. *Science Museum.*

PLATE 64

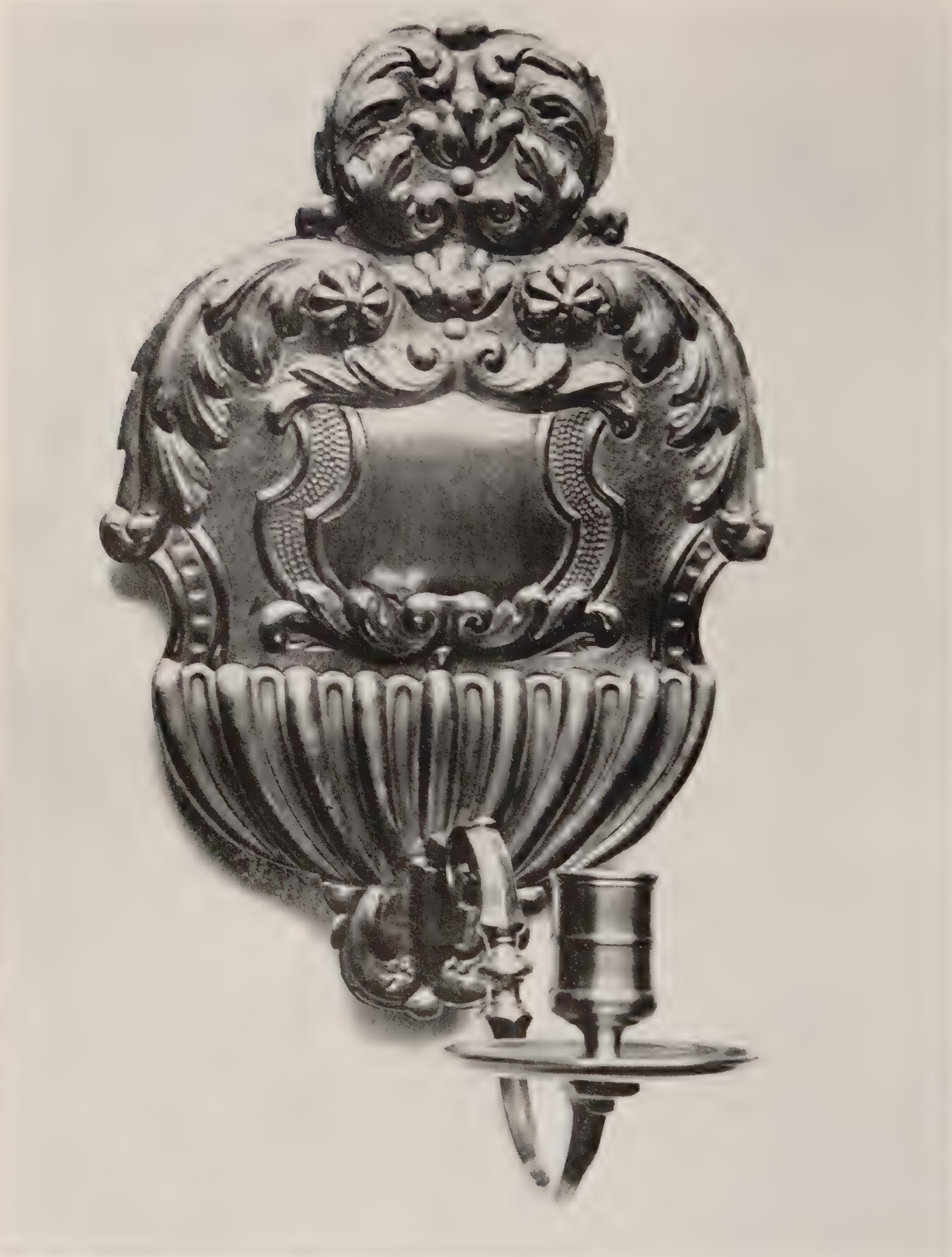


(A) Cast-iron fireback with arched top and moulded border, and with an all-over design of the Boscobel oak and royal crowns. Stock pattern from soon after the Restoration. *The John Every Collection, Lewes Museum.*



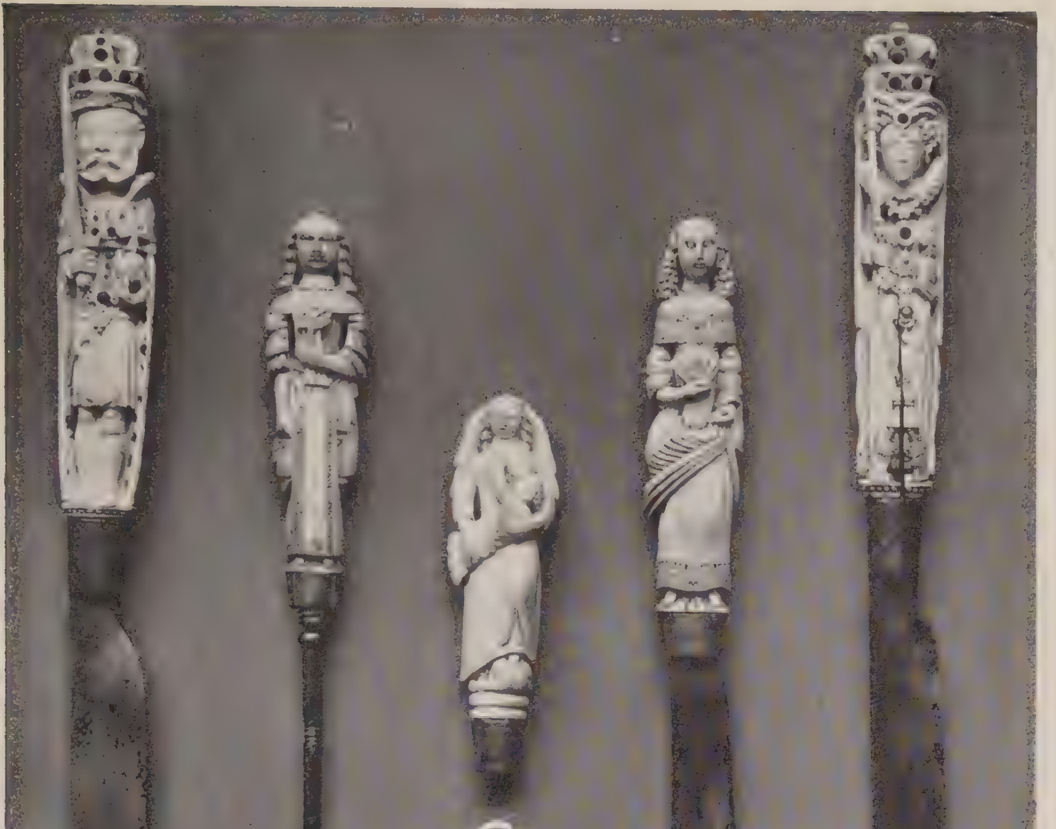
(B) Armorial fireback with shaped top and bearing the coat of arms of the Trevor family, c. 1625-50. *Private Collection.*

PLATE 65



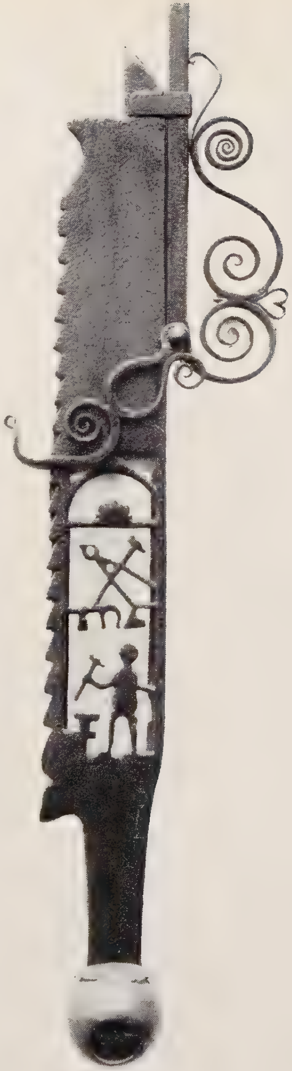
Single-branch wall-sconce of cast brass with reflector; signed "Edward Gore, 1706". *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

PLATE 66

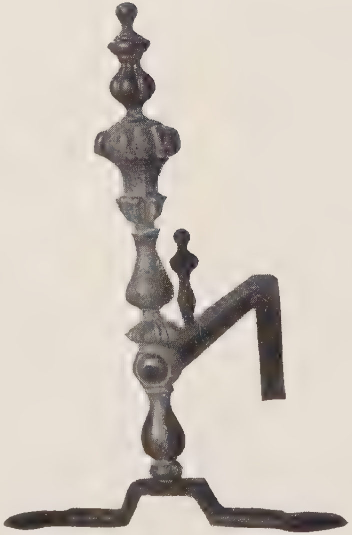


Steel knives and forks with English-carved ivory handles: (A and E) figures of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I set with jewels and dated 1607, ferrules ornamented with damascene scrollwork designs. Part of a set of fourteen knives representing monarchs from Henry I to James I. (B and D) handles carved with ladies in Restoration period dress, the silver ferrule of the knife engraved 'Anne Doyley'. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

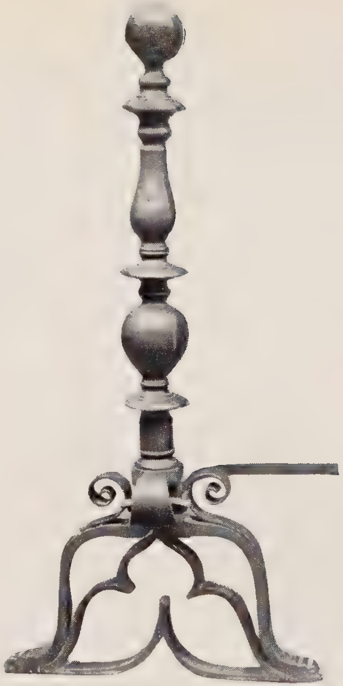
PLATE 67



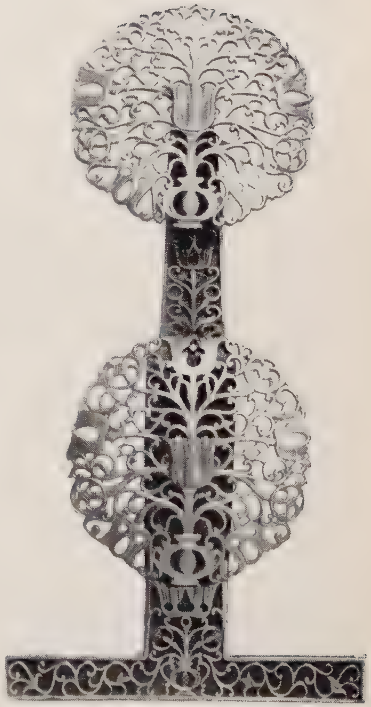
(A) Wrought iron pot hanger, 4 ft. 8½ in. long. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



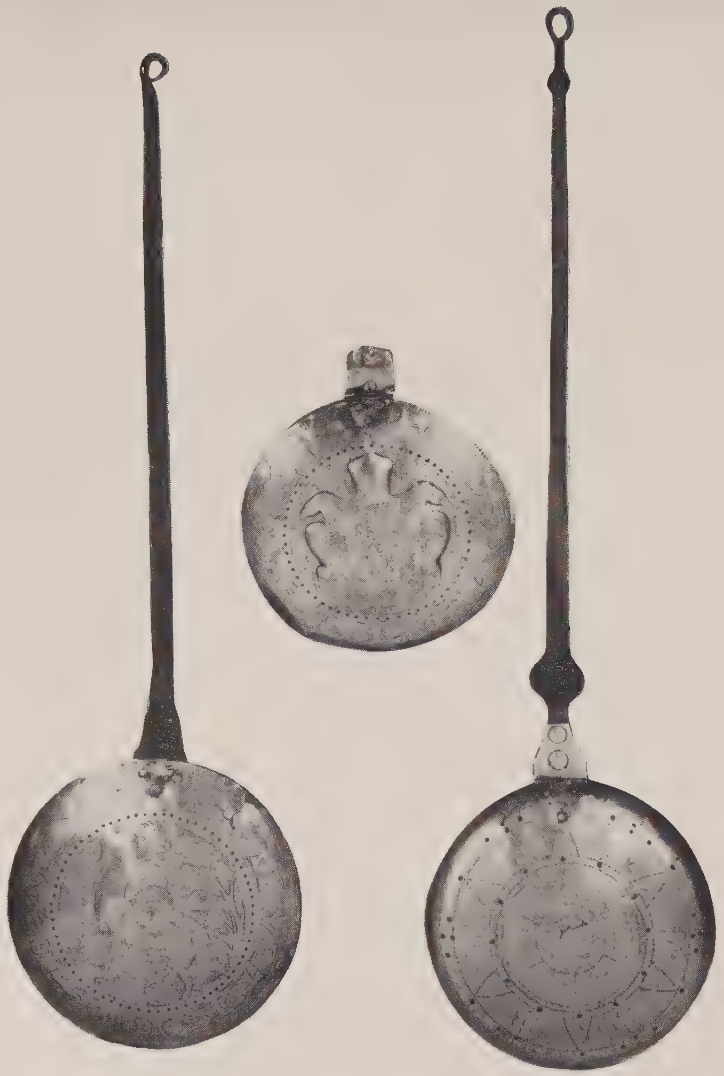
(B) Andiron with cast brass standard on low spreading foot of wrought iron, billet bar fitted with wrought iron peg for securing firebasket. At Hampton Court. *By gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen.*



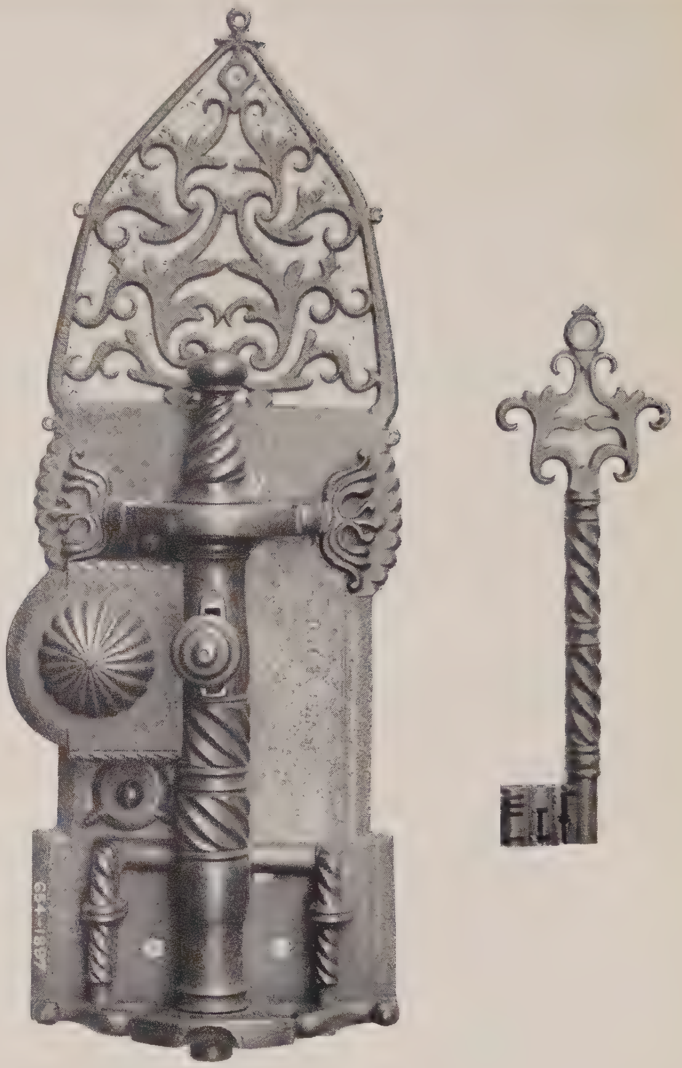
(C) A William and Mary andiron with turned cast brass standard and wrought iron base. *Courtesy the Duke of Rutland.*



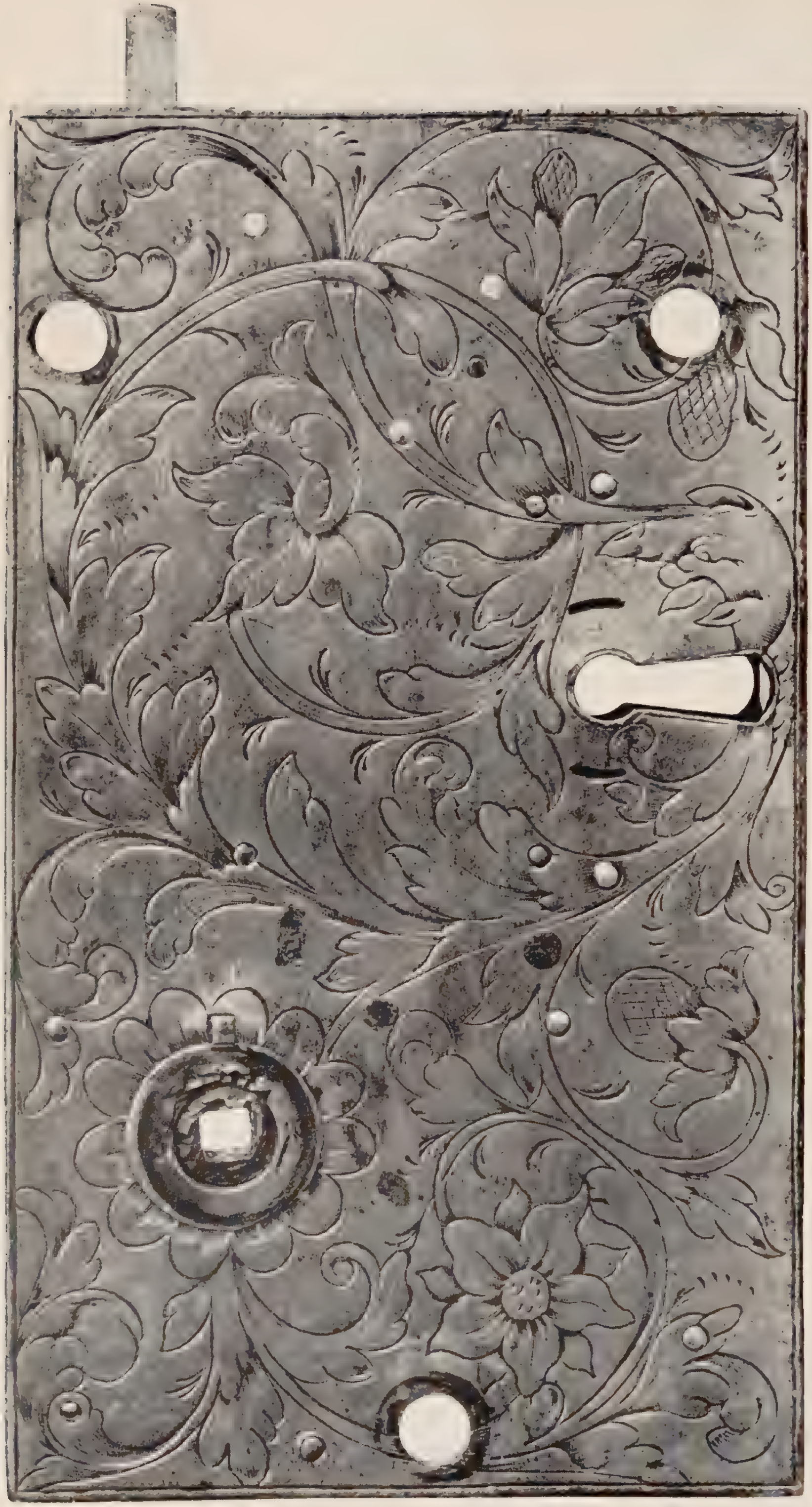
(D) Steel andiron ornamented with perforated facings and fretted convex roundels in latten. Late Charles II. *Private Collection.*



(A) Warming pans with brass pans, latten covers and wrought iron handles. (*Left*) engraved with the arms of the Clothworkers' Company, *c.* 1610; (*centre*) with Royal Arms without supporters, 1619; (*right*) with punched decoration, mid-seventeenth century. *London Museum.*



(B) Lock and key of wrought iron ornamented with saw-cut pierced work. Signed Richard Robinson. Late seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



A latten rim lock chased with flower and foliage scrollwork. $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. long. Late seventeenth century.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

PLATE 70

Textiles

Textiles

DONALD KING

The textures, colours and patterns of textiles are always an essential part of the picture which man makes of himself by his dress, and of the environment which he creates around him by his furnishings. Unquestionably this was true of the Stuart period, which we see in its portraiture as a world rustling in silks and satins, in love with bright colours and the breaking of light on shining stuffs, yet not unmindful of the effects of matt surfaces and monochrome sobriety.

In the home, as in dress, the chief uses of textiles remained substantially the same as in the Tudor period, though with some modifications. Walls continued to be hung with tapestries, but the use of these tended to decline as alternative materials – gilded leather, printed stuffs, wallpapers – became available; silk fabrics also were increasingly used for this purpose, and for window-curtains. The bed, with its woven, embroidered or painted coverlet and hangings, was still the most important article of furniture. Upholstered chairs and settees became commoner and loose cushions were less used. Pile carpets were still seen as often on tables as on floors, and the same material was also used to cover upholstered furniture.

The patterns of textiles inevitably followed the wider artistic movements of the time. Fabrics which suited Hatfield or Audley End would not harmonize with Blenheim. The small repeated motifs of the renaissance patterns fashionable at the beginning of the seventeenth century were caught up into larger baroque rhythms, which, after a period of turbulence, settled into stately symmetries. As always, textiles were among the most effective vehicles in the international diffusion of styles, carrying ideas not only from the continent of Europe, but also from the Near East and from India and China.

Bibliography. Among the household inventories which provide interesting details of seventeenth century furnishing textiles are those of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton (1614), in *Archaeologia*, XLII, 1869, pp. 347 ff.; Dame Anne Sherley (1622), in E. P. Shirley, *Stemmata Shirleiana*, 1841; Sir Thomas Fairfax (1624), in *Archaeologia*, XLVIII, 1884, pp. 136 ff.; Lettice, Countess of Leicester (1634), in J. O. Halliwell, *Ancient Inventories*, 1854; Edward Sackville, Earl of Dorset (1645), in C. J. Phillips, *History of the Sackville Family*, 1929, I, pp. 353 ff. For smaller establishments, see also F. G. Emmison, *Jacobean Household Inventories*, 1938, and F. W. Steer, *Farm and cottage inventories of mid-Essex, 1635–1749*, 1950.

For the early part of the century, the *Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth* (Surtees Society, Vol. LXVIII, 1877) include some useful information. Among narrative sources of the later Stuart period, Celia Fiennes showed a keen eye for textiles in the houses she visited (*The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, edited by Christopher Morris, 1947).

Woven stuffs

Throughout the Stuart period England remained a large importer of woven materials. Woollen cloth, it is true, continued to be produced in sufficient quantities to supply most domestic needs and was, in addition, one of the country's major exportable commodities. For most types of linen goods also, home production was adequate, though for the more elaborate patterned linens England depended on cloth imported from Flanders. Linen damasks for tablecloths and napkins (the latter called 'towels' in the inventories) came almost exclusively from this source; they have survived in considerable numbers and generally have designs with figures – biblical scenes, or commemorative subjects with portraits of Kings and Queens woven expressly for the English market. Such cloths were not inexpensive; Lord William Howard's steward expended £12 10*s*. on '25 yardes of damask for table cloathes.' For cotton cloth England depended almost entirely on supplies brought from India by the newly founded East India Company. As to silk, besides James I's abortive attempt to naturalize the silkworm, a certain amount of raw silk was imported for weaving in England. Following the influx of French Protestant weavers resulting from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, this silk-weaving industry, centred on the Spitalfields district of London, made rapid strides, but throughout the Stuart period a large proportion of the silk materials used were imported, chiefly from Italy, but also from France, and from India and China.

Many of these woven stuffs were naturally plain, unpatterned materials. Chairs, for instance, were commonly covered in plain velvet, and the portraits of Van Dyck and Lely leave no doubt that plain satins were among the most admired fabrics for costume. Both plain and patterned materials were enriched in various ways, by slashing or pinking (common in costume until the middle of the seventeenth century), by stamped designs, and by embroidery. Sumptuous effects were obtained in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century by applications of galon and tasselled fringes; examples may be found among the furniture designs of Daniel Marot, and numbers of beds and chairs decorated in this way still survive.

Among patterned silks, dress and furnishing materials differed chiefly in the scale of their designs, dress patterns being frequently very minute. In both cases, however, the historical evolution of the designs was much the same. The principal line of development may be summarized as follows. The designs of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century are for the most part orderly arrangements of fairly small, fairly naturalistic, independent floral units, either standing alone or in a trellis pattern. As the century advances, naturalistic features are abandoned in the search for rounded, full-blown, rolling forms; powerful, undulating lines, moving diagonally, knit the designs together in dense, exuberant baroque effects which reach a peak about 1660–70 (Pl. 71A). Thereafter the tempo slackens, the plant forms become flabbier, and a splendid, dignified, somewhat pompous symmetry is achieved, which, for furnishing textiles, persists far into the eighteenth century. Alongside this, however, is a gayer, more inconsequent style, in whose asymmetrical designs floral forms mingle with strange, bizarre shapes. It owes something to oriental ideas, but a recent attempt to attribute these silks to India[1] is certainly erroneous; they are undoubtedly European. Imported Indian silks seem generally to have been plain or striped. Of the artistically more interesting Chinese silks, a good example is the white floral damask used about 1695 for the magnificent state bed of the first Earl of Melville, in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Most of the silks used for furnishing purposes were, however, of Italian origin. They included velvets, damasks and various kinds of polychrome silks, including stuffs brocaded with gold and silver – these last especially popular towards the end of the period. 'Genoa damask' and 'Genoa velvet' are frequently mentioned in the records, but are perhaps type-names rather than indications of provenance. The state-canopies of William III at Hampton Court still show the 'rich Crimson Genoa Damask ... at 24/- per yd.' which was bought for them in 1699; a piece of this material is illustrated on Pl. 71B. Also at Hampton Court are some pieces of a red and yellow silk with trophies of arms, royal crowns, the mottoes 'Dieu et mon droit' and 'Je maintiendray', an unidentified monogram 'SC', and 'JJ 1700', the latter indicating the date and the name of the mercer John Johnson, who charged 16*s*. 6*d*. per yard for the material in that year. Evidently this silk was woven to order, perhaps at Spitalfields. In 1714 the same firm of mercers also supplied '321 yards $\frac{1}{8}$ of white crimson and yellow figured velvet for a standing bedd compleate, three pairs of large window curtains, vallance and cornishes, a large arm chair and 8 square stools at 42/- per yard'. This very elaborate material was stated in the *English Connoisseur* (1766, Vol. II, p. 199) to have been woven at Spitalfields, and the design of arches and flowers does in fact resemble those of other silks and wallpapers of the period which are fairly certainly of English make. The quality and variety of the patterns of the Spitalfields silks of the time are shown by the surviving designs of James Leman (active 1706–37), many of which are of the bizarre type mentioned above. Unfortunately no silks woven from these designs have yet been identified.

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[1] V. Slomann, *Bizarre Designs in Silks*, 1954.

Despite the existence of this active industry at Spitalfields, Italian silks were often preferred. The Duchess of Marlborough, in 1707–8, ordered prodigious quantities of damasks and velvets through the Earl of Manchester at Venice. Special designs could evidently be woven to order in Italy, since at one point in the correspondence she observes: 'My Lord Rivers has two pieces making of yellow damask. He sent the pattern from England drawn upon paper. The only difference is that if it is a new pattern they must be paid for setting the loom.' The majority of these Italian furnishing stuffs, however, were fairly stereotyped in design. The velvets, in particular, persist in sumptuous, symmetrical floral patterns from the end of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. The Duchess of Marlborough specified 'figured velvet without any mixture of colours', but equally, if not more, popular were polychrome velvets such as those 'figured crimson, green, several coullers in one', which Celia Fiennes observed on beds at Burghley. Many such velvets are still to be seen in country houses and museums.

Bibliography. Fanny Podreider, *Storia dei Tessuti d'Arte in Italia*, 1928; G. F. Wingfield Digby, *Damasks and Velvets at Hampton Court*, in the *Connoisseur*, CIII, 1939, pp. 248 ff.; Frank Lewis, *James Leman*, 1954.

Tapestries

Despite political upheavals, the Netherlands maintained throughout the seventeenth century the pre-eminence in tapestry-weaving which they had enjoyed since the Middle Ages, but the period was notable for certain new developments which contained the seeds of future decline. The first half of the century saw the foundation, in rapid succession, of a number of important factories in other countries – often under royal patronage. They included, among others, that of Munich in 1604, Paris in 1607, Mortlake in 1619 and Rome in 1633. These drained away some of the most highly skilled Flemish weavers and reduced the number of tapestries of fine quality ordered from the Netherlands. The output of the new factories, however, was both expensive and limited in quantity, and for most grades of work offered no serious competition to the Flemish industry, with its great reservoir of craft-skill and extremely efficient commercial organization. More dangerous was the remodelling of the French industry under the auspices of Louis XIV, whereby one after another the Gobelins (1662), Beauvais (1664) and Aubusson (1665) were put on a new and more efficient footing. These state-aided French factories, weaving designs by the finest decorative artists of the day, were able to withstand the decline in the demand for tapestries in the eighteenth century, while the Flemish factories withered and died. In the seventeenth century, however, the dynasties of tapestry-weavers established in Brussels, Antwerp, Oudenarde and other towns defied all competitors and their tapestries continued to be exported in vast quantities to the whole of Europe.

In 1678, tapestry imports into England were estimated to be running at a value of £100,000 per annum, the bulk of which was undoubtedly accounted for by Flemish tapestries. Even today, Flemish seventeenth century hangings are probably the commonest type of tapestry to be seen in England. In quality, most of them are adequate for their purpose, but hardly distinguished. Many are verdure or landscape tapestries, sometimes enlivened with hunting scenes, in prevailing tones of green, yellow and blue. Others are classical or Biblical subjects, in a hotter range of colours, and with a massive, plastic figure-style which owes something to the painting of Rubens. Later in the century many landscape-tapestries were woven with peasant scenes in the manner of Teniers, a style which persisted down to the middle of the eighteenth century and which seems to have been popular in England.

Compared with this large influx of Flemish tapestries, the output of the English industry, despite the fact that the seventeenth century was its most active period, was on a modest scale. But its history is not without interest, and the work of the Mortlake factory, at least for the short period between 1620 and 1635, was unequalled in quality anywhere in Europe.

Tapestry-weaving was no novelty in England. The skilled workers of the Great Wardrobe had long been engaged in the repair and maintenance of the magnificent tapestry collections of the Crown, and from time to time other tapestry-weavers had been active in various parts of the country. The looms which William Sheldon had established, in Queen Elizabeth's time, on his estates in Warwickshire and Worcestershire, were still working during the early years of the reign of James I; their somewhat provincial productions have been discussed in the preceding volume. The Mortlake factory, however, represented a completely new departure, in that it was conceived as an instrument of royal prestige, and the Crown was prepared not only to commission from it tapestries of the most luxurious kind, but also to give it financial support as a matter of policy. The documents relating to its foundation show that it was deliberately modelled on the tapestry factory which Henri IV, with very similar aims, and founded in Paris in 1607.

The Mortlake factory was fortunate in its first director, the experienced courtier and Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, Sir Francis Crane. (A fine tapestry portrait of him, woven at Mortlake after a painting by Van Dyck, is in the possession of Lord Petre at Ingatestone Hall.) As soon as the project was agreed upon in 1619, Crane set himself energetically to the task of collecting a team of highly qualified weavers, some of whom he recruited directly from the Netherlands, while others, including his chief weaver, Philip de Maeght, were won over from the Paris factory. These negotiations were conducted with speed and secrecy, and by 1620 the authorities in the Low Countries were alarmed to read, in diplomatic dispatches from London, that some fifty Flemish weavers were already assembled at Mortlake. Crane's conduct of the factory, terminated by his death in 1636, seems to have been eminently successful, though on more than one occasion he was accused of enriching himself at the King's expense. No doubt his operations were materially assisted by the fact that during his tenure of office Charles I, who both as Prince of Wales and as King took a keen interest in the factory, was sufficiently supplied with funds to exercise a generous patronage.

It was for Charles that the first tapestries were woven on Mortlake looms between 1620 and 1622. This was a set of nine hangings with scenes from the story of *Vulcan and Venus*; some of these tapestries, identified by the Prince of Wales's feathers and interlaced C's in the borders, are at St James's Palace, while others are dispersed in museums and private collections (Pl. 72). Part of another set, made for the Duke of Buckingham, is in the Swedish royal collection, and the series was subsequently re-woven on a number of occasions for private patrons. The second group of tapestries to leave the looms, in 1623–24, was a set of *Twelve Months*, which was begun for Charles but transferred later to the Duke of Buckingham's account. This set likewise was repeatedly rewoven down to the beginning of the eighteenth century; examples are at Buckingham Palace, Ham House and elsewhere. It is noteworthy that the designs of both these series are of a somewhat archaic character, for they are based on Flemish tapestry cartoons which go back to the middle of the sixteenth century, or even earlier. Indeed this use of old designs for the main subjects, often in conjunction with new and ingenious baroque designs for the borders, is characteristic of much Mortlake work, and may perhaps be connected with Charles's taste as a connoisseur of Renaissance art. It was he who in 1623 acquired for the Mortlake factory the most famous of all tapestry designs, Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles*, which had exercised so decisive an influence on Flemish tapestry style over a century before. These magnificant cartoons still form part of the English royal collections and are exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum on loan from H.M. the Queen. Of the tapestries woven from them at Mortlake, part of the royal set is now in the French national collection; among the many sets woven for private patrons – for the *Acts* were naturally one of the most sought-after of Mortlake sets – those at Chatsworth, Boughton House and Forde Abbey may be mentioned.

In 1624 Mortlake acquired its own designer in the person of Francis Cleyn, a native of Rostock, who, after studying in Rome, had been court painter to Christian IV of Denmark. He was at once granted an annuity of £100 in respect of his duties at Mortlake, which he continued to perform until his death in 1658. His principal contributions to the repertory of Mortlake cartoons were the story of *Hero and Leander* in seven scenes, a series of eight classical subjects known as the *Horses*, and a set of the *Five Senses*. Charles I's set of the *Hero and Leander* tapestries, magnificently woven and rich with gold, is now in the Swedish royal collection. Cleyn was not an artist of great distinction but the curiously hesitant and tongue-tied proto-baroque style of his tapestry cartoons has considerable charm.

With the death of Sir Francis Crane in 1636, and the King's increasing financial embarrassments, Mortlake entered a more difficult period from which it was never fully to recover. Under a succession of directors the work was carried on, for private patrons, but it was generally of a simpler and less luxurious kind. The Commonwealth Government took measures to support the factory, and in 1657 commissioned the weaving of a new set of tapestries based on Mantegna's paintings of the *Triumphs of Caesar*, which Charles I had bought with the Gonzaga Collection from Mantua; some hangings with this subject are in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch. Designs by Giulio Romano, perhaps also from Mantua, formed the basis of another popular series, showing *putti* playing among foliage, and known as the *Naked Boys*.

The history of tapestry-weaving in the later Stuart period is a tangled skein which has not yet been completely unravelled. The Mortlake factory was not finally wound up until 1703; it is known to have been selling tapestries to the Crown and to private patrons in Charles II's time, but no serious effort seems to have been made to arrest its decline and it was probably inactive for some years before its eventual demise. For most of this period effective control of the factory seems to have been in the hands of Lady Harvey, acting on behalf of her brother, the Earl of Montagu. The situation is complicated by the fact that the Earl of Montagu was simultaneously Master of the Great Wardrobe, where tapestries were also being woven, and it is impossible to be sure, for example, whether the set of tapestry table-covers with his arms in the possession of the Duke of Buccleuch, were made at the Great Wardrobe or at Mortlake. Furthermore, while some of the old Mortlake weavers were transferred to the Great Wardrobe, others apparently set up on their own account. As all these establishments continued to weave the Mortlake designs and to use the old Mortlake mark of a St George's cross on a shield, their products can be distinguished only if they are signed, or if documentary evidence is available. The former Mortlake weaver, William Benood, apparently operating independently at Lambeth, is known to have woven a set of five hangings of the *Vulcan and Venus* series for the Countess of Rutland in 1670–71; these are at Haddon Hall. A tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum, inscribed 'Made at Lambeth', is presumably also from Benood's workshop; it reproduces one of the designs of Cleyn's *Horses*. The signature of Stephen de May, a surname borne by several Mortlake weavers, is also found on tapestries; in 1701 he was engaged on weaving a series of *Months* for Lord Nottingham. Tapestries with subjects taken from the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid have recently been shown to be English work, but it is not known in which workshop they were woven.

The production of the weavers associated with the Great Wardrobe, which was situated first in Hatton Garden and subsequently, from 1686, in Great Queen Street, can be distinguished a little more clearly. The signature of Francis Poyntz, who bore the title of 'His Majesty's Chief Arras-Maker' appears on three hangings representing the *Battle of Solebay* (1672), which were woven in 1677–78, perhaps after designs by Willem van der Velde the Elder. He also signed a set of *Naked Boys* at Hardwick, and a curious tapestry with full-length portraits of James I and Charles I, their Queens, and Christian IV of Denmark, at Houghton. On his death in 1685, a kinsman, Thomas Poyntz, seems to have succeeded to the business, and his signature appears on sets of the *Solebay* designs and on tapestries of the Mortlake *Months* and *Naked Boys* series; he is known to have been weaving a set of *Months* for the Queen's bedchamber at Windsor in 1686. In 1689 John Vanderbank succeeded to the position of chief arras-worker at the Great Wardrobe, where he continued until 1727. Much of his time was inevitably occupied with the cleaning and repair of the royal tapestries, but he also wove a considerable number of new sets, both for the palaces and for country houses. Among these were designs after the fashion of Teniers, and a series of *Elements*, adapted from the designs made by Le Brun for the Gobelins, of which the set at Boughton House was woven for the Earl of Montagu before 1705. Vanderbank's name is, however, more particularly associated with another kind of tapestry, lighter and more frivolous in effect than any of its predecessors, and representing a radical departure from the heroic themes hitherto traditional to the medium. These are the tapestries now known as *chinoiseries*, but which Vanderbank himself described, when he delivered a set of them for Kensington Palace in 1690, as 'designed after the Indian manner' (Pl. 73). They show groups of small figures, in Indian or Chinese dress and surrounded by a variety of exotic accessories, standing on little strips of landscape which are distributed over the whole field of the tapestry without regard to continuity or perspective. The scenes are invariably in light tones on black, dark blue or brown backgrounds, and although they may owe something to the painted cotton hangings imported from India, their effects are much more closely related to those of the lacquer objects which were also carried in the East India Company's ships. It has recently been suggested that the designs of these hangings may have been the work of Robert Robinson (active 1674–1706), a decorative painter of *chinoiserie* subjects, but they do not seem to show any decisive affinities with his style. Vanderbank seems to have specialized in tapestries of this type and several examples with his signature are known; another signature which occurs is that of M. Mazarind, who is not otherwise identified. The best-known set of the kind, which is however unsigned, are the four from Glemham which once belonged to Elihu Yale and are now preserved at the American university which bears his name.

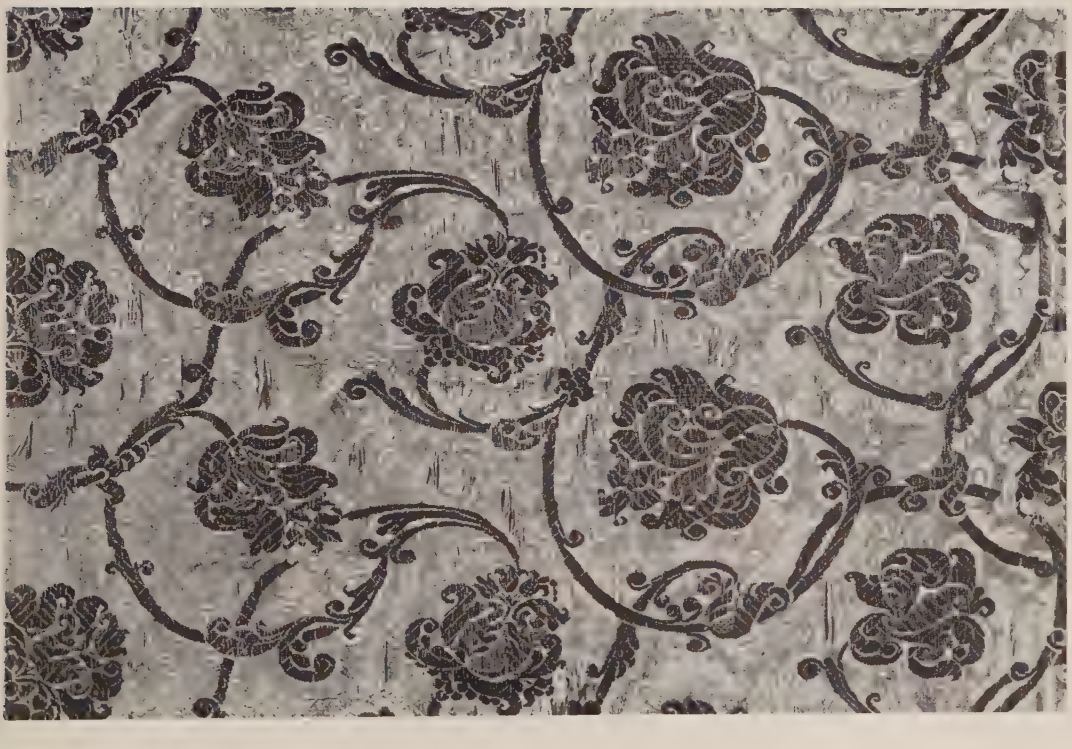
All these English tapestries of the later Stuart period, though decorative in design and competent in weaving, are nevertheless not tapestries of the highest class. The major official commissions of the period went to Flemish factories. Hence it was the interconnected workshops of Le Clerc, De Vos, Van der Borcht and Cobus, in Brussels, who wove the fine armorial tapestries of William III, who recorded his successes against James II, and who celebrated, in a series of ten hangings at Blenheim, the victories of the Duke of Marlborough.

Of smaller works in tapestry, it may well be that some of the early eighteenth century covers for chairs and settees, woven with floral designs, are of English workmanship, but this subject has not yet been adequately explored.

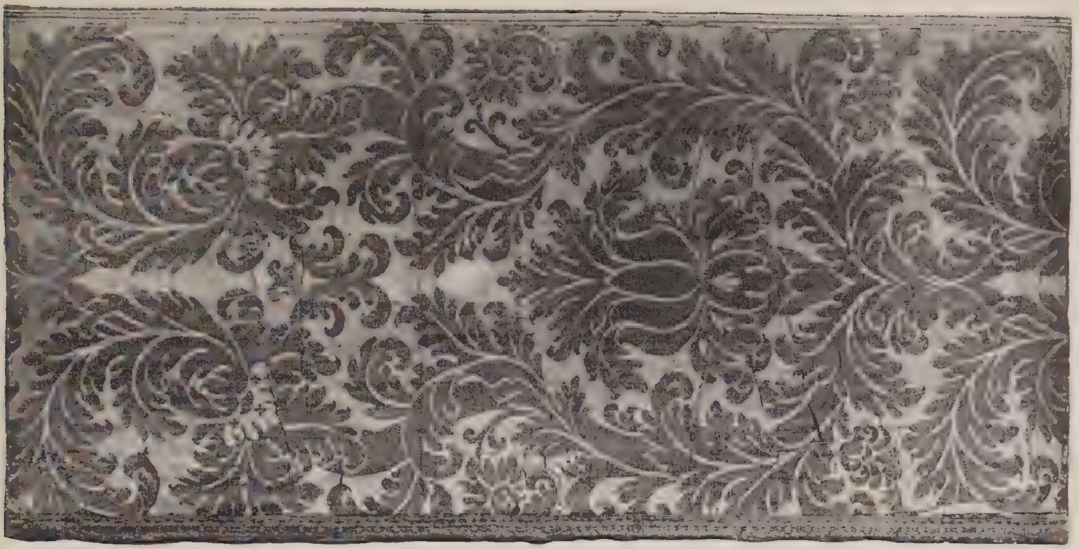
Bibliography. W. G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry*, 1930 (2nd edition); W. G. Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving in England*, 1914; H. C. Marillier, *English Tapestries of the Eighteenth Century*, 1930; H. C. Marillier, *Handbook to the Teniers Tapestries*, 1932; G. Wingfield Digby, *Late Mortlake Tapestries*, in the *Connoisseur*, CXXXIV, 1954, pp. 239 ff.

Painted and printed textiles

The pictorial hangings of painted canvas, which had been extensively used as a relatively cheap substitute for tapestries during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were already in the late Elizabethan period chiefly associated with ale-houses. In Stuart times they no longer formed part of the furnishings of an elegant house, though rustic examples continued to be painted far into the eigh-

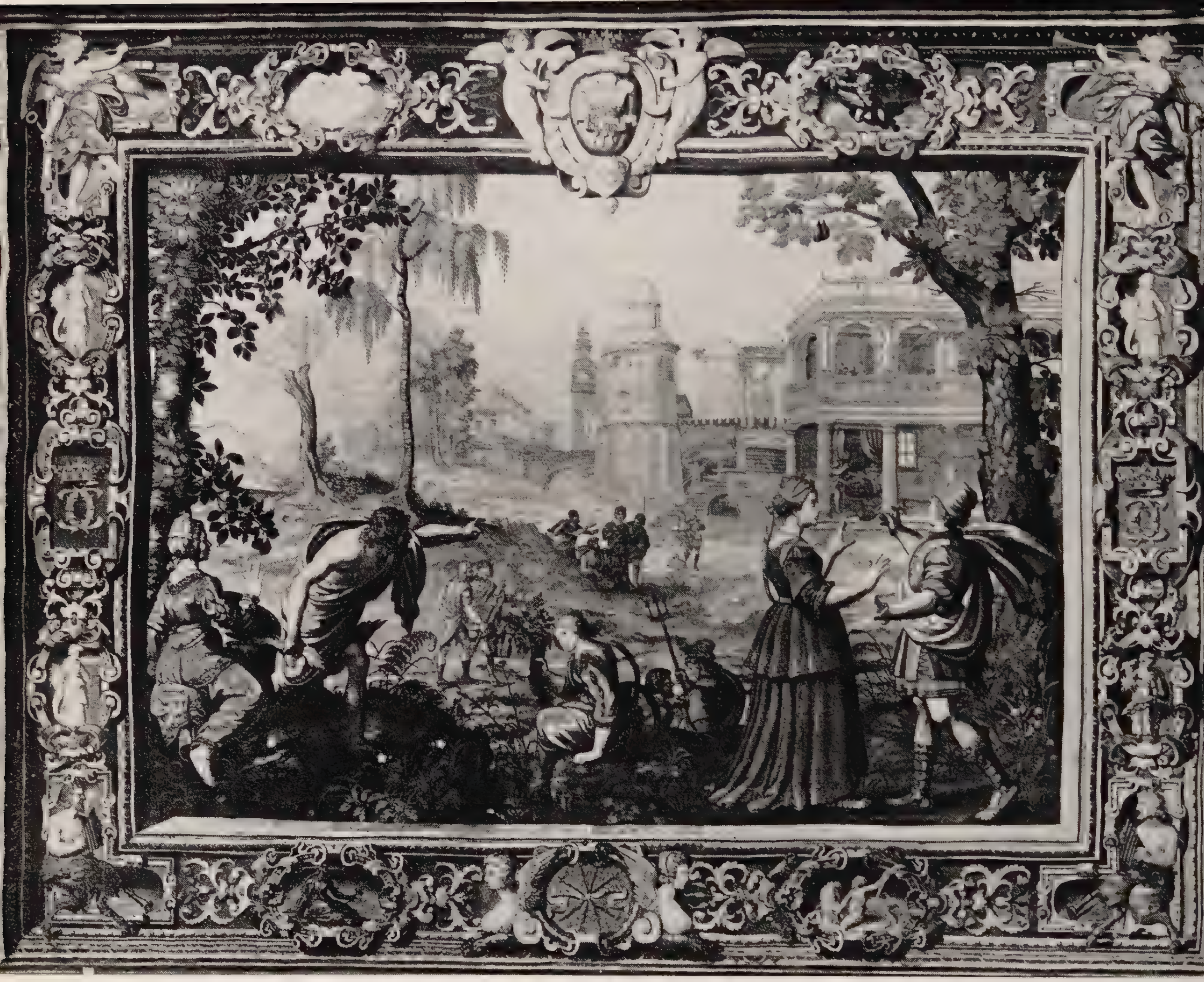


(A) Pink and white silk tissue, brocaded with silver and silver-gilt thread. Italian, third quarter of the seventeenth century.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

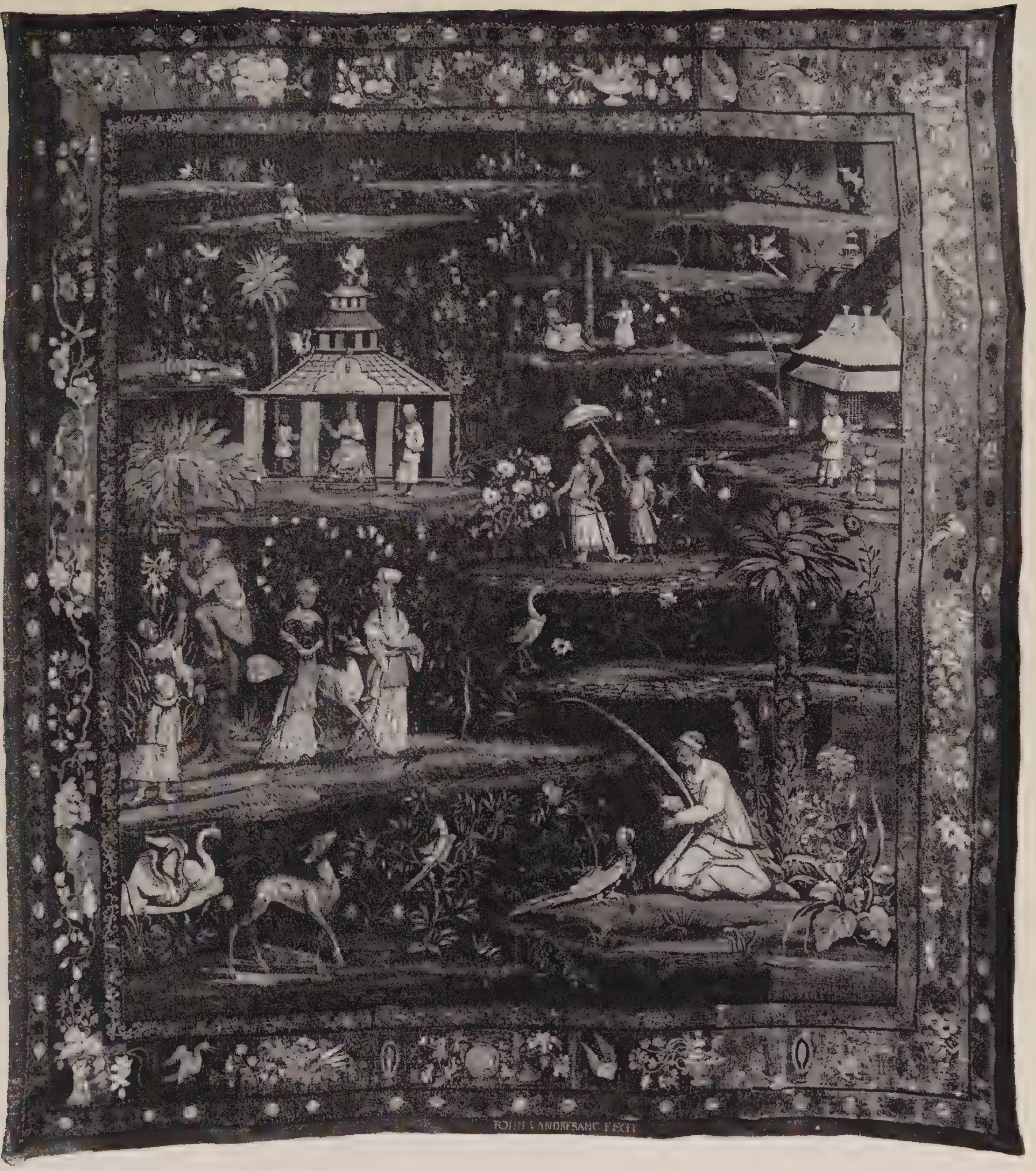


(B) Red silk damask, from Hampton Court. Italian, end of the seventeenth century.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

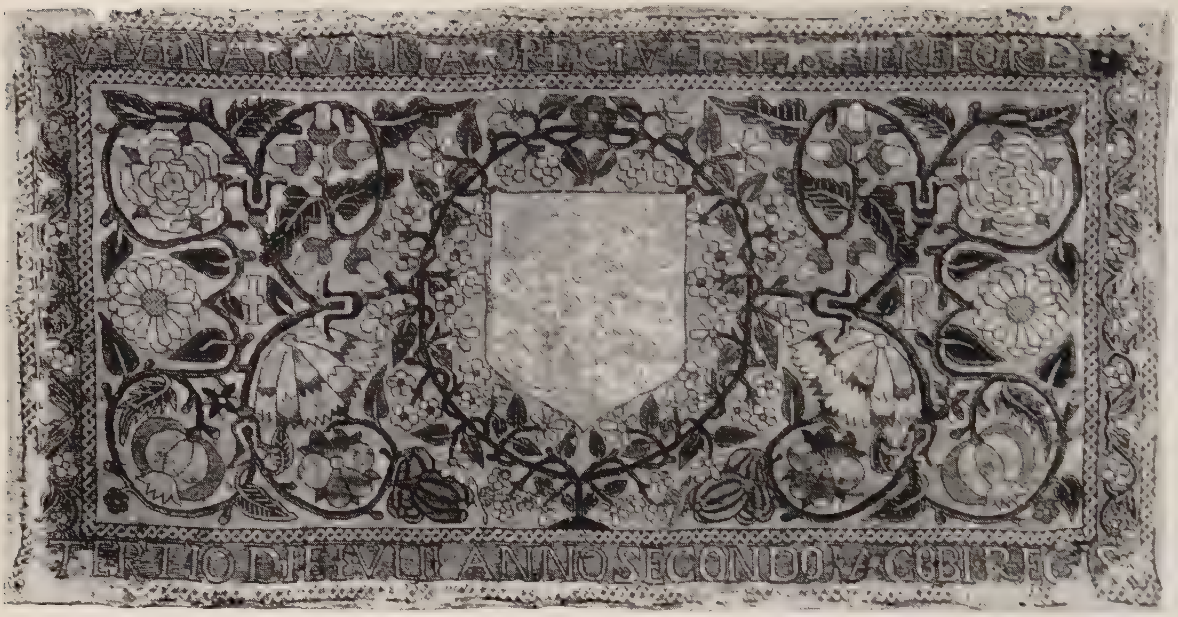
PLATE 71



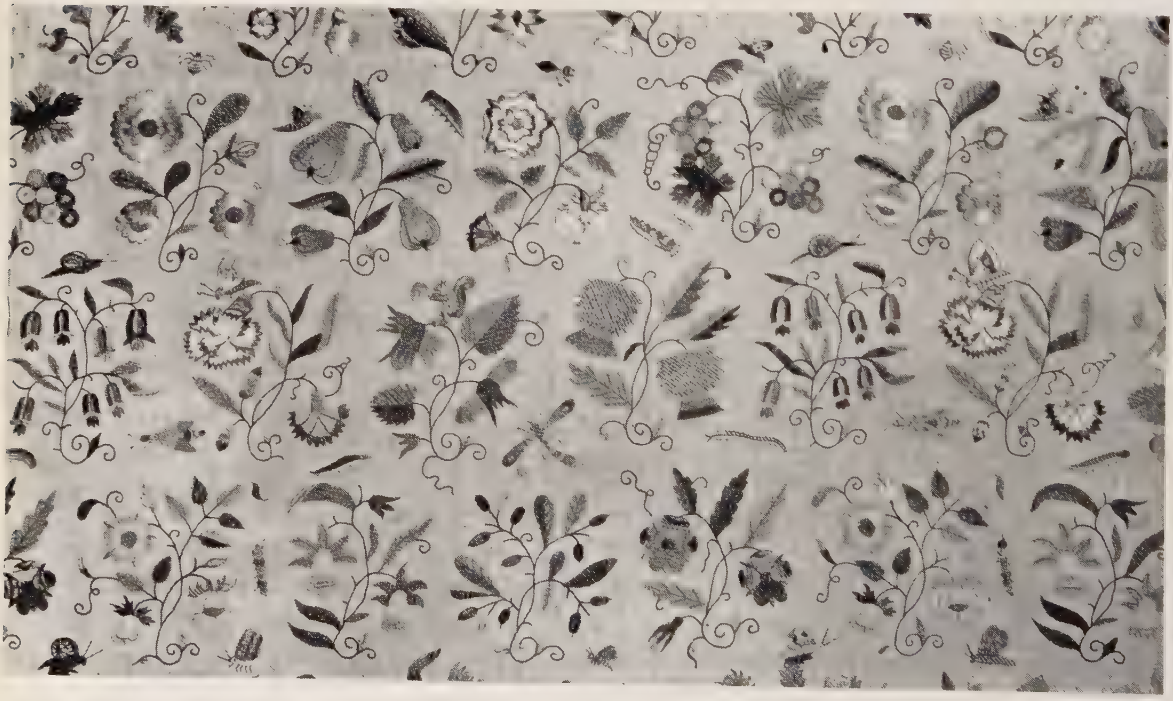
Tapestry; the Gods discovering the Amours of Mars and Venus. English (Mortlake), 1620-2. One of a set of *The History of Vulcan and Venus* woven for Charles I as Prince of Wales. Coloured wools and silks and silver and silver-gilt thread. Signed with the monogram PDM, for Philip de Maecht. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



Tapestry; Oriental subjects. English (Great Wardrobe), late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Woven in coloured silks and wools. Signed IOHN VANDREBANC FECIT.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

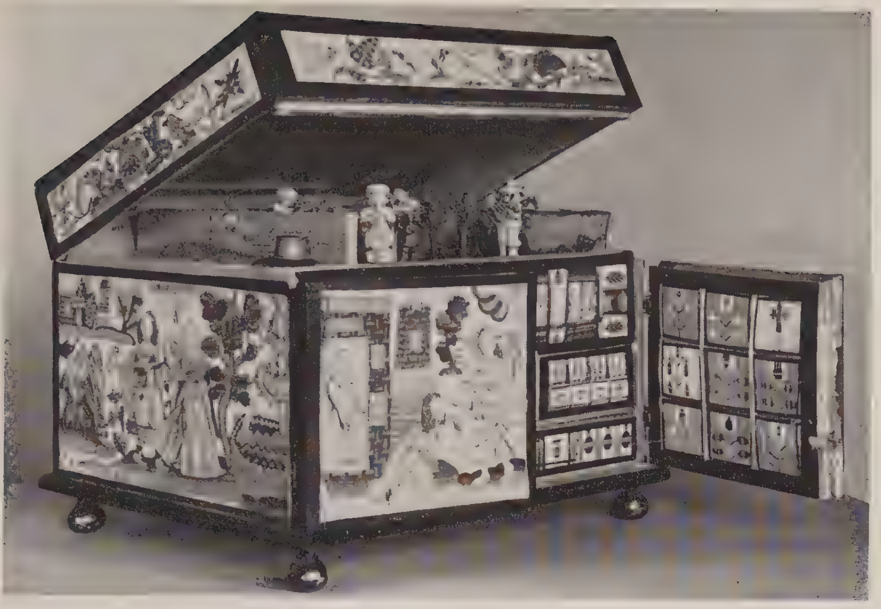


(A) Long cushion cover, with inscription recording that it was made for the mayoral chair of Hereford in the second year of James I (1604). Embroidered in wool and silk in tent stitch on linen canvas. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

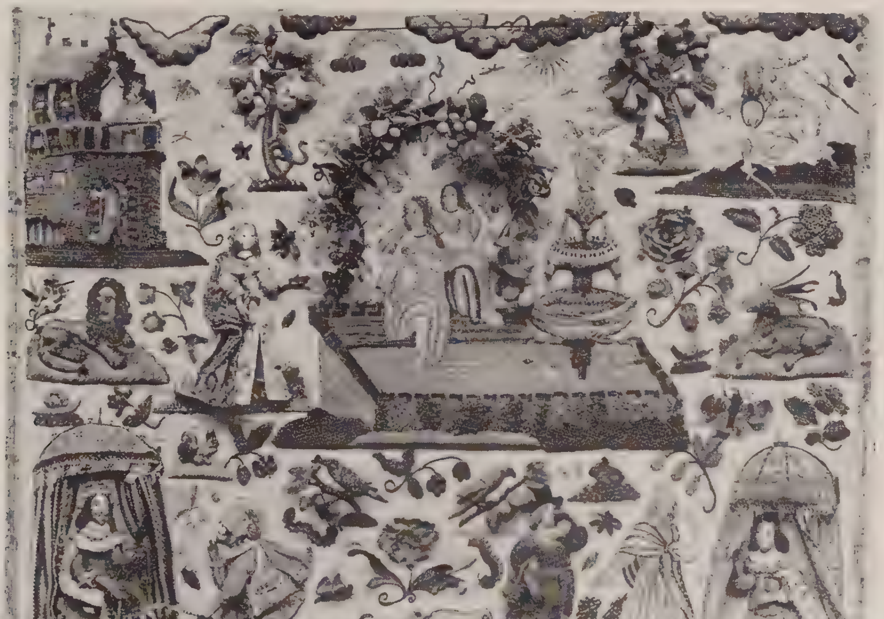


(B) Part of a long cover; English, early seventeenth century. Embroidered in silk on linen. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

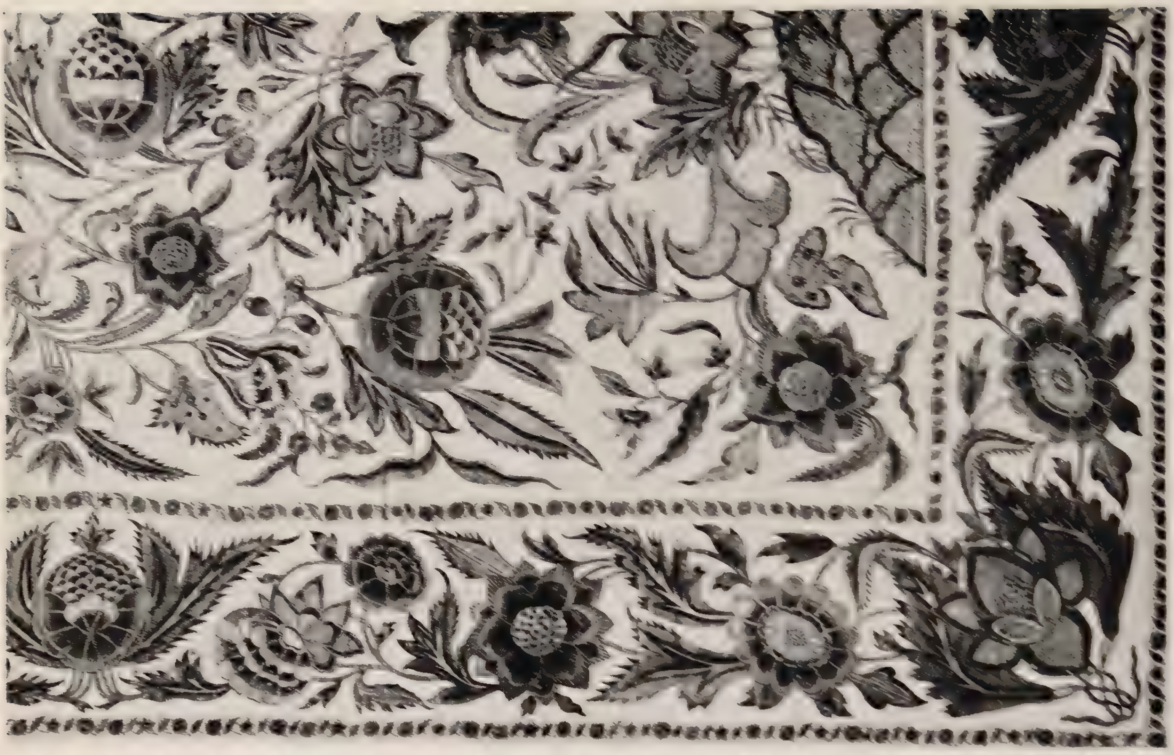
PLATE 74



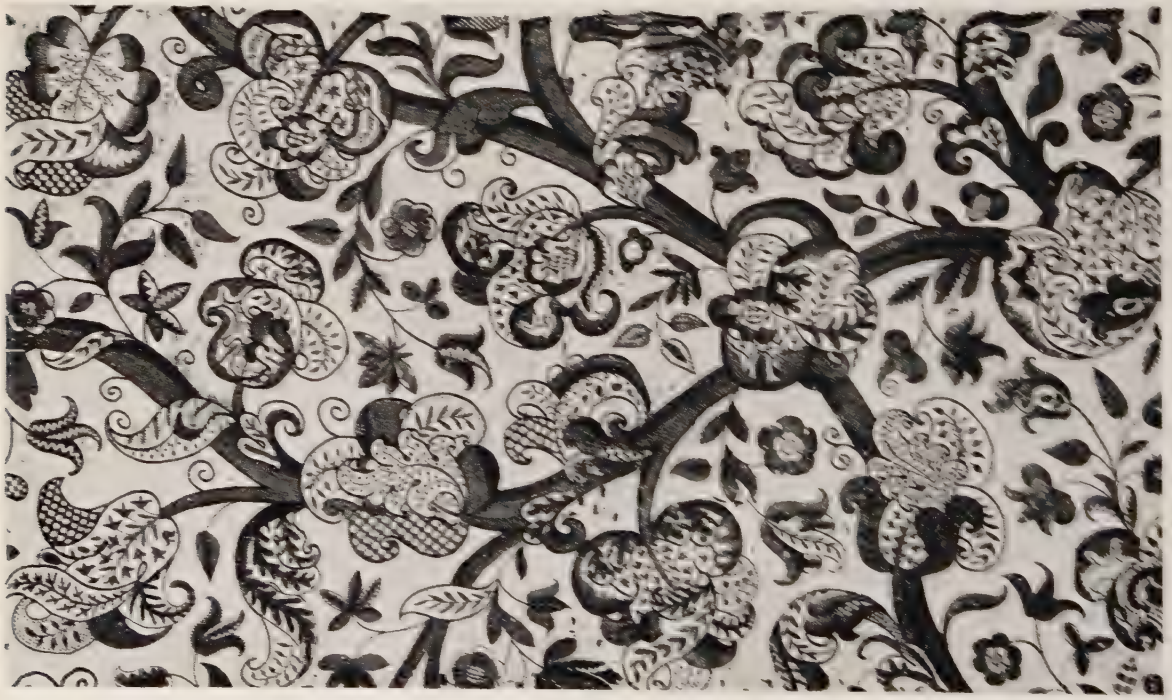
(A) Needlework cabinet, containing a miniature garden; English, third quarter of the seventeenth century. Scenes from the story of Abraham embroidered in coloured silks and metal thread. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



(B) Embroidered picture. The Story of David and Bathsheba; English, signed MY 1656 Coloured silks and metal thread on white satin. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

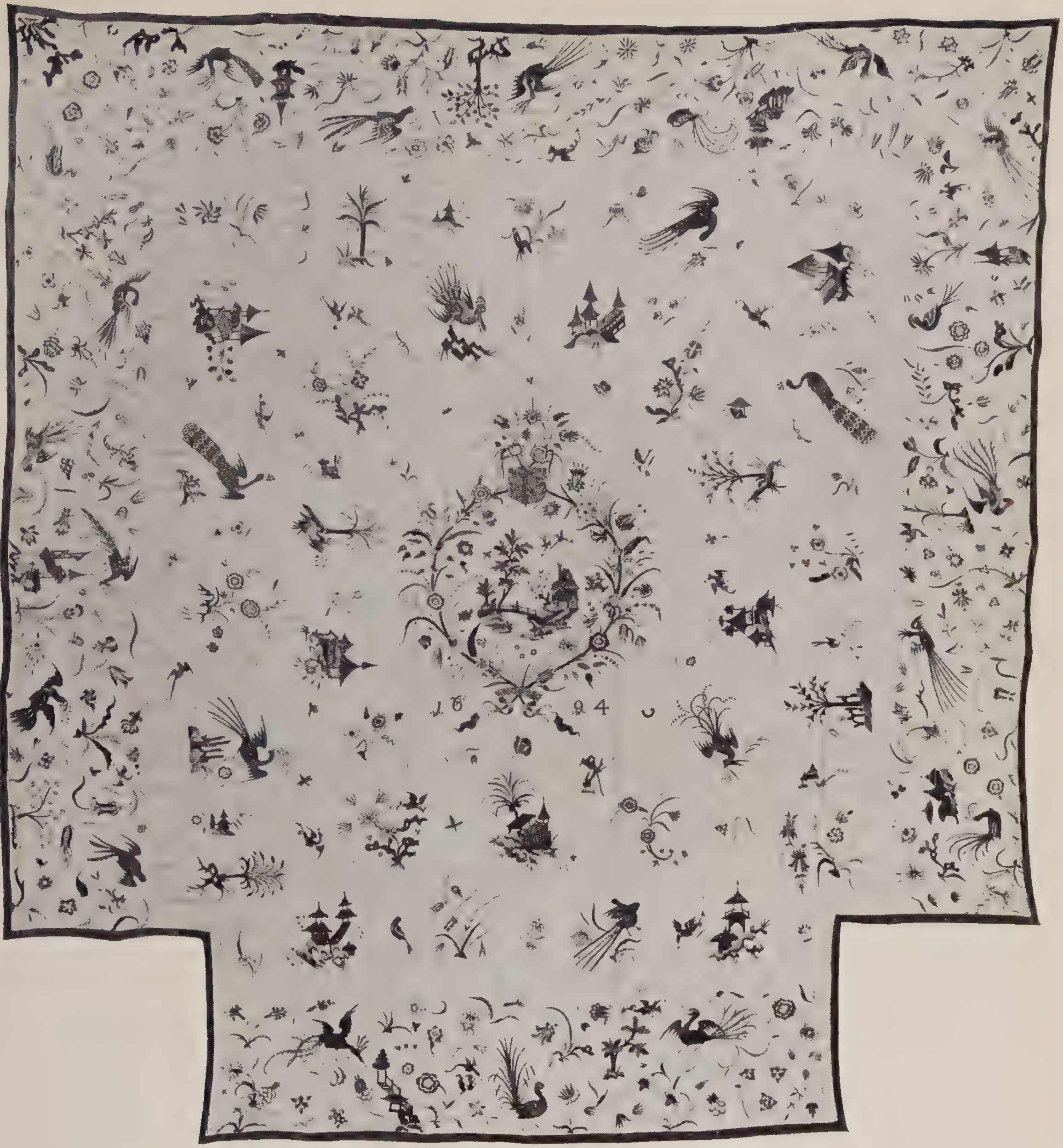


(A) Painted and dyed cotton hanging; Indian, late seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

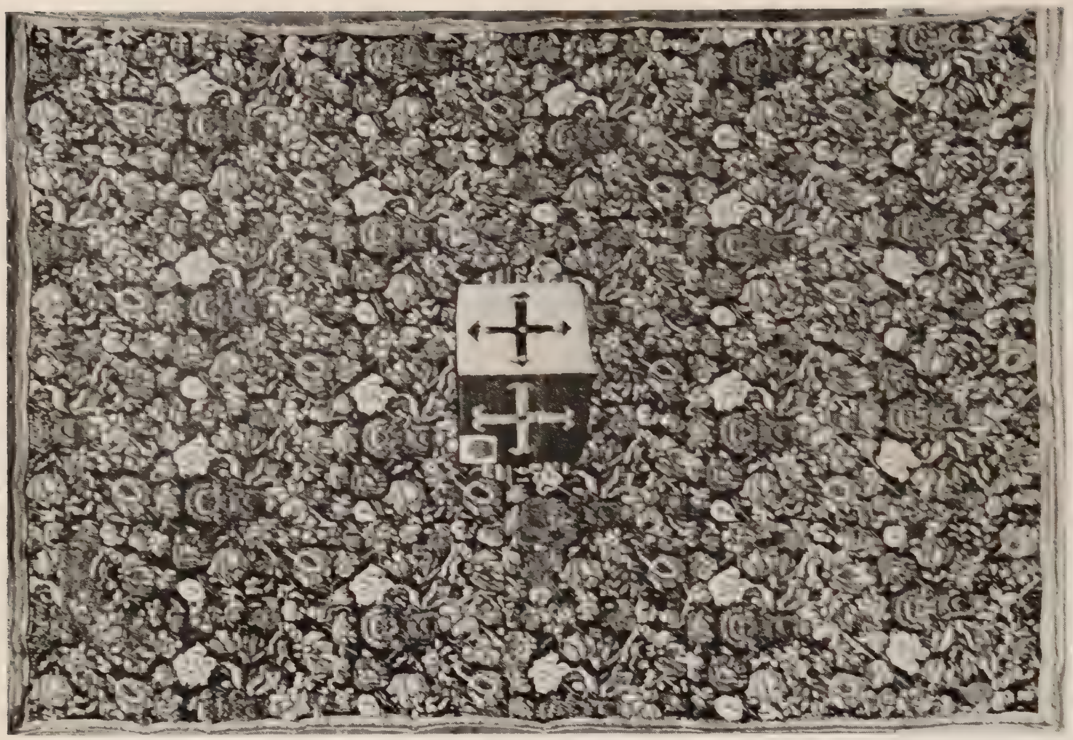


(B) Bed curtain; English, third quarter of the seventeenth century. Cotton and linen twill embroidered with wool in shades of green. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

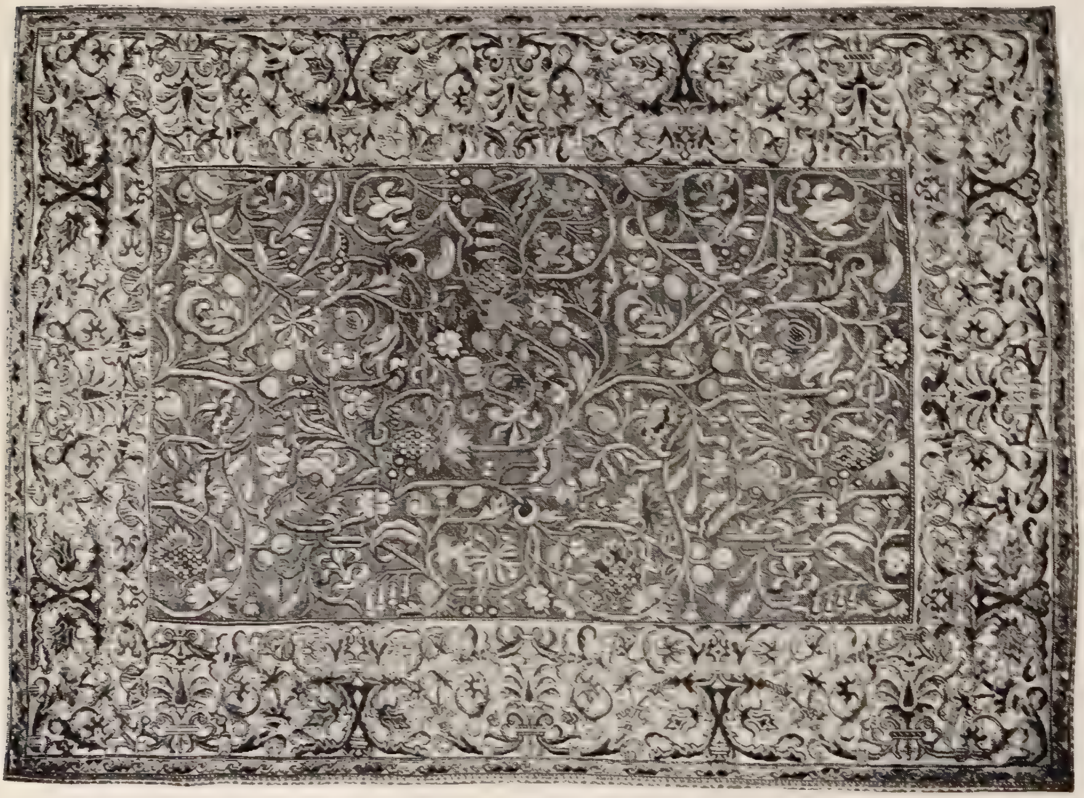
PLATE 76



Coverlet; English, signed SARAH THVRSTONE 1694. Embroidered in coloured silks and silver thread on white satin. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



(B) Carpet; English, dated 1672. Arms of Molyneux impaling Rigby, for Sir John Molyneux of Teversall. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



(A) Carpet; English, dated 1614. *Courtesy Sir Westrow Hulse, Bart.*

PLATE 78

teenth century. Their place was taken by decorative oil-paintings set into the panelling of rooms, but these belong to the history of painting rather than to that of textiles.

Printed fabrics, on the other hand, were made in considerable quantities in England, though surviving examples are extremely rare. Floral patterns printed on linen for the use of the embroideress show that textile-printing from both wood-blocks and engraved plates was practised at the beginning of the century. For furnishing purposes, however, the decorative value of the technique was limited by the fact that most of the printing was done in black only; other colours, added with block or brush, were pale and impermanent. Block-printed wall-hangings of this type were nevertheless made, and were presumably stuck to the wall like a wallpaper. Some linen fragments in the Victoria and Albert Museum show figures of a lady and gentleman of about 1680 against a background of trees, printed in black in a broad style, and washed with colour. A few other block-prints of the same kind, possibly English, have floral patterns reminiscent of contemporary wallpapers.

More effective than this type of work were the wall-hangings of flock-printed canvas which were the predecessors of flock papers. The technique of printing an adhesive on cloth and dusting it with flock (the process could be repeated to obtain polychrome designs) was one which had been practised on the Continent since at least the fifteenth century. In 1634, one Jerome Lanyer took out a patent in London for the manufacture of a material of this type, which he proposed to call 'Londrindiana'. It is not known whether his material ever reached the production stage. If it did, it may conceivably be represented by a set of flock-printed panels recently discovered in a Yorkshire house and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum; it must be admitted, however, that their formal baroque designs, somewhat reminiscent of the patterns of gilded leather, in no way differs from contemporary continental examples in the same technique.

These somewhat unexciting creations of the English textile-printer were outclassed in every respect by the Indian painted quilts and hangings which, in the Stuart period, were one of the staple commodities of the East India Company's trade. In the course of many centuries the Indian craftsman had perfected a complex method of painting and dyeing designs on cotton cloth; he had a range of blues, reds, pinks and purples which could be dyed fast, and with another more fugitive dye he could add yellows and greens. It is not surprising that these finely textured cottons, each one an individual work of art, executed in brilliant colours which no amount of washing could remove, were enthusiastically received in England. In addition to their other advantages, they were not excessively expensive. In 1631 the London price of Indian hangings sufficient for a room was about £30; in 1650 two sets of bed-hangings sold for £17 and large quilts cost £2 10*s*. each. At first the exotic quality of the style was one of its principal attractions and there was a demand for pictorial hangings of the type made for the Indian home market; of this kind were those noted by Evelyn at Lady Mordaunt's house in 1665, 'full of figures great and small, prettily representing sundry trades and occupations of the Indians, with their habits'. Later, as prices fell and the demand became more generalized, the Company sought to modify the designs to suit English taste, and after 1662 it became usual to send out designs in a hybrid Anglo-Indian style, for copying in India. Despite its relative cheapness, the material was much used even in the finest houses. In his *Tour through Great Britain* Defoe notes Queen Mary's 'fine chintz bed' at Hampton Court and 'a bed hung with Atlass and Magglapatan chintz' at Windsor. Apart from furnishing, chintz with small floral patterns was increasingly used for dress, initially among the lower classes and later, in the 1680's, by a reversal of the usual rule that modes descend through the strata of society, this was eagerly taken up by the fashionable world and, as the Company observed with satisfaction, by 'ladies of the greatest quality'. Examples of these seventeenth century painted cottons from India may be seen in museums (Pl. 76A).

Cloth-printers in Europe made strenuous efforts to emulate this work. The Indian method, complex though it was, could hardly be kept secret from the Europeans working in India, and accounts of it were soon transmitted to interested persons at home. The major difficulties in the way of adapting it for purposes of European manufacture were the laborious and lengthy nature of the processes and the degree of artistic skill necessary for the hand-painting, both of which made it uneconomic under European conditions. From 1676 onwards, however, various patents were taken out in London for printing in the Indian manner, and it seems likely that a simplified version of the method had by then been adapted to the European practice of block-printing. For a century thereafter the English cloth-printers remained technically and artistically in advance of their European competitors. A more dangerous rival was excluded in 1701 by the banning, as a result of agitation by English weavers, of further imports of Indian chintz. Unfortunately, no examples of English printing 'in the Indian manner' from the late Stuart period have yet been discovered.

Bibliography. G. P. Baker, *Calico painting and printing in the East Indies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries*, 1921; J. Irwin, *Origins of the 'Oriental Style' in English decorative art*, in *Burlington Magazine*, XCVII, 1955.

Embroidery and lace

Embroidery has been assiduously cultivated at most periods of English history, but it may be said that standards of domestic needlework have never been higher than they were in Stuart times. The amateur worker was trained from childhood in all the techniques of the needle, and her deficiencies with the pencil were supplied by a considerable industry engaged in drawing or printing designs for her use, either directly on silk or linen, or in books whence they could be traced or pounced. It is true that the combination of technical virtuosity and naïve pictorial design led, for instance in the stump-work of the Commonwealth and Restoration periods, to effects which, at best quaint and curious, are too often merely absurd; but it must be remembered that these were show-pieces, the first-fruits of the newly acquired skills of small girls. Embroideries made by their elders for practical use and display in the home are generally characterized by simple and bold decorative effects and perfect discretion in execution. In design, the keynote of all this domestic embroidery is informality, except for the rare occasions when a woven fabric is directly copied with the needle. Nearly always it is concerned with animals and plants, more or less naturalistically rendered. The manner in which these motifs are organized naturally follows the wider stylistic evolution of the period. The repeated units, characteristic of the early part of the period, are caught up, by the middle of the century, into larger schemes characterized by strong, undulating, diagonal movements, which subside at the end of the period into more sedate patterns, often enlivened by the frivolous intrusion of orientalizing motifs. Throughout these changes of fashion, however, the work is marked by its delight in the motifs, naturalistic or exotic, for their own sake, its refusal to exaggerate them or to submit them to any kind of rigid formal pattern, and its strongly national character.

In contrast, such of the English professional embroidery as survives belongs to the international baroque style and cannot be distinguished from contemporary continental work. An embroidered panel of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, one of a series formerly at Corby Castle, bears on the back the signature 'Edmund Harrison Imbroderer to King Charles made theis Anno Doni. 1637'. This picture, of a decidedly Flemish character in design, is worked by shading with coloured silks over parallel lines of gold thread, a delicate technique which had long been favoured for pictorial work by professional embroiderers on the Continent. Harrison, besides being a prominent member of the London Broderers' Company, was embroiderer to James I, Charles I and Charles II, and in 1660 he petitioned the latter monarch for arrears due to him in respect of embroidering two hundred and fifty coats for the yeomen of the chamber and others. It was no doubt in this kind of livery and heraldic work, and in the more formal kinds of furnishing and costume embroidery, that the members of the Broderers' Company and their fellow

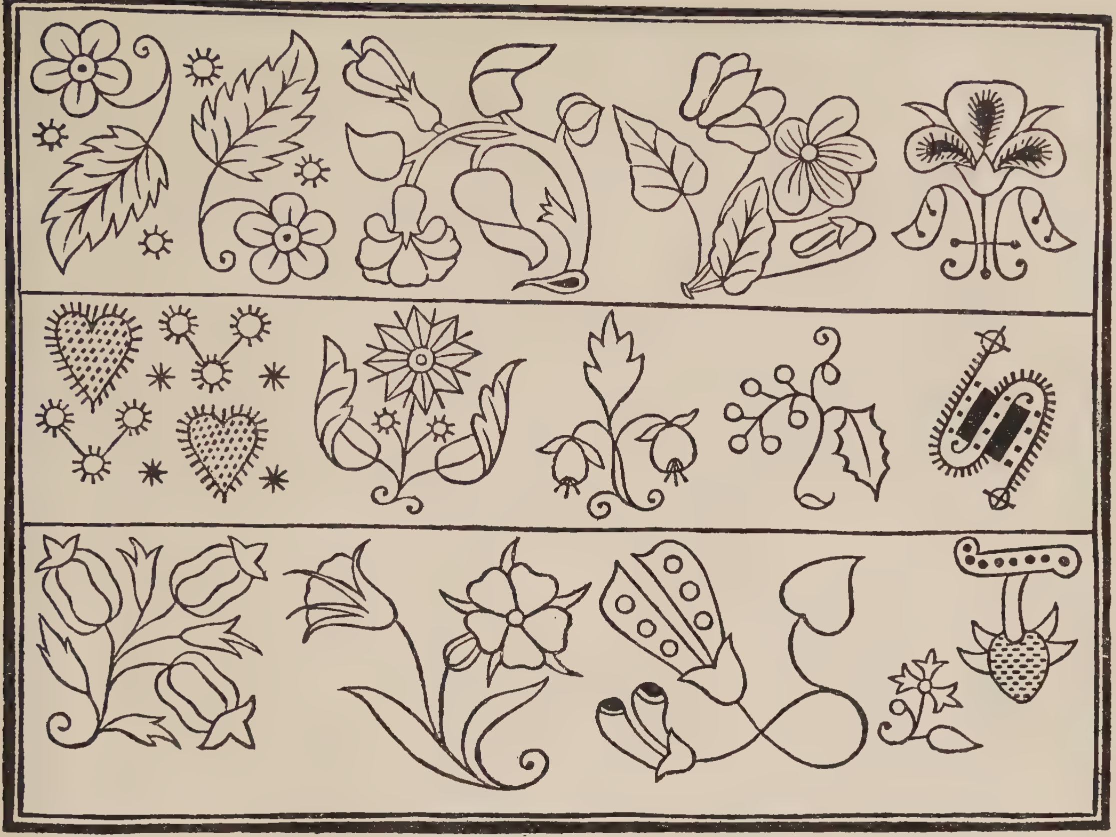


Fig. 1. Sheets of designs for needlework from *A schole-house for the needle*, published by Richard Shorleyker, London, 1624. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

professionals were chiefly engaged. Surviving examples (e.g. herald's tabards, military scarves, embroidered doublets, gloves, etc.), though often of impressive quality, are generally less interesting than the productions of the amateurs.

The domestic embroidery of the early Stuart period is in many respects a prolongation of the Elizabethan style. In general, the same articles continued to be embroidered in the same ways. A few of the most ambitious types of Elizabethan embroidery do, it is true, seem to have fallen into disuse, notably the great table-carpets and the large pictorial wall-hangings and bed-valances worked throughout in tent stitch with Biblical or mythological scenes. But the persistence of the closely related tradition of tent-stitch cushions is shown by two examples in the Victoria and Albert Museum, one with the royal arms, the initials I R, and the ostentatious amateur's signature MARY HVLTON, the other with the arms of Hereford and a Latin inscription recording that it was made for the mayor of that city in the second year of James I (Pl. 74A). The latter cushion shows the characteristic plant-scroll ornament of the Elizabethan period, with each convolution enclosing a single flower or fruit. The same pattern continued in use for small articles such as purses and book-covers. It persisted also for fine embroidered linen, particularly for pillow-covers and the long covers associated with them, for the 'night-caps' (really informal day-caps) of the men, and for the coifs, bodices and jackets of the women. In these, the linen ground is left exposed, the coiling stems are generally of gold thread, while the flowers may be worked in a single colour – silver, black or red – or in polychrome silks.

An alternative pattern for most of these articles omits the coiling stems and disposes naturalistic plant and animal motifs in rows across the field (Pl. 74B). The arrangement then approximates to that of applied work, another Elizabethan technique which retained its popularity under James I. In applied work, plant and animal motifs which had been worked on canvas in *gros point* or *petit point* were cut out round their outlines and sewn on to a plain ground, often of velvet, for use as cushions or hangings. The Stuart embroideress could draw on a rich treasury of these naturalistic motifs in the various pattern-books published in London by Shorleyker, Johnson, Stent and Overton. The rare surviving copies of the books show signs of hard use, with the designs pricked for pouncing and many leaves torn out. It is surprising therefore, and perhaps indicative of how small a fraction of the vast output of Stuart needlewomen has come down to us, that the existing embroideries hardly ever show a motif which can be traced to a pattern-book. It is by a rare chance that a number of motifs embroidered on a lady's shift of about 1630 in the Victoria and Albert Museum are found to reproduce designs in Shorleyker's pattern-book of 1624.

The naturalistic motifs, the coiling stem and other related designs are also found on the samplers of the first half of the seventeenth century. By the 1630's, however, the standard type of Stuart sampler was common and it is exemplified by many signed and dated examples down to the end of the Stuart period. It consists of a long, narrow strip of linen, embroidered in coloured silks with row after row of narrow border-patterns, ornamental alphabets, etc., in a variety of stitches. It is without pictorial ambitions and was not meant to be framed and hung, but served on the one hand as a certificate of a girl's proficiency and on the other as a reference-sheet of patterns and stitches for her future use. Sometimes as a part of this sampler, but more often on a second independent sampler, she worked exercises in whitework, i.e. embroidery in white linen thread, in lacis or darned netting, and in needlepoint lace.

At this point a few words must be introduced on the subject of lace. Many English amateur needlewomen were competent in lace-making and considerable quantities of lace were also made professionally in England. But throughout the Stuart period the great commercial centres were, for bobbin-lace, Flanders, and for needlepoint lace, northern Italy and, later in the century, France. The majority of the finer laces used in England for costume and bed-linen were probably imported from these centres. It may be noted in passing that the *gros point de Venise* fashionable in the Charles II period presents in particularly pure form the fleshy, stylized plant-growth, with undulating and spinning movements, which is also found in the embroideries and woven stuffs of the time. Lace-design was very international in character and it may well be that some of the pieces classed as Italian or Flemish may actually have been of English workmanship. The English needlewoman had ready access to continental designs for lace and lacis through English editions of continental pattern-books; Boler's *The Needle's Excellency*, for example, which had reached its twelfth edition by 1640, was a compilation from the pattern-books of Sibmacher, originally published in Nuremberg. Lacis or darned netting, 'network' as it was known at the time, was probably a good deal used in early Stuart homes, but little has survived. A small example of unknown use in the Victoria and Albert Museum is dated 1633 and has figures symbolizing the Five Senses; it is shown to be English by the moralising doggerel which accompanies them:

> So keep your senses that they be
> As innocent as these you see
> So pure your heart as if it were
> In breast of network to apeare.

Having worked her samplers, the young needlewoman turned her attention to more entertaining tasks, generally to some pictorial work – covers for a book of devotion, an embroidered picture which

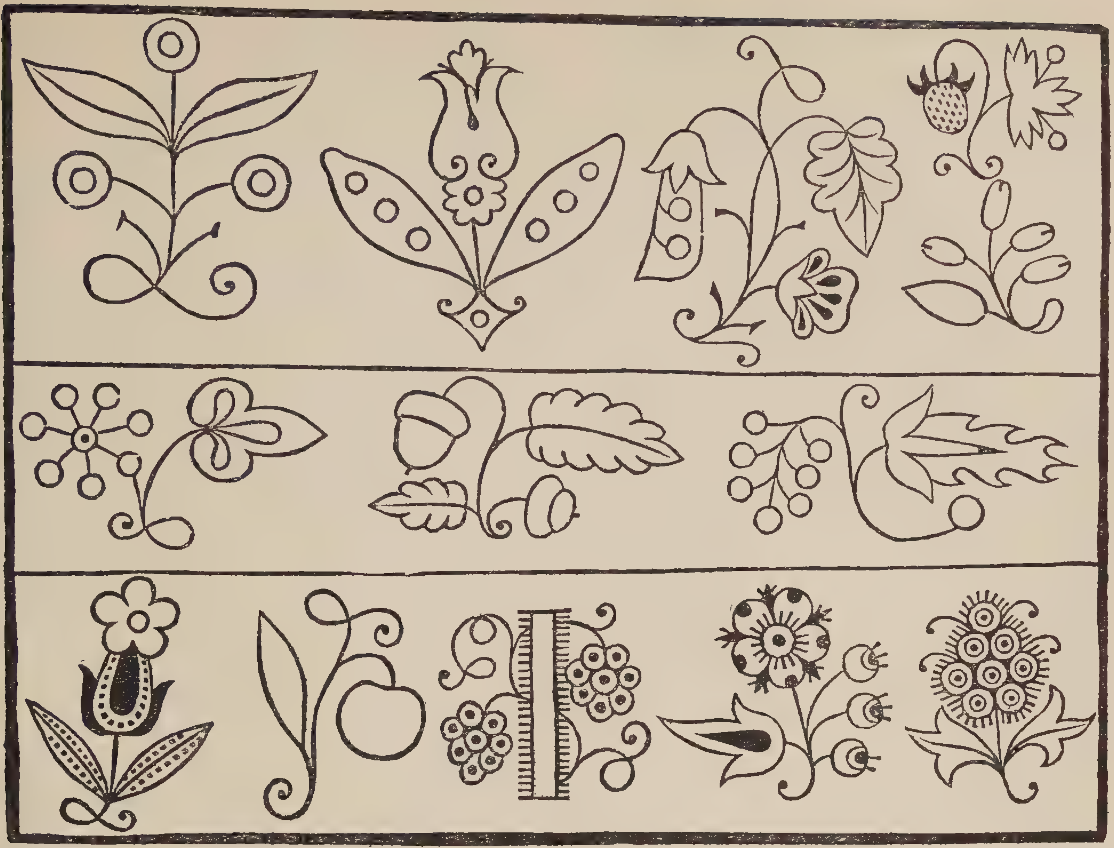


Fig. 2. Sheets of designs for needlework from *A scholehouse for the needle*, published by Richard Shorleyker, London, 1624. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

could be framed and hung, or panels to be made up as a work-box or a frame for a mirror. The subjects chosen (the designs in this case were invariably bought ready sketched on the material to be embroidered) were usually the more piquant episodes of the Old Testament – David and Bathcheba, Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, Susanna and the Elders – occasionally varied with scenes of classical myth or courtly life, figures of the Seasons or Senses, and portrait busts. During the first half of the century these little pictures were normally embroidered all over in *petit point*; in Commonwealth and Restoration times, however, it was more usual to work on a white satin ground, which was left exposed, while the figures stood out against it in relief – the bodies padded, the heads often finely modelled (Pl. 75). The variety and skill of the stitchery are astonishing, and if the final effect is more amusing than artistic, it should be recalled that these objects are essentially toys, which no doubt gave the young needlewomen a great deal of innocent entertainment as they plied their needles. The progress of one of these young ladies is succinctly recorded in a group of objects belonging to Lady Gerahty: Martha Edlin, who was born in 1660, worked her coloured sampler in 1668, her whitework sampler in 1669, and her stumpwork work-box, which contains an armoury of pin-cushions, needlecases, etc., also worked by herself, in 1671. In addition the Victoria and

Albert Museum possesses a large trinket-box worked by her in coloured beads in 1673. This beadwork was a popular alternative for stumpwork and was similarly used for pictures, work-boxes, mirror-frames and small cushions; its most characteristic use, however, was for beadwork baskets, with openwork sides, and a biblical or courtly scene worked on the bottom of the tray.

In contrast with the small size and minute execution of the work just described, another of the chief types of seventeenth century embroidery is notable for the boldness of its scale. This is crewel-work, in which the designs are worked in coloured wools (or crewels) on a background of tough white twill sheeting of mixed linen and cotton. This kind of embroidery, though it occurs in a variety of articles such as workbags and ladies' bodices and skirts, was primarily used for sets of bed-hangings, comprising the valances and bases which hung round the upper and lower frames of the bed and the three or four curtains which completely enclosed the sleepers. In a few cases the design of these is based on those of woven materials. In others, dating from the reign of Charles I, it is a variety of the coiling stem pattern. Later, thicker stems flourish more wildly, undulating and interlacing diagonally across the curtains and bearing colossal curling leaves reminiscent of Flemish tapestries of the large-leaf verdure type (Pl. 76B). These designs are executed in monochrome green wool, or in a restricted range of colour shading from indigo to yellow; the leaves are worked in outline, with linear veining or abstract filling patterns. In the last decades of the century the powerful rhythms subside and the vegetation becomes lighter and less robust; slender stems or semi-naturalistic trees, growing from hummocky ground, bear leaves and large flowers worked solidly in bright polychrome wools; birds and animals are often introduced, and both flora and fauna show orientalizing or chinoiserie characteristics. There is an obvious relationship between these hangings with their exotic tree-designs and the imported painted hangings or palampores from India, which were used for the same purpose. The embroidered hangings were certainly influenced by the painted ones but, as has been mentioned above, the latter were themselves based, in this period, on designs sent out from England. The influence was doubtless mutual, and both types contain elements of East and West.

Oriental embroideries also reached England, though in much smaller quantities than the painted pieces. There is a fine Indian coverlet of the sixteenth century at Hardwick. In 1614 similar pieces were selling in the East India Company's London auctions at between £10 and £30 apiece. In the same year the inventory of the Earl of Northampton's property includes 'A china quilte stitched in chequer worke with yealowe silke, the ground white', an item which recalls a popular style of English quilting which was still fashionable a century later. Hardly any English embroidered coverlets exist which can be dated before the last decades of the seventeenth century. At that time the most popular designs showed a light sprinkling of *chinoiserie* motifs, worked in coloured silks, often on white satin, as in the twin coverlets of Mary and Sarah Thurstone, dated 1694 (Fitzwilliam and Victoria and Albert Museums, Pl. 77).

A number of furnishing embroideries in *gros point* and *petit point*, and other canvas stitches have survived from the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The most ambitious example is a set of six wall-hangings from a house in Hatton Garden (Victoria and Albert Museum); worked in coloured wools, they show an arcade about which twine leaves and flowers like those of crewel-work hangings, together with animals reminiscent of stumpwork; they probably date from the early years of the reign of Charles II. The chairs, settees and firescreens for which these techniques were more often used are all rather later in date. A few have designs derived from the more pompous type of woven textiles; others show *chinoiserie* motifs and strange shapes probably suggested by silks of the bizarre type; others again show figure-scenes, classical or pastoral subjects or peasants in the manner of Teniers. Whole rooms were decorated in this way, like that observed by Celia Fiennes 'hung with cross-stitch in silks ... the Chairs Cross-stitch and two stooles of yellow mohaire wth cross-stitch ... an Elbow Chaire tent-stitch'. Her notes on the Queen's Closet at Hampton Court suggest the use of a kind of crewel-work for the same purpose: 'the hangings, chaires, stooles, and screen the same, all of satten stitch done in worsteads, beasts, birds, images, and fruites all wrought very finely by Queen Mary and her Maids of Honour'. Queen Mary's industry with her needle was notorious. Nor were her hands idle even when needlework was impossible, for we are assured by Sir Charles Sedley that the Queen

> When she rode in coach abroad
> Was always knotting thread.

This knotted thread was applied in formal patterns to chairs and coverlets in the same way as galon; there are yellow silk chairs, decorated in this way with red knotted thread, at Ham House. The technique, like that of cross stitch and tent stitch for furniture, had a considerable development in the following reigns; both will be more fully dealt with in the next volume.

Bibliography. M. A. Jourdain, *English Secular Embroidery*, 1910; Victoria and Albert Museum, *Catalogue of English Domestic Embroidery of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 1950 (2nd edition); F. B. Palliser, *History of Lace*, 1902 (4th edition).

Carpets

The use of carpets of oriental type, i.e. of knotted pile, as coverings for floors, tables and court-cupboards and for cushions and upholstery, had made rapid strides in the Tudor period and became still more common under the Stuarts. The 1614 inventory of the Earl of Northampton's property, like others of the period, includes many carpets: for example, '... a wallnuttree cupboarde with a Turkie Cupboorde clothe ... two small tables with two Turkie carpettes ... fowre Turkie cushines ... two small Turkie carpettes, whereof one is upon the ground ... two large Persian carpettes ... 12 stooles of Turkie worke billeted red white and blue with cruell fringe'. In such entries the word Turkey denotes the technique only, and is not an attribution of origin.

Nevertheless, the portraiture of the period shows clearly that most of the carpets used on floors and tables were, in fact, Turkish. Those depicted almost always show the geometrical patterns of 'Holbein',[2] Transylvanian, Bergama and other traditional types of Turkish rug, with their characteristic robust colour-schemes of red, blue, yellow and white. Persian carpets occur relatively rarely in the inventories and are generally specified as of large size. They were shipped from time to time by the East India Company, who did not, however, find the trade profitable. Examples of this period in English houses (e.g. at Ham House and in the collections of the Duke of Buccleuch) are chiefly of the Herati pattern, with leaves and flowers, softer in colour and more finely woven than the Turkish rugs. The Company also traded, to a small extent, in carpets of somewhat similar character made at Lahore and Agra. These were sold at the London sales of 1616 at prices ranging from £2 11*s.* to £30, according to size. Two such Indian carpets which survive were specially made for officials of the Company. One, commissioned by Robert Bell in 1631 for presentation to the Worshipful Company of Girdlers of London, shows the arms of donor and recipient among foliage ornament; the other, of about the same date, has the arms of William Fremlin interspersed with flowers and fighting animals (Victoria and Albert Museum).

Armorial carpets were also made in England, where the craft of carpet-knotting, already firmly established in Queen Elizabeth's time, continued to flourish. The Earl of Northampton's inventory, quoted above, contains a reference to 'a longe Turkie carpett of Englishe worke with the Earl of Northampton his armes, being 5 yeardes and 3 quarters longe'. There are two carpets of about 1610 at Knole which have English floral patterns; another, in the possession of Sir Westrow Hulse, is dated 1614 and, with its design of naturalistic flowers and fruit on an apple-green ground, stands still closer to contemporary needlework (Pl. 78A). This last carpet makes more comprehensible the homely phrases of Dame Anne Sherley's inventory (1622): 'My Turkey carpet of cowcumbers. My cabbage carpet of Turkey work.' Even if, as is likely, some of the larger carpets were made in professional workshops, there is no doubt that many of the smaller pieces for cushions and upholstery were made at home. Those of the first half of the seventeenth century generally have open repeating patterns of naturalistic flower-sprigs like those used by the embroideress. In the second half of the period, again as in embroidery, the flowers become more exotic and more densely packed; one large carpet of this type is known, bearing the date 1672 and the arms of Sir John Molyneux of Tevershall (Victoria and Albert Museum; Pl. 78B). A number of armorial cushions of about the middle of the century have a more polished and professional air; they include sets of cushions at Brasenose and Pembroke Colleges, Oxford, and another set presented to the Corporation of Norwich by Thomas Baret, Mayor in 1651. Norwich seems to have been especially concerned with the craft; already in 1588, the Earl of Leicester's property included 'a Turquoy carpett of Norwiche work'.

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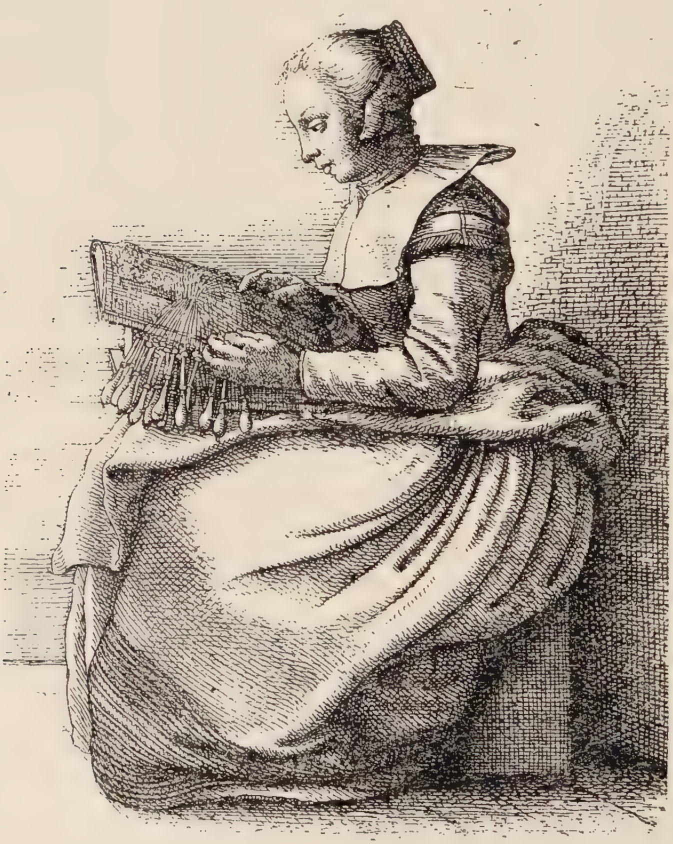
[2] Conventional name for a type of rug which often appears in Holbein's paintings.

The households rich enough to use pile-carpets on their floors were not very numerous in Stuart times. Elsewhere strewn rushes and plaited rush matting remained in use, and there is evidence to show that the stout double-cloth weaves of Kidderminster were also utilized for this purpose. The 1634 inventory of the Countess of Leicester's property, for instance, includes '4 carpets of Kidderminster stuff.'

Bibliography. A. F. Kendrick and C. E. C. Tattersall, *Handwoven Carpets, Oriental and European*, 1922; C. E. C. Tattersall, *A History of British Carpets*, 1934.



Girl making bobbin-lace. From an engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar, 1636.

Costume

Costume

C. WILLETT CUNNINGTON

If English portraits of the early seventeenth century are compared with those of a hundred years later the most striking change in costume is to be seen in the male dress.

The earlier portraits present surfaces of various depths, differing in colour and texture; the later have begun to present smooth surfaces mostly on a single plane, a process destined in following centuries to develop still further.

To the modern eye that Jacobean technique of displaying glimpses of garments through gaps in their coverings, as in slashing and paning, so that it is not always easy to determine to which particular layer of clothing a visible part belongs, appears to savour of 'fancy dress', an illusion heightened by the fact that many of the garments do not appear to have been made to fit the wearer.

But with the dawn of the eighteenth century the whole spirit of male costume has changed; his clothes, especially those for day wear, are in process of becoming subordinate to the man wearing them. They may seem to us, sometimes, to smack of the theatre, but they no longer suggest a carnival.

This insidious change, which affected men's fashions long before women's, is associated with other social changes. Thus, from the beginning of the seventeenth century the English gentleman began to adopt woollen textiles for his day suits, and these were materials which lent themselves to the tailor's art of cut and fit; gentlewomen, on the other hand, did not wear woollen dresses (except riding habits) until much later.

In addition the seventeenth century saw a lowering of those social barriers which had formerly hedged about the aristocracy, separating them from the minor gentry. Indeed, by the middle of that century one who declared 'I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height nor yet in obscurity' had become Lord Protector of England.

It was this infiltration into the upper ranks from the minor gentry and merchant class that helped to raise the status of woollen cloth and gave a gentleman's suit a simpler construction.

It seems that a Puritan of the upper class was hardly to be distinguished by his dress from a Cavalier of the same social standing. *The Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson* inform us that 'the leaders and their wives were as well dressed on the one side as the other', and the fact that many Puritans wore 'sad' colours (meaning dark tints) was because these were the ordinary cloths worn by the less fashionable gentry.

The distinction in dress which separated the middle class from the mass of the people remained as rigid as formerly; for these latter must needs wear clothes adapted to their various manual occupations. In the fashionable world, which always borrows freely from foreign countries, the seventeenth century saw a steady decline in Spanish influence and the dominating influence of France. In addition, Charles I's queen was French and Charles II spent much of his formative youth in France. Fashions, at least at Court, could hardly escape this French influence.

The Stuart period was split in two by the Civil War, and the Restoration of 1660 came almost exactly midway between the accession of James I and the death of Queen Anne. It will be convenient therefore to consider the costumes of these two phases separately.

Male fashions, 1603–60

Until about 1630 the Jacobean modes were in effect a continuation of the late Elizabethan. The doublet, close-fitting and long-waisted, had a front stiffened with buckram; its skirt, divided into tabs, flared out over the breeches, which were attached by 'points' or ties passing through visible eyelet holes in the tabs or through concealed holes under the skirt.

The sleeves were usually plain and close-fitting, or else full and 'paned' from shoulder to elbow. Wings concealed the shoulder seams and slashing persisted.

From 1630 to 1645 the doublet became easy-fitting and high-waisted; the corset-shape disappeared and the skirt tabs lost the pointed effect. The sleeves, loose and shorter, with a turned-back cuff revealed the ruffled shirt-sleeve. The wings shrank and disappeared after 1640.

The breeches were now attached by hooks and eyes instead of points, and the skimpy doublet became so short that between it and the breeches a gap allowed the shirt to protrude. (It was in fact becoming the 'waistcoat' of later times.)

The doubtlet throughout preserved a standing collar, while the jerkin worn over the doublet, disappeared by 1630 except when serving as a military garment of stout leather.

The Mandilion, known after 1620 as a 'Manderville' and then used for livery only, was a loose, thigh-length overcoat with standing collar, and its loose sleeves usually worn as hanging sleeves.

The Cassock, somewhat shorter and widening towards the hem, often had no standing collar after 1620. Its sleeves had turned-back cuffs.

The Riding Coat was sometimes hooded. The Gabardine, worn by all classes and both sexes, was a long loose overcoat with wide sleeves.

Cloaks were very fashionable; mostly circular in cut and matching the doublet and breeches, though velvet was a popular material. The 'French cloak', reaching the knees and with or without a flat square collar, was commonly worn over one shoulder and gathered up over the arm. The 'Spanish cloak', short, full and hooded, together with the 'Dutch cloak' with wide hanging sleeves, both became rare after 1620.

The Gown, a long loose garment open down the front, had by the seventeenth century become the formal attire of officials and the elderly.

Neckwear was of two kinds, the Band or collar, and the Ruff. The Band, tied round the neck with tasselled strings, was either in the form of a 'standing band', semi-circular and supported by a wire 'under-proper' (1605–30), or as a 'falling band' (to 1670's) in the form of a deep turned-down collar.

The Ruff, usually closed all round, was composed of goffered bands supported, if large, by a wire frame; the upright stiffened frame attached to the back of the doublet collar and edged with horizontal tabs which supported the ruff, was known as a Pickadil. Both ruff and band were of linen, lawn and lace, matching the hand-ruff or 'ruffle'.

The widespread use of 'starch' (actually starch mixed with size) for ruffs, bands, etc., by all classes above the labourer is indicated in a complaint (Essex Quarter Sessions) in 1614 against a starchmaker of Stratford whose business caused 'such a stink and ill-favour so that liege subjects are not able to come and go along the highway without great danger to their lives through the loathesome smell'.

Legwear

The term 'Hose' continued to include breeches, and was not transferred to the stockings until after 1660.

The 'Trunk Hose' or 'trunk slops' comprised breeches, and nether stocks united (to 1610), or trunk hose with short extensions ('canions') down the upper thighs (to 1620). The breeches portion was distended with 'bombast' (wool, flock, hair, etc.).

Knee-breeches continued in the mode of the previous century, as a separate garment, to 1630, when the fashion changed to 'Spanish hose', in which the legs extended well below the knee. There was also the open breeches unconfined at the knee, somewhat resembling modern 'shorts',

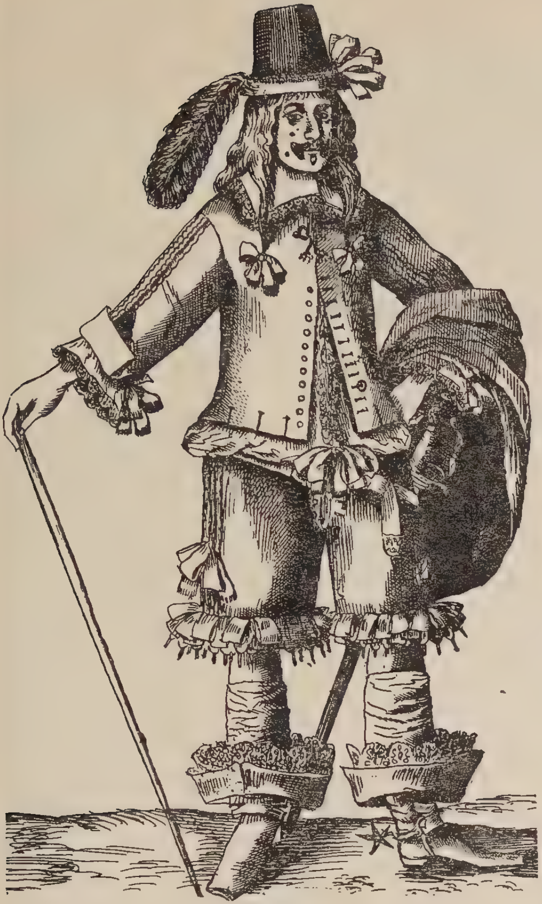


Fig. 1. Skimpy doublet with tabbed border, sleeves turned up at wrists, falling bands. Note love-locks and facial patches. Breeches with gaping front opening. Turned-down boot-hose and bucket-topped boots. From a contemporary caricature of a fop, 1645.

a style appearing at the beginning of the century and revived from 1640 to 1670.

Breeches had a front closure with about ten buttons not concealed by a fly, though more or less hidden by the skirts of the doublet, to which the breeches were attached by hooks and eyes (from 1630).

Footwear

The toe, rounded to 1635, then became tapering to a square toe for the rest of the century. Raised heels, starting from 1600, soon became moderately high with a square base.

A feature of the shoe was the huge rosette or 'shoe rose' adorning the shoe from 1610 until the Restoration. Even more conspicuous were the boots of the period; long, with cup-shaped tops which about 1635 became 'bucket tops' from which the frilled 'boot-hose tops' might emerge.

The 'butterfly' spur-leathers spread widely across the foot (from *c.* 1635), and fashionable pedestrians enjoyed wearing spurs that jingled as they walked. 'You that weare Bootes and Ginglers at your heeles' was a taunt of 1604.

Cloth stockings in that century were being replaced by knitted woollen or worsted ones, and embroidered clocks on them were commonly seen. To protect those of the better quality an over-stocking or 'boot hose' was worn over the stocking inside the boot.

'A pair of green silk stockings 19/-', (1647) and 'a pair of half silk stockings 9/6' (1646) suggest a range of qualities, while the poor wore stockings 'Kersie to the calfe and t'other knit' (1609).

The garters tied in a large bow below the knee on the outer side were often elegant affairs fringed with gold. £1 a pair was a not unusual price. Cross-gartering had become unfashionable early in the century.

Headgear

Men wore hats indoors, at meals and in church up to about 1680, when the size of the wig made a hat indoors a superfluity.

During the first half of the century hats with moderate crowns and wide brims turned up at one side, or the Copotain (sugar-loaf shaped), were the usual types, the former, enriched with a feather, becoming associated with the Cavaliers, and the latter with the Puritans; but neither style was limited to one political party.

The hair, in flowing locks reaching to the shoulders and a forehead fringe brushed to one side, was often adorned with a single 'love-lock' brought forward from the nape of the neck to fall over the chest, where it might be tied with a ribbon bow. It was perhaps as much the name of the 'love-lock' as the thing itself which so exasperated and shocked the Puritan as savouring of carnal delights.

The face was commonly clean-shaven, though a Vandyke beard might be worn or the T-shaped.

> Strokes his beard,
> Which now he puts i' th' posture of a T,
> The Roman T; your T beard is in fashion
> (1618, Fletcher and Massinger, *Queen of Corinth.*)

The fashionable dandy was beginning to wear a periwig and to employ dyed and scented hair, false hair, paint and patches. 'Neat combed and curled, with powdered hair, with long love-lock, a flower in his ear, perfumed gloves, rings, scarves, feathers, points' (1621, Burton's *Anatomie of Melancholy*). Gloves with gauntlets elaborately embroidered or with short tabbed cuffs and heavily perfumed, were the mode. And, as always, the fop, thus adorned, excited scornful comments. So, in 1617 we have, from Henry Fitzgeffery,

> the spruce coxcombe ...
> That never walks without his lookinge-glasse,
> In a tobacco box or diall set,
> That he may privately confer with it,
> How his band jumpeth with his pecadilly,
> Whether his band stringes ballance equally
> Which way his feather wags. ...

But it was not merely the fop whose clothing was expensive; we can gather from bills and inventories some notion of the vast difference in values between the costume of the gentleman and that of his social inferiors, ranging from the labourer up to the petty tradesman. Thus at the beginning of the century a gentleman was paying for ash-coloured satin for his doublet, 14*s*. a yard; cloth for his cloak at 11*s*. a yard; taffeta at 7*s*. and a pair of silk stockings cost 25*s*. A black beaver hat, lined, with gold band cost £3 4*s*. while a felt hat was 16*s*.[1]

Towards the middle of the century a country gentleman was paying 15*s*. a yard for brown cloth for his suit; holland for shirts at 3*s*. a yard; pair of worsted stockings 6*s*. 6*d*., and Spanish cloth, for his cloak, at 23*s*. a yard.[2]

It is difficult to estimate the modern equivalent of these prices, but they may be contrasted with those values given in the Essex Quarter Sessions Rolls of items stolen, presumably from village folk and tradesmen. Such a man, in 1609, was described as wearing 'a black stuff doublet, pair of pleated fustian hose, white frieze jerkin, black hat with a band, and ash-coloured knit stockings'; and about the middle of the century there was a theft of 'a black stuff doublet worth a penny, a pair of black stuff breeches, and one of woollen, each worth one penny and a pair of broadcloth breeches worth sixpence'. We may assume these garments to have been well-worn; of a better quality would have been 'a dublett worth 5/-; a paire of breeches worth 5/-' and 'a paire of hedginge gloves worth sixpence'.

Higher up the social scale we find in an inventory of 1620 that a prosperous alderman of Exeter owned 8 gowns; 12 cloaks; 2 tippets; 3 suits of satin; 6 pairs of silk stockings – 'good and bad' – silk garters, a muff and a head-brush amongst his wardrobe.

Among Lord Scudamore's domestic accounts for 1632 are such items as 3½ yards of kersey for the footman's suit at 4*s*. 6*d*. a yard, 2½ yards of broadcloth at 9*s*. a yard for the groom's coat and '4½ yards at 2/2 the yard to make the foole a coat'.[3] Apparently the fool was breechless.

(All these prices may be multiplied by 12 to 15 to get their approximate modern equivalents.)

Male fashions from 1660 to 1714

After the Restoration the 'old style' of dress survived for some ten years; the short skimpy doublet with tabbed border was worn with either the wide open breeches or, among the fashionables, the Rhinegrave, otherwise known as 'petticoat breeches'. The feature of this garment was the immensely wide legs pleated into a waistband and descending to the knees, so voluminous as to resemble a short petticoat and trimmed with a mass of dangling bunches of ribbons.

'A fine silken thing which I spied walking th other day through Westminster Hall that had as much ribbon about him as would have set up twenty country pedlars'. (1661, J. Evelyn, *Tyrannus or the Mode*). But about 1665, with most men the jerkin and doublet began to be replaced by the coat and waistcoat, the prototype of the modern costume.

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[1] 'The Jervois Archives', *The Ancestor*, 1902.

[2] 'James Master, His Expense Book' (*Archeol. Cantiana*, Vols. XV to XVIII).

[3] F. C. Morgan, *Steward Accounts of John, first Viscount Scudamore.*

The essential change was the growing attention paid to cut and fit of the garments, a feature which the man of fashion came to regard as distinctive of his class.

For a few years the Court circle experimented with a loose flowing version of 'vest' reaching below the knees, with a tunic or surcoat, also loose and somewhat shorter than the vest. But by 1670 the coat was becoming a garment fitting above and hanging loose below the knee level. Its skirt had deep back and side vents, and was fastened down the front by buttons. It had no collar.

Pockets, set very low, were without flaps until 1690.

The sleeves, elbow length, had deep turned-back cuffs, buttoned up to the sleeve in front and open behind.

As the tailor's skill improved a closer fit became a desideratum and thus established the new symbol of class distinction. The well-cut garment presently meant a close-fitting one, and this distinguished the gentleman for the next couple of centuries. It indicated one who had no occasion to engage in degrading activities such as manual work. Here was the first stage towards an entirely novel conception in dress; that superior rank could be demonstrated by the tailor's skill instead of by the display of lavish ornamentation.

The waistcoat (formerly an undergarment) now came to the surface, reaching below the knees, with sleeves but no collar. After 1690 it scarcely reached to the knee.

As the eighteenth century opened the outline of the whole costume became more rigidly defined; the coat skirts, stiffened with buckram, flared out from the waist level, as though to match the lady's hooped petticoat, and the sides and back had deep pleated vents, without which it would have been difficult to sit; the flapped waistcoat, equally stiff, concealed the thighs, and incidentally the front opening of the close-fitting knee-breeches.

It was the mode for the waistcoat to be fastened by a few buttons at the waist only, so that the ruffled shirt edged with lace might be exposed to view. 'His new silk waistcoat which was unbuttoned in several places to let us see that he had a clean shirt on, which was ruffled down to his middle' (1711, *The Spectator*).

For outdoor wear over such a costume the Restoration introduced the Brandenburg, a large loose overcoat with turned-down collar and wide

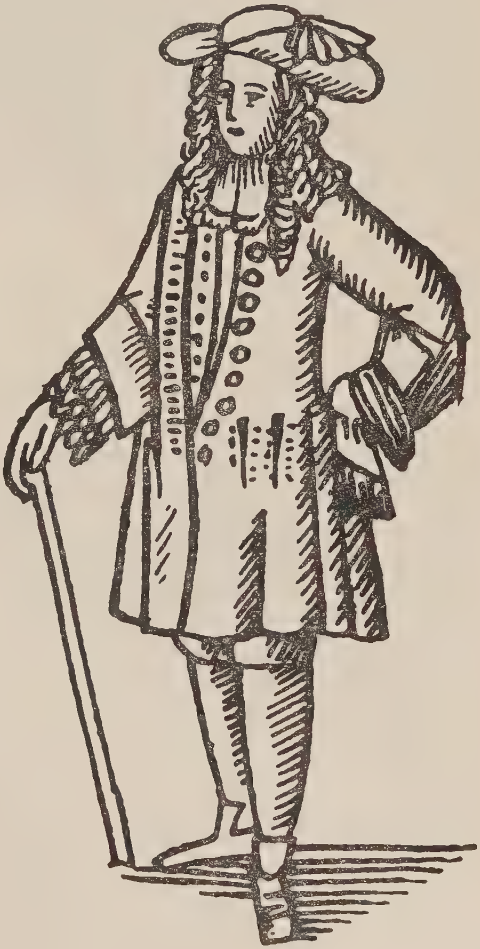


Fig. 2. Slightly waisted coat with double vertical pockets, cocked hat trimmed with ribbon. Shoes with high square tongues. *Roxburgh Ballads*, 1680–90.

sleeves; and gradually the cloak became shorter. Thus in 1660 Pepys informs us of his intention ' to change my long black cloak for a short one, long cloaks being now quite out'.

But the most conspicuous feature from this time on was the decoration of the head and neck, to which the man of fashion devoted extraordinary attention.

The falling band, deep and bib-like, became replaced by the more exquisite cravat of lace elegantly fringed, and the various modes of tying it indicated niceties of taste. Thus, a twisted form known as a 'Steinkirk' (1690–1730) had the ends passed through a button-hole. Others expanded over the chest. 'His cravat reached down to his middle and had stuff enough in it to make a sail for a barge. A most prodigious cravat-string peeped from under his chin' (1700, Tom Brown, *London Amusements*).

There were even contemptible fellows who would wear made-up cravats fastened at the back of the neck.

But it was the periwig which transformed the wearer into a personage and gave the epoch a distinctive symbol of magnificence. Worn over a shaven head, the periwig no longer imitated the natural hair, but assumed the proportions of a gigantic head-dress. The large French wig, known as the 'full-bottomed', was a mass of curls framing the face and falling on to the shoulders. A centre parting divided the front, which rose up like horns high above the forehead. The Campaign or travelling wig, full but shorter, ended in one or two corkscrew curls or 'dildos' sometimes tied back on the neck in a queue.

The full-bottomed was a ponderous affair heavily powdered. 'His perriwig was large enough to have loaded a camel and he bestowed upon it at least a bushel of powder' (1702, Tom Brown, *Letters from the Dead to the Living*). The cost was no trifle; a Surrey gentleman in 1705 records 'a full-bottomed wigg £22' (in modern money, say £200).

The wig with a queue or lock of hair hanging down behind, and tied with a ribbon, dated from 1700 and developed from the discomfort and heat of the full-bottomed. 'The smart tye wig with the black ribbon shows a man of fierceness of temper', we learn from Steele. Less fashionable folk would be content to wear a plain 'bob wig', without a queue and more or less imitating natural hair.

The fashion for wigs necessarily affected the fashion in hats; the tall-crowned 'sugar-loaf' Copotain was replaced by 1670 either with a wide-brimmed flat-crowned 'boater' or with the brim cocked in a variety of positions, such as the 'Monmouth cock' which Pepys described in 1667: 'a brisk young fellow with his hat cocked like a fool behind, as the present fashion among blades is'.

By 1690 this settled down and persisted for the next hundred years as a tricorne hat symmetrically cocked to form an equilateral triangle with point in front and trimmed with a fringe of ostrich feather.

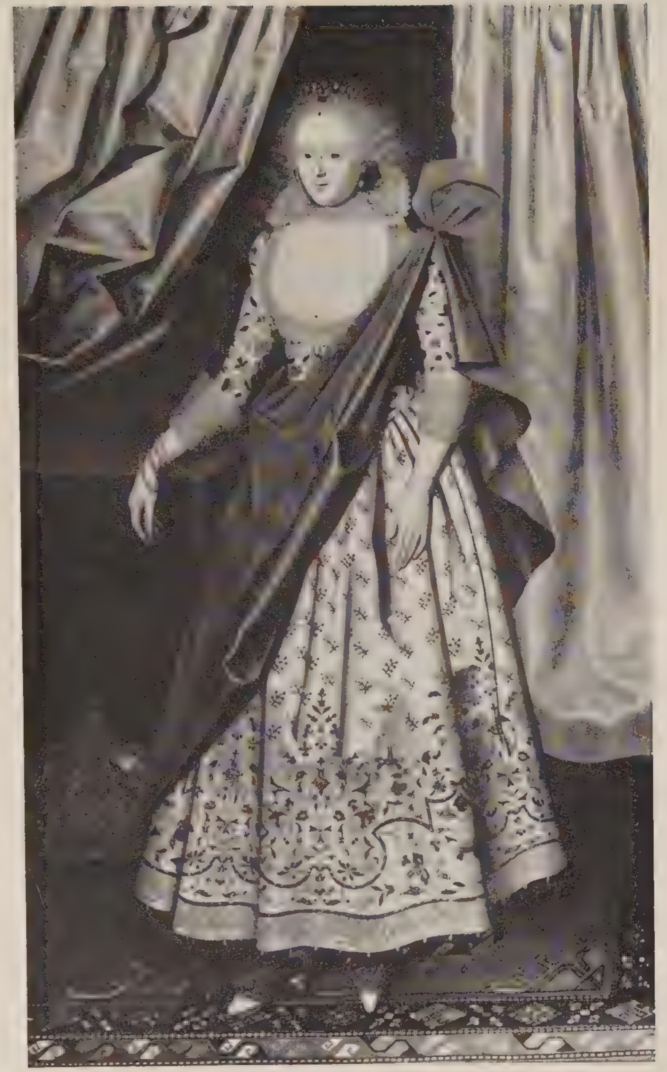
Boots became less fashionable after the Restoration and were worn chiefly for riding. Shoes, usually black, tapered to square toes with heels high and square. The uppers ended in squared tongues which were high in front of the ankle, a mode copied from the military. 'I took him for a captain ... he has tops on his shoes up to his mid leg' (1707, G. Farquhar, *The Beaux' Stratagem*).

The stockings, from 1690 on, were drawn up over the breeches and turned down in a flat roll above the knee, concealing the garters. Hence they were known as 'roll-ups', a device not employed by the working-class man.

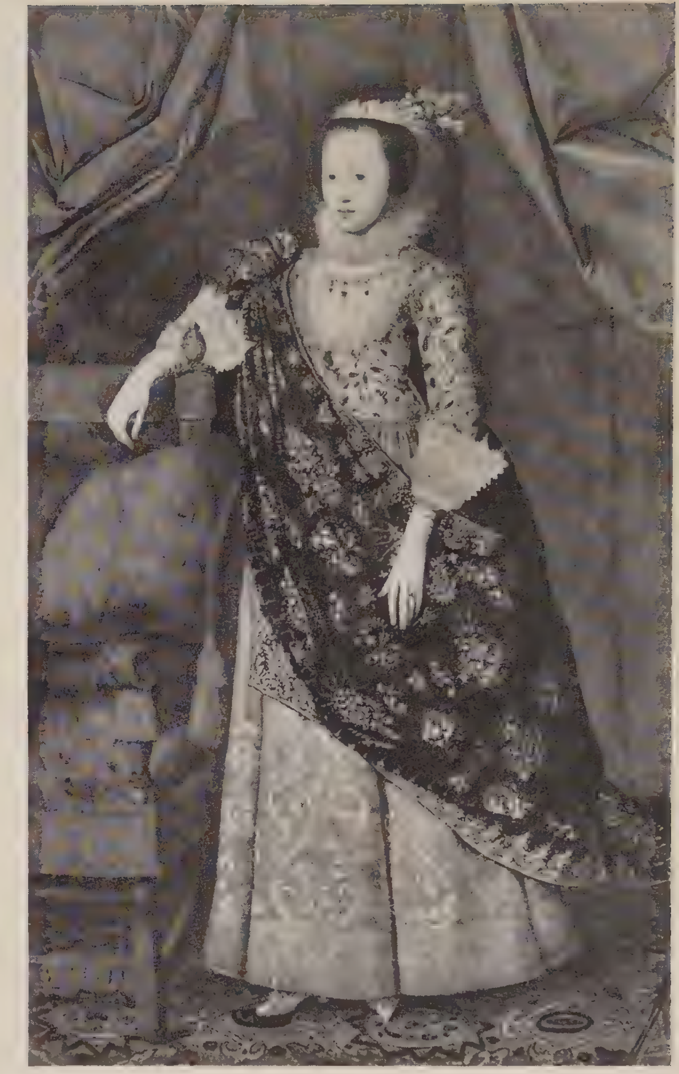
As the eighteenth century opened gentlemen cultivating the art of elegance developed the functions of the 'negligée'. Though called a 'nightgown', this resembled a superior kind of dressing-gown in which the wearer could receive visitors informally.

A specialized version, brought back from India and becoming known as a Banyan, was a garment with a wrapping front reaching the knees which could be worn out-of-doors. Steele in 1713 comments on the custom at Bath, where 'the men of dress in shewing themselves at the Pump in their Indian nightgowns without the least decorum'.

The description of 'a satin nightgown, striped red and white and lined with yellow' reminds us that in the modern dressing-gown we are preserving a tradition of man's liveliest garment.



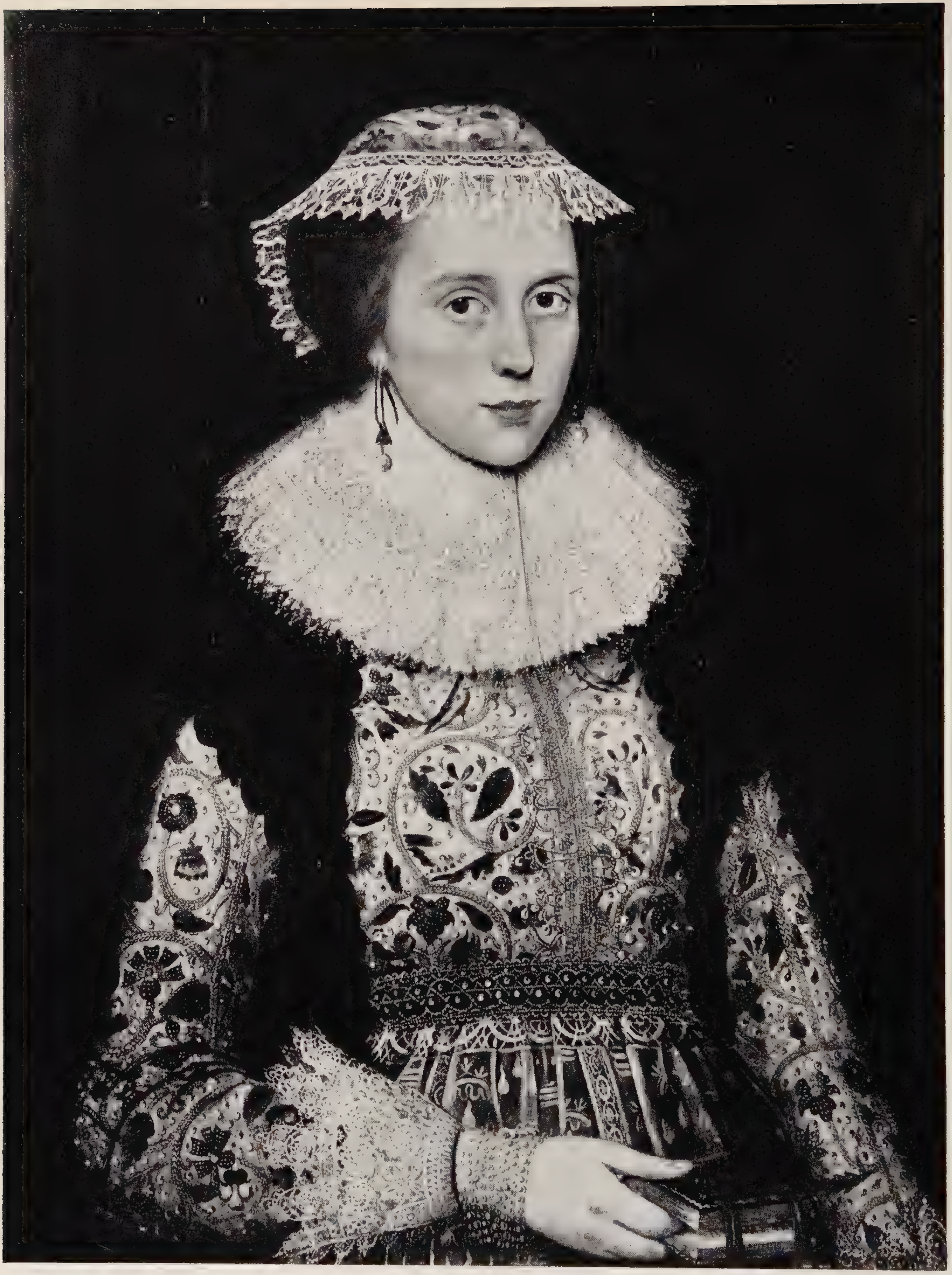
(A) Lady Isabel Rich, *c.* 1615. Wearing a standing band ('golilla'), embroidered jacket and full gathered embroidered skirt, worn without a farthingale. Tight sleeves with turned-back cuffs. Shoes with large roses. Note extreme decolletage.



(B) Lady Arabella Stuart, *c.* 1610. Cornet and standing-falling ruff, jacket and bodice, no farthingale. Draped mantle. *Temple Newsam House, Leeds.*

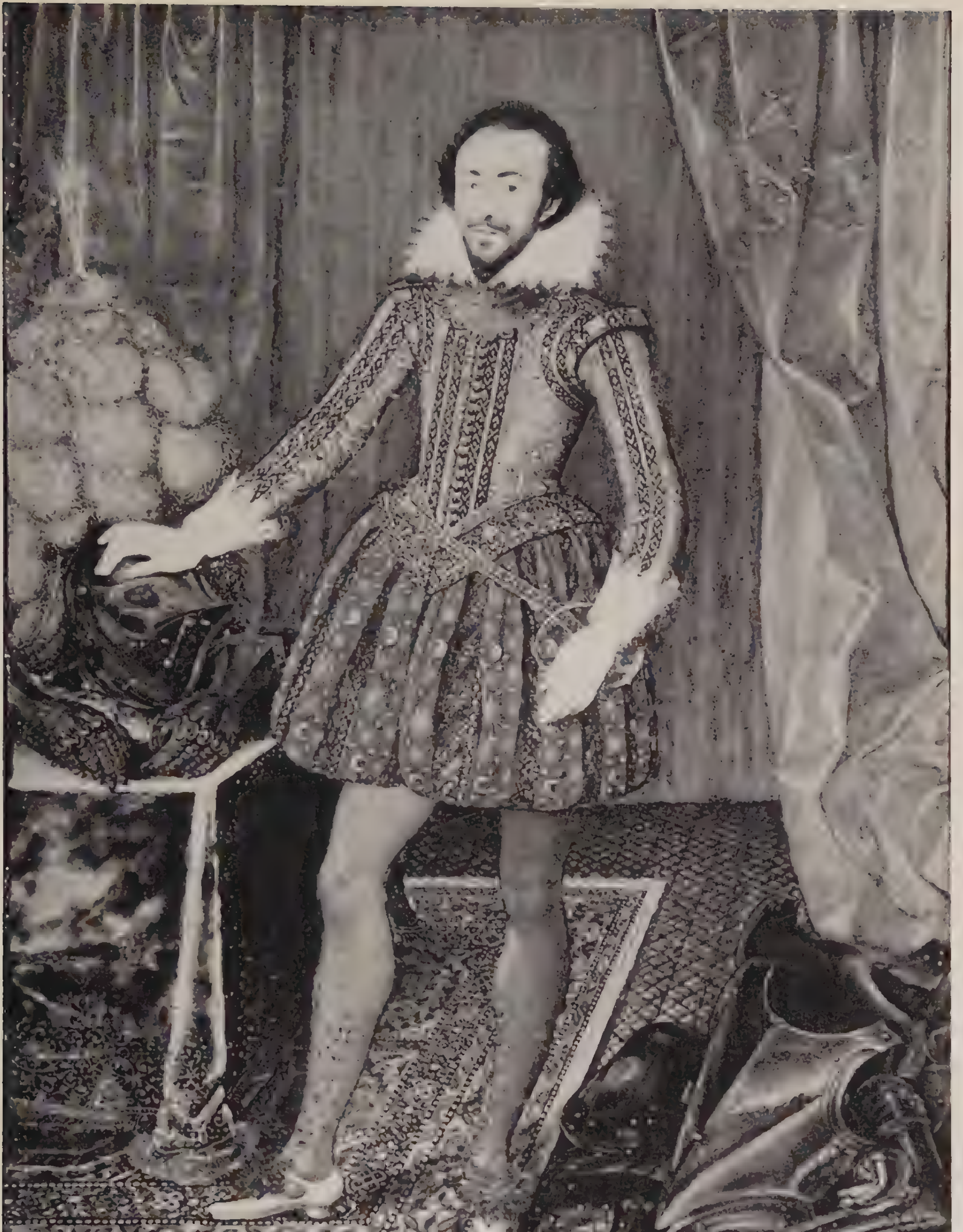
PLATE 79

To face page 140



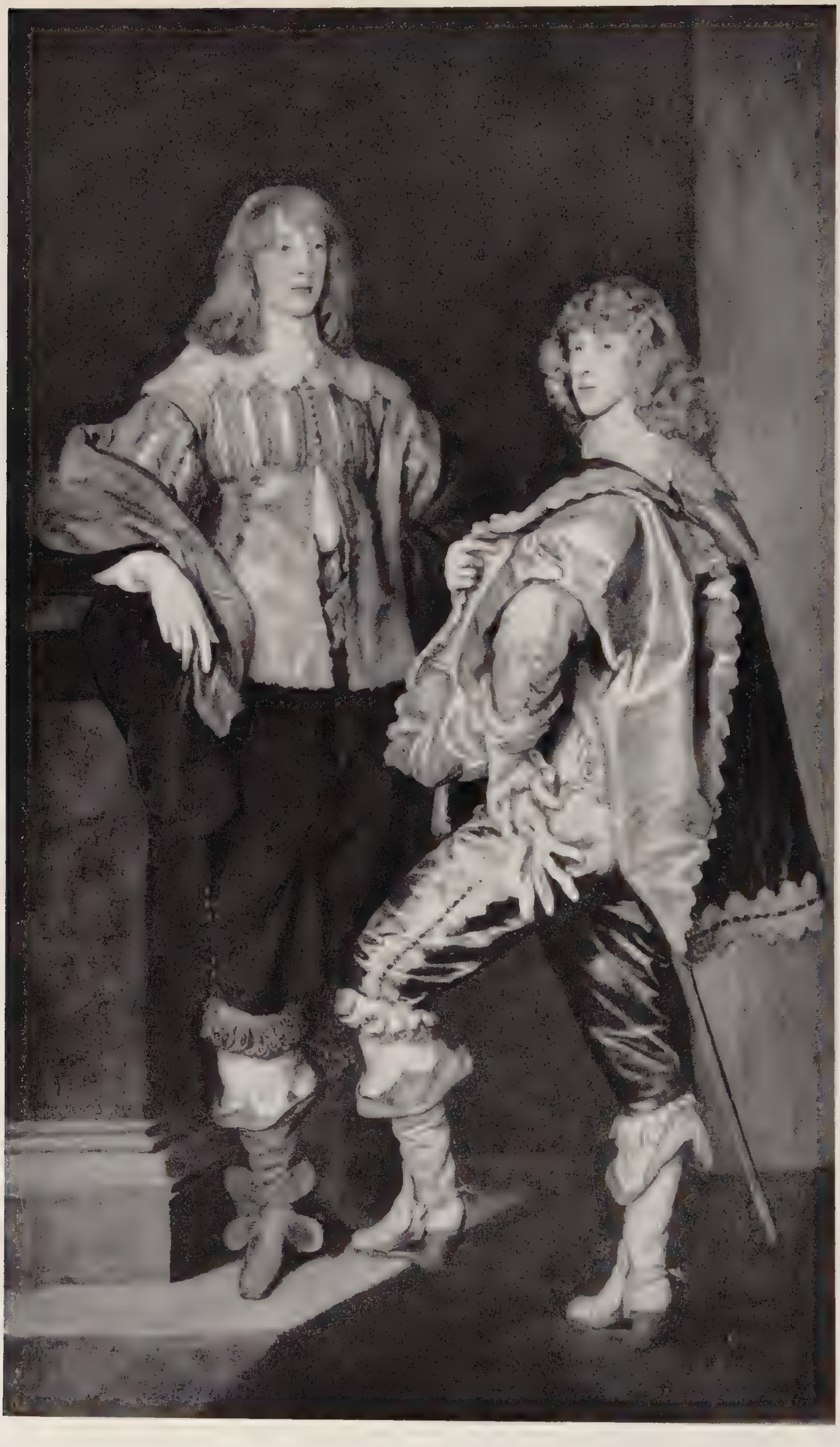
Margaret Laton of Rawdon, 1620–5. On the head an embroidered cornet or shadow, edged with lace, lace falling ruff. Note earrings and ear-string. Embroidered jacket under a loose gown, apron to the waist. *Courtesy Colonel Headborn.*

PLATE 80



The Earl of Dorset, by Isaac Oliver, 1616. Standing band and gorget. Doublet with wings and short tabbed skirt. Paned trunk-hose. Embroidered stockings. Shoes with roses and heels. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

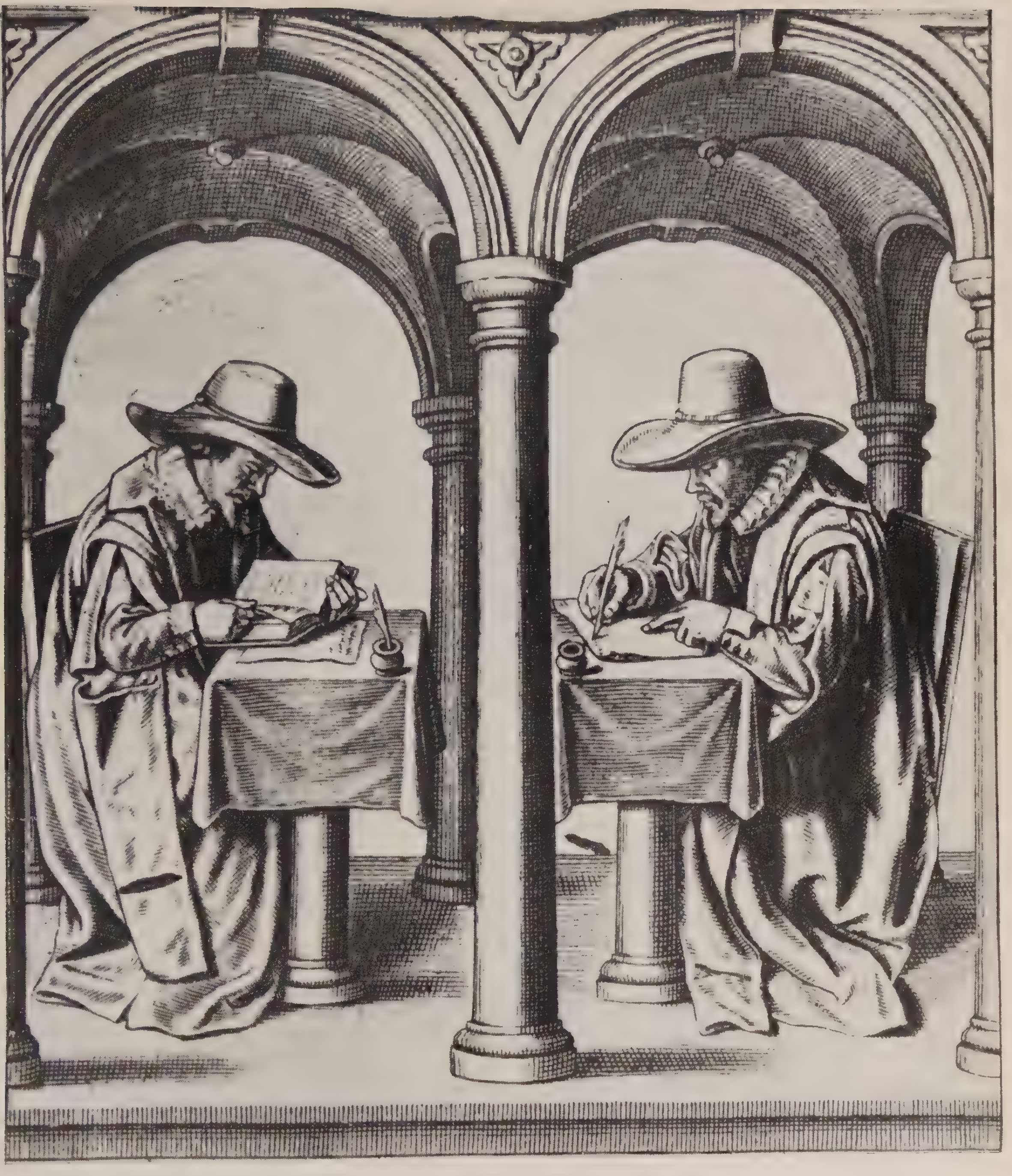
PLATE 81



The younger sons of the 3rd Duke of Lennox, by Sir Anthony Van Dyck, 1639. Young man on left wears loose-fitting doublet open to show the shirt, wide falling band, long-legged breeches fringed below with ribbon loops. Boots with bucket-tops, butterfly spur leathers, lace boothose tops. Young man on right wears velvet cloak trimmed with lace and lined with silk. The doublet sleeve is turned up above the wrist. Note gloves and clogs.

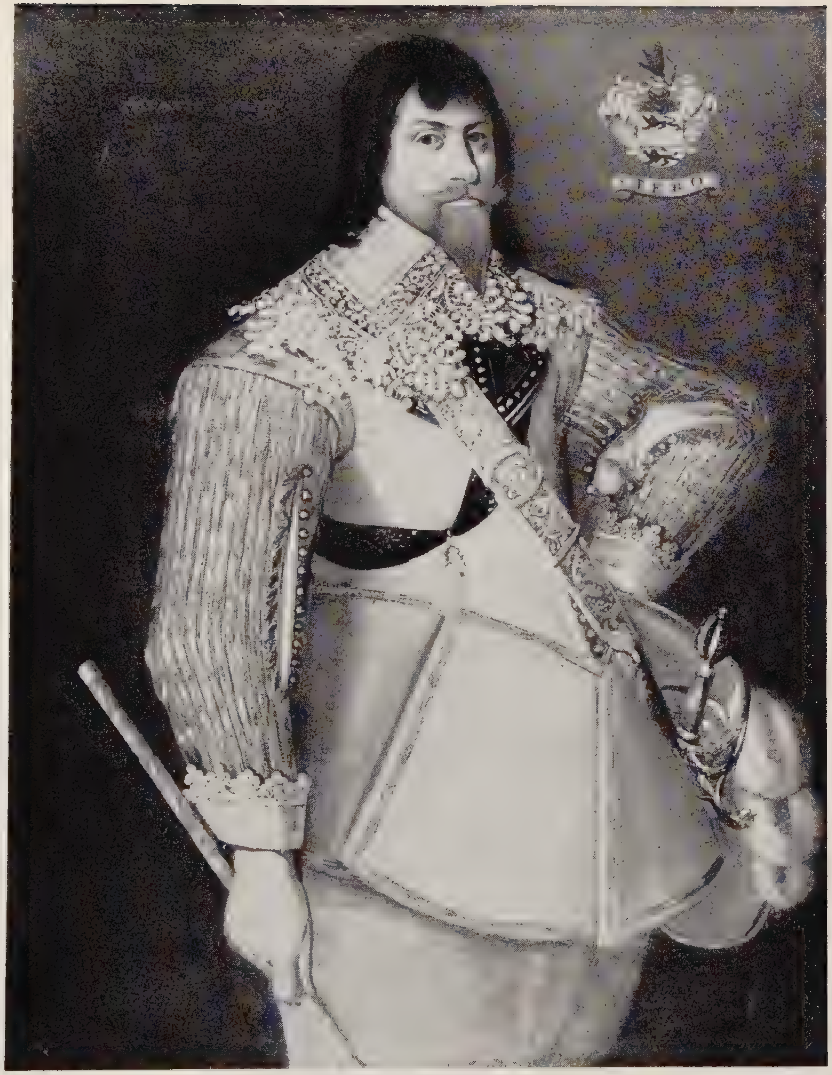
Courtesy the Countess Mountbatten of Burma.

PLATE 82

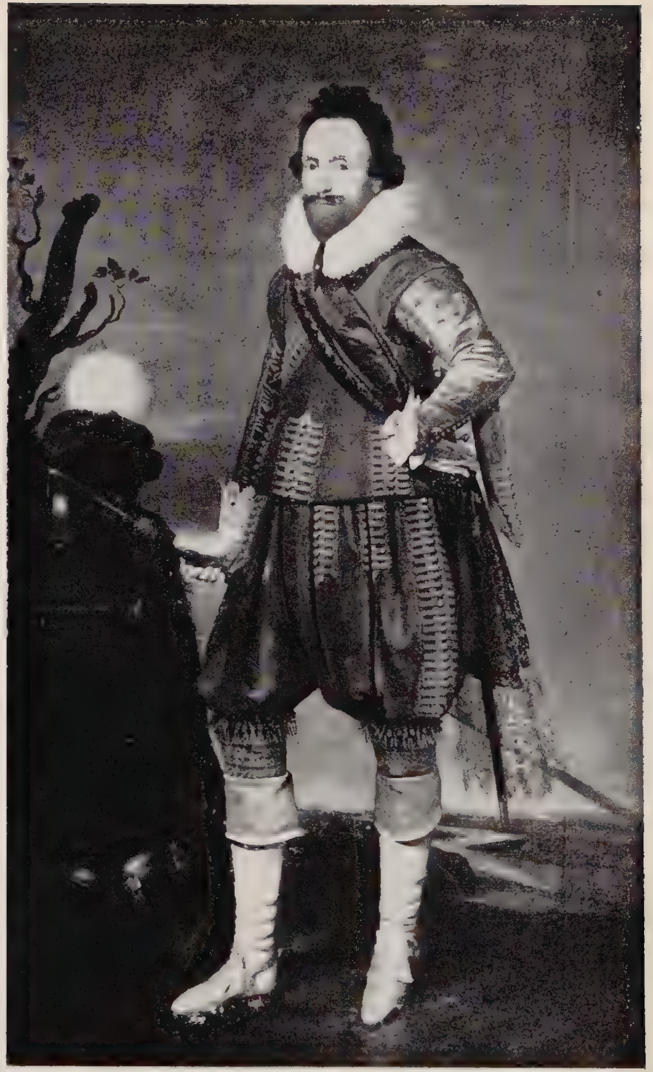


Gowns with hanging sleeves, having upper and lower openings. The left-hand figure wears a falling band, the right-hand figure a ruff. Large broad-brimmed hats. From *Essayes by Sr. William Cornwallyes*, 1632.

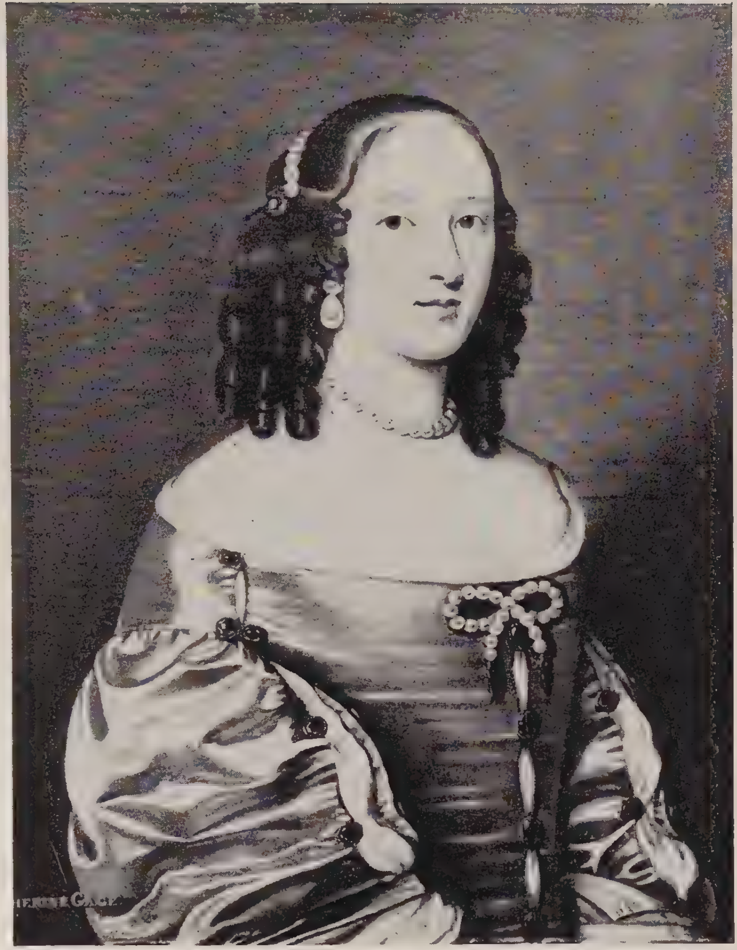
PLATE 84



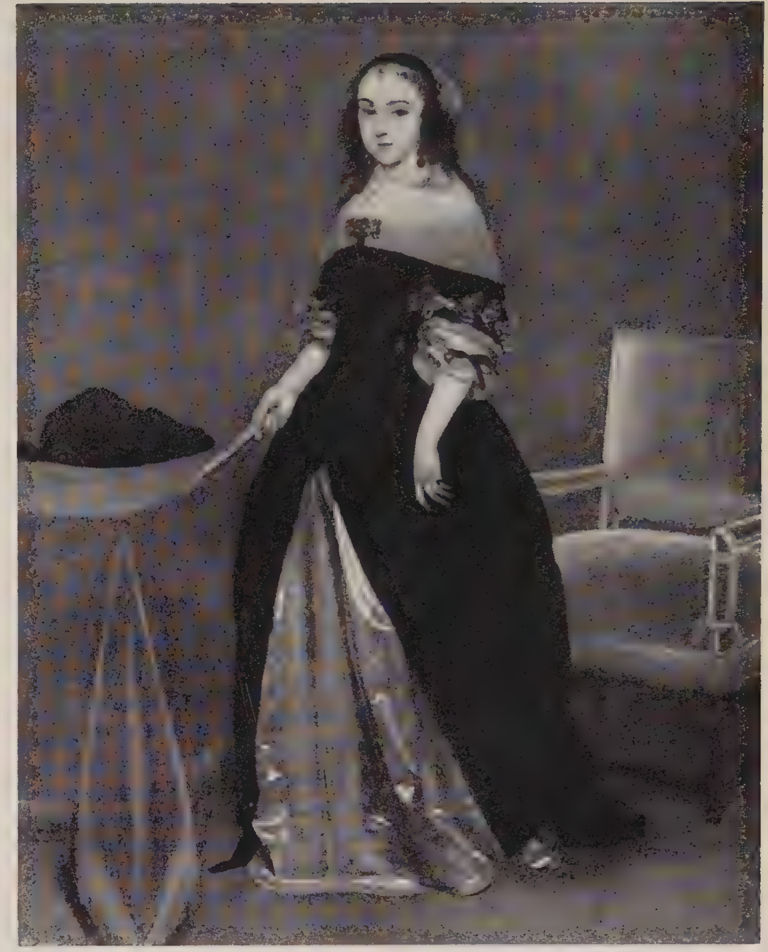
(A) Sir Daniel Goodricht, 1634. Leather jerkin with stuff sleeves probably attached under the wings, no underlying doublet. Broad laced falling band over military gorget. Shoulder belt for sword. Full breeches. *York Art Gallery.*



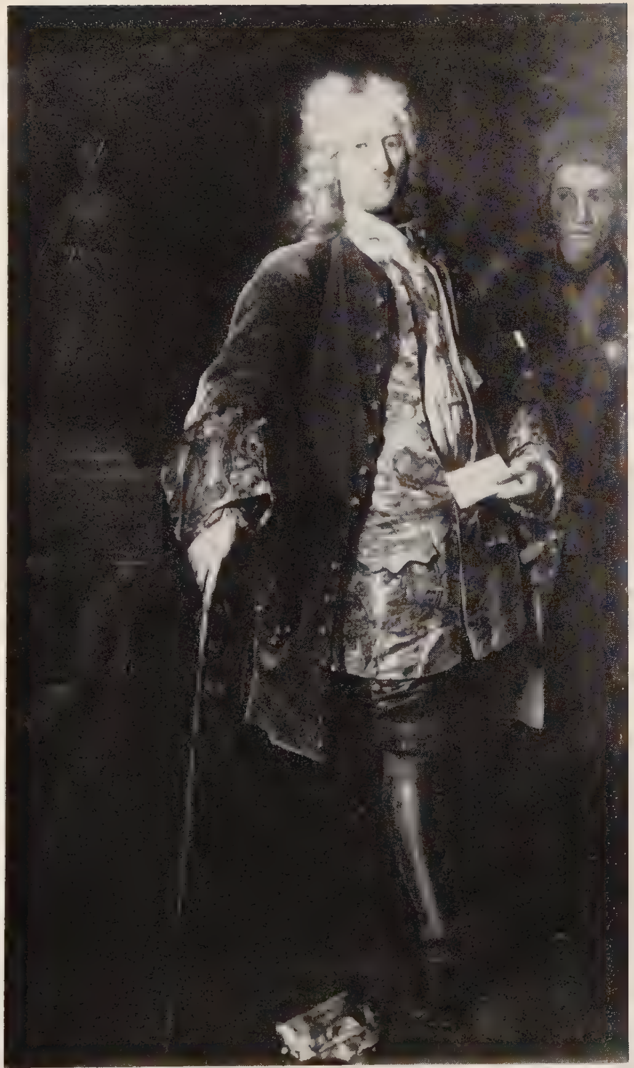
(B) Sir Horace Vere, 1625. Winged jerkin with false hanging sleeves, standing-falling ruff. 'Cloakbag breeches', embroidered down the seams. Turned-down boot-tops. Spur leathers. *Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich.*



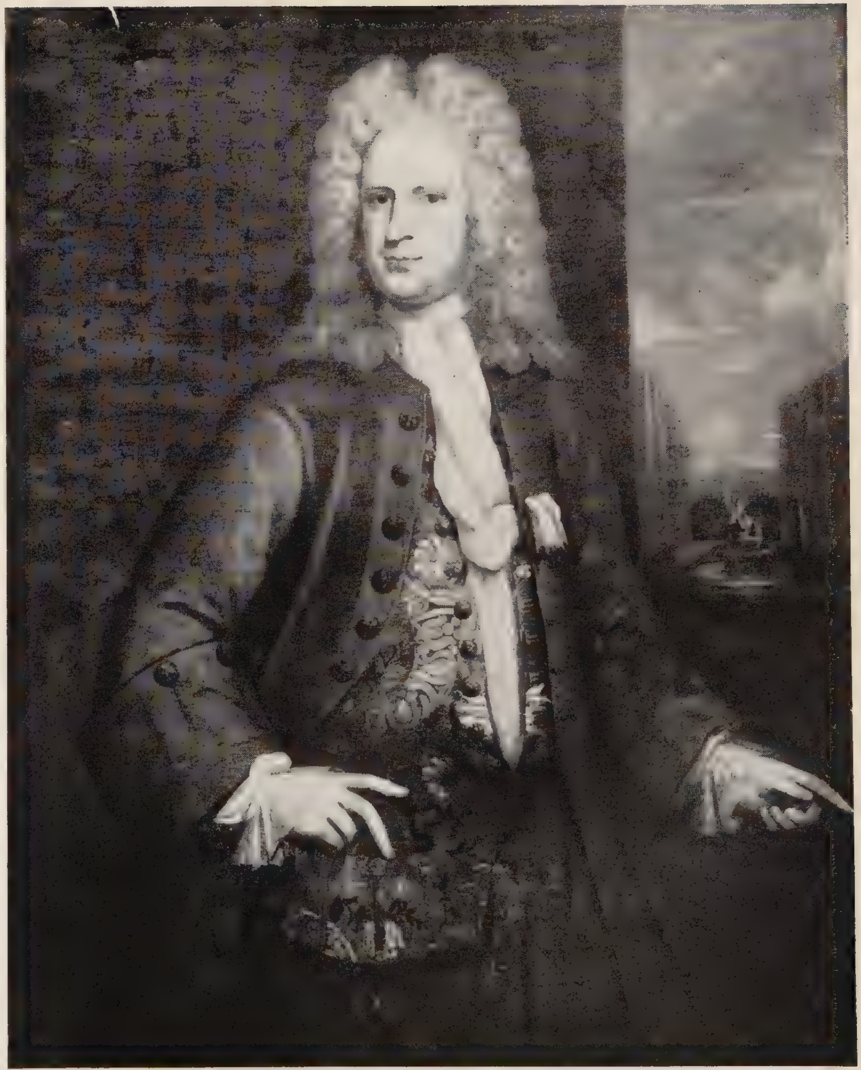
(A) Catherine Gage, *c.* 1660. Gown with low circular decolletage, the openings closed by jewelled clasps. Hair style of the early Restoration period. *Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich.*



(B) Portrait of a Lady, by Gerard Terborch, *c.* 1670. Tight boned bodice sloping to a deep point, low neckline finished with a lace falling whisk. Short sleeve with ruffled chemise sleeve emerging. Long skirt open over embroidered underskirt. *Edinburgh Art Gallery.*



(A) William Leathes, 1705–10. The collarless coat, low in the neck, is buttoned from top to hem. Embroidered waistcoat, open above to display the Steinkirk. Roll-up stockings, shoes with blocked toes and massive heels. Full-bottomed wig. *Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich.*



(B) Portrait of a Gentleman, *c.* 1705–10. Full-bottomed wig. Collarless coat cut low, short sleeves with medium-sized cuffs and protruding lace-ruffled shirt sleeves. Long embroidered waistcoat open to the waist, straight pocket flaps. Steinkirk cravat. *Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich.*

PLATE 86

To face page 141

Women, 1603–1660

The Jacobean woman inherited from the late Elizabethan a shape strangely unfeminine; a rigid figure embedded in a gigantic tub and presenting an outline from which flowing lines where wholly excluded.

From this hard, ungraceful form the Stuart woman had to remould herself into a seductive creature with palpitating undulations. It is true that woman's costume has seldom suggested her real shape and the flow of a trailing gown is perhaps as disguising as a farthingale; but to the male eye the former seems to express, in the perpetual inconstancy of its curvatures, a more feminine quality; and it is significant that only after the flowing gown had replaced the stiff farthingale did poets discover how:

> A sweet disorder in the dress
> Kindles in clothes a wantonness;
> ... A winning wave (deserving note)
> In the tempestuous petticoat. ...
> Do more bewitch me, than when Art
> Is too precise in every part. (Herrick, *c.* 1650.)

Until 1625 the late Elizabethan modes continued, woman's dress comprising a bodice, known as a 'body', with the skirt known as a 'petticoat'. The term 'kirtle' was already old-fashioned.

The Gown made in one piece was worn, if worn at all, over the bodice and skirt.

The low-necked bodice, corset-like and busked, with long pointed waist and triangular stomacher (which was becoming less usual after 1620), presented a neckline square, round, or U-shaped. The extreme decolletage often exposed the whole of the breasts in the unmarried. 'Eye those rising mounts, your displayed breasts, with what shameless art they woo the shamefast passenger' (1641, R. Braithwait, *The English Gentleman and the English Gentlewoman).*

The married woman filled in the decolletage with a partlet, and when no stomacher was worn the neck of the bodice might be considerably higher.

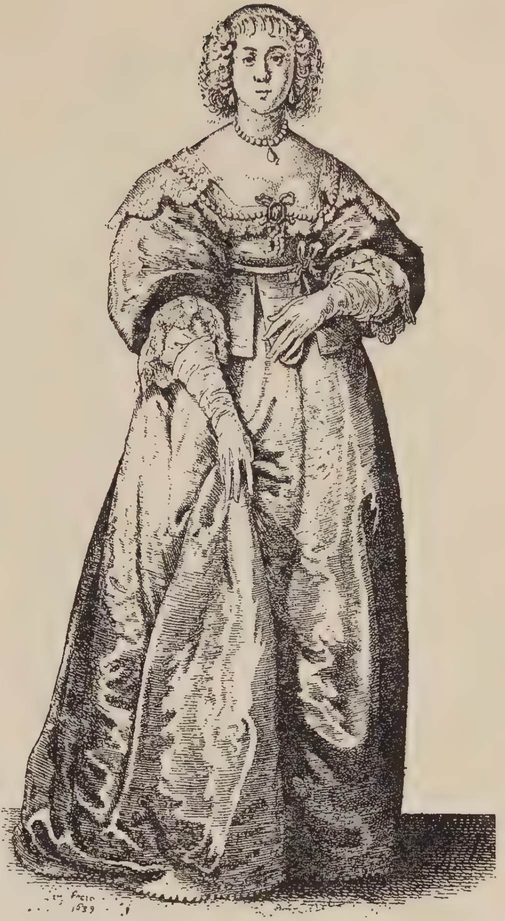


Fig. 3. High-waisted, tabbed, basqued bodice, full sleeve to the elbow and long gloves. Note hair style with forehead fringe of the period. From an engraving by Hollar, 1640.

The 'cannon sleeve', projecting above the shoulder, was distended with buckram, narrowing at the wrist; and immense hanging sleeves were often added. In the twenties a gigot shape became fashionable.

The French farthingale, either wheel-shaped under a tub-like skirt, or a roll farthingale was worn, the latter being a padded roll tied round the waist like a lifebelt with a gap in front, and commonly known as a 'bum roll'.

The skirt might be open in front, displaying an ornamental apron or 'forepart'.

The gown, fitting the shoulders and thence hanging in loose folds to the ground, had either a standing collar behind or a flat collar all round the neck. Its sleeves were either short, straight, and slit up in front, or as long hanging sleeves open from the shoulder; or the gown might be sleeveless.

The Nightgown was a form of negligée without the corset-like underbodice. It could be worn out of doors. 'I went to church in my rich nightgown and petticoat' (1617, *The Diary of Lady Anne Clifford*: Heinemann, 1923).

With the coming to the throne of Charles I in 1625 there seemed, to some earnest-minded folk, a moral decline in the fashions and habits of both sexes. Thus S. Rowlands in 1628 lamented:

> 'Your gallant is no man unlesse his haire be of the woman's fashion, dangling and waving over his shoulders; your woman nobody except (contrary to the modesty of her sex) shee be halfe at least of the man's fashion; she jests, she cuts, she rides, she sweares, she games, shee smoakes, shee drinkes, and what not that is evil?'

Doubtless the awful result of discarding the farthingale; for such masculine groans always arise whenever woman gets rid of a restricting garment.

Her costume now reverted to the high waist, the bodice commonly without basques, with ballooned sleeves often short, and a full skirt reaching the ground in folds, the front open to expose an underskirt. (Here was a dress in which the seated woman could be graceful, a thing impossible in a farthingale.)

The ruff in its various forms had ceased to be fashionable by 1630, its place being taken by some form of 'falling band' or flat, cape-like collar. The decolletage was filled in with a tucker.

The cloak, reaching the ground, had a turned-down collar, and for winter wear there were loose outer coats, hip-length and usually furred. It had become the fashion to go bareheaded, though the late Elizabethan hoods and cornets were not quite extinct.

A more distinctive mode of this period was the head rail, a large square of material pinned around the back of the head. The sugar-loaf hat worn over a white coif and the wide-brimmed 'Cavalier' hat, with or without a plume, were worn for travelling or riding.

The hair was brushed up high over a 'roll' or pad or wire support; the back hair, which in the reign of James I had been coiled into a flat 'bun' high on the occiput, persisted in that form, while from about 1620 a forehead fringe began to develop. Then after *c.* 1645 the front hair was brushed back, with two side partings and corkscrew curls falling to the shoulders.

Shoes, similar in shape to the men's, had commonly high heels of cork, but after 1625 the longer skirt concealed the feet from view. It was a period when elaborate make-up was in fashion; paint, powder and patches, together with rouge, adorned the face and 'for a penny a chambermaid will buy as much ochre as will serve seven years for the painting of her cheeks' (1641, H. Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny*).

Night-masks were worn to protect the complexion 'to supple wrinkles and to smooth the skin.' Gloves were heavily perfumed, and jewellery, in the form of bracelets, necklaces, rings, earrings, and chains, was lavishly worn up to the middle of the thirties.

The march of Fashion, checked somewhat during the Civil War, developed at the Restoration a more sensual quality. Tight lacing became a marked feature, and the bodice, once more long-waisted, sloped down to a deep point in front, sometimes with short tabs flaring out over the hips.

A low horizontal decolletage encircled the bust and bared the shoulders, while its edge revealed the frill or lace of the top of the chemise. Below this, across the bodice, was a broad lace bertha known as a 'whisk'. The shape of the bosom was thus skilfully emphasized, being in fact the feature of sex appeal in the costume of that period.

Elbow sleeves ended in ruffles, and the voluminous skirt gathered in small pleats at the waist hung in loose folds to the ground. It was usually open in front to display the petticoat, the front edge of the overskirt either falling naturally or turned back to exhibit a rich lining. The train became very long by 1680, when a bustle was adopted with the trained overskirt hitched up over it. From that date an alternative was the Gown, comprising a close-fitting bodice joined to a full gathered and trained skirt which was open in front. The front of the corsage might be embellished with an embroidered stomacher ending in a point at the waist.

The sleeves were short and straight, ending just above the elbow where the frilled sleeve of the chemise emerged. After 1690 that frill was generally replaced by single or multiple lace ruffles sewn on. The underskirt or petticoat was very ornamental, often trimmed with three or four lace flounces or a single deep flounce or a reversed flounce at the waist.

The Nightgown at this period was known as a Mantua, and resembled the gown though looser. It might be bound at the waist by a sash. 'Your black crape Manto to dress you in when the mornings are cold' (1681, *Verney Memoirs*), on the one hand and 'Your frugal huswifery Miss in the Pit at a Play, in a long scarf and Nightgown' (1677, Aphra Behn, *The Town Fop*) suggest a wide range of uses.

Growing attention was being paid to the head; thus the Cornet, fitting the occiput, now had long lappets hanging down each side of the face, while from 1690 to 1710 a complicated structure decorated the summit. A wired-up erection of stiff frills of linen towered one storey above another on the head; the wire frame was the 'commode'; the 'tower' was the mass of false curls building up the edifice known as the fontange'.

> For Tour on Tour and Tire on Tire,
> Like Steeple Bow or Grantham Spire
> (1690, J. Evelyn, *Mundus Muliebris*.)

Similarly the hair itself, lavishly strained, curled, wired, and fortified, developed a swarm of modes, the curls variously nicknamed 'Favourites' 'Confidants', 'Heart-breakers', etc., with ribbon bows or 'knots' placed in appropriate spots.

The Restoration introduced for ladies a shoe tapering to a blunt point with high Louis heel and high instep tongue; likewise mules with short uppers, pointed toes and high heels. For full-dress shoes were elaborately embroidered.

For outdoor wear the Mantle persisted into the eighteenth century; this, a garment entirely different from the Mantua, was a long tent-like cloak reaching the hem of the gown; it had a flat turned-down collar and was worn with a hood. Velvet was a fashionable material. 'A musk-coloured velvet mantle lined with squirrel skins' is mentioned by Steele in 1710.

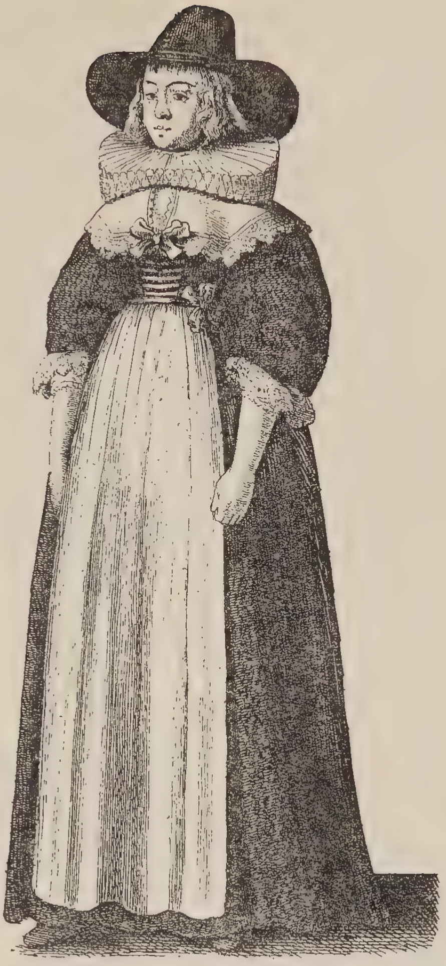


Fig. 4. Large-brimmed hat and oval ruff, bodice with stomacher front. Full elbow sleeves from which the frilled sleeves of the chemise emerge, ornamental apron. From an engraving by Hollar, 1640.

An elegant wrap was the Scarf, rounded in shape, at waist level behind and lower in front. 'My new scarf from London .... 'tis all extravagance and fancy; I believe there's six thousand yards of edging in it; such an enchanting slope from the elbow!' exclaims a lady in Colley Cibber's play *The Careless Husband*, 1704. Its trimming with furbelows was a feature.

We gather from *The Tatler* that at the beginning of 1709 'the figure of a woman in the present dress bears the figure of a cone which is the same with that of an extinguisher with a little knob at the upper end'. But now a transformation was to take place, for in the following year the Hoop had returned to fashion, at first dome-shaped with petticoat and overskirt enlarged to fit over it.

And presently Swift was writing to Stella in Ireland: 'Have you got the whalebone petticoats among you yet? I hate them; a woman here may hide a moderate gallant under them'.

It is not very surprising, too, that Swift complained how seldom English ladies took active outdoor exercise on foot. Riding, however, was fashionable, and *The Spectator* of 1711 describes the costume: 'Hair curled and powdered hung to a considerable length on the shoulders and tied in a scarlet ribbon; coat and waistcoat of blue camlet, trimmed and embroidered with silver; a cravat of the finest lace; and wore, in a smart cock, a little beaver hat edged with silver ... and made more sprightly by a feather ... a petticoat of the same with the coat and waistcoat'. The coat and waistcoat, cut on masculine lines, gave the wearer a mannish air.

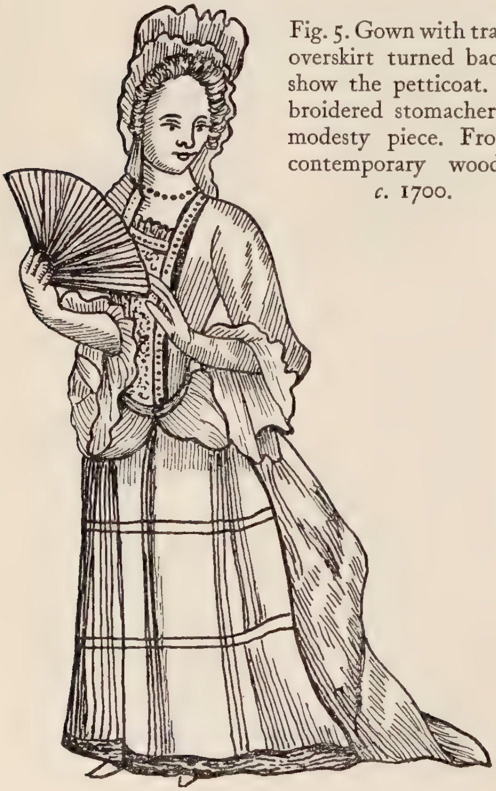


Fig. 5. Gown with trained overskirt turned back to show the petticoat. Embroidered stomacher and modesty piece. From a contemporary woodcut, *c.* 1700.

The fashionable taste in colours was sometimes for matching that of gown and petticoat, though contrasts were more general. Thus we read of a costume composed of 'a black silk petticoat with red and white calico border, cherry-coloured stomacher trimmed with blue and silver, and a red and dove-coloured damask gown flowered with large trees, and a yellow satin apron trimmed with white' (1709).

For the lady of leisure the task of dressing had become an arduous occupation, and to be successful she required, it seems, to be versed in the indoor arts of elegance. The intricacies of make-up were never more studied. 'By help of paint, powder, and patches they were of a waxwork complexion', comments Ned Ward in 1698, and Henri Misson in the same year informs us, 'I have often counted fifteen patches or more upon the swarthy wrinkled phiz of an old Hag of three score and ten upwards'. Cork balls or Plumpers were worn in the cheeks to produce a roundness, and the face was heavily coated with red and white paint, applied with Spanish wool impregnated with the colouring matter. From William King's *The Art of Love*, 1708, we learn:

> Of French pomades the town is full,
> Praise Heaven! No want of Spanish wool!
> Let them look flush'd, let them look dead,
> That cant afford the white and red.

Lead combs were employed to darken the eyebrows, while the more skilful used artificial eyebrows made from strips of mouse-skin. Reddened lips and finger nails, a contemporary poet warns his readers, distinguish 'the Modern Maid'.

> Lovers, beware! To wound how can she fail
> With scarlet finger and long jutting nail?

SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Jewellery

Jewellery

JOHN HAYWARD

This section cannot, for the reasons discussed below, be confined to jewellery made in England by English-born jewellers, but covers, without regard to provenance, the type of jewel worn in England in the seventeenth century. Though there were many highly skilled jewellers working in England at the Court of James I and subsequently of Charles I, and though many of them had English names, it is no longer possible to identify their works, if any have, in fact, survived. With the exception of certain special types, such as mourning rings or badges of the Order of the Garter, there are no particular features in seventeenth century jewellery that can be described as specifically English. There is, on the other hand, no shortage of information about jewellery worn in seventeenth century England; with the exception of the Commonwealth period, persons of quality or wealth wore jewels in profusion, and we have in the innumerable seventeenth century portraits an excellent guide as to the course of fashion. The jewels worn by the sitters in English portraits do not differ from those represented in portraits of persons of similar rank painted in north-west Europe. It was not until the wearing of jewellery ceased to be confined to the aristocracy and the merchant classes that recognizable local types developed. Those who wore jewellery in the seventeenth century were aware of fashions abroad and were interested in remaining abreast of them. Just as the materials of jewellery, gold and precious stones were the subject of international trade, so also highly skilled jewellers wandered from Court to Court bringing the newest fashions with them.

Great fortunes were made by the merchants and bankers who dealt in precious stones: personalities like Sir John Spilman or Sir Paul Pindar. The latter, merchant, adventurer and diplomat alike, after serving for many years as Consul in Aleppo, was sent by James I as English Ambassador to Turkey, whence he eventually returned with a fabulous stock of precious stones. James I used to borrow from Pindar for wear on State occasions a particularly fine jewel set with diamonds, which was valued at one time as high as £35,000; it was eventually purchased, though not paid for, by Charles I in the year of his accession for £18,000. Sir Paul Pindar's jewels also accompanied Charles I in 1623 when, as Prince of Wales, he went with Buckingham to Madrid to negotiate the Spanish match. Pindar, who as late as 1638 negotiated the purchase of a diamond by the King for £8,000, suffered great losses as a result of the Civil War. The façade of his town house, which once harboured precious stones of such immense value, is still preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Jacobean jewels

The accession to the throne of James I in the year 1603 did not mark any new development in dress or the jewellery that adorned it. The immense display of jewels on head, breast, shoulders and indeed on any part of the dress to which they could be conveniently attached continued unabated during the early decades of the century. A foreign observer, writing of Queen Elizabeth in 1597, had said of her: 'She wore innumerable jewels on her person, not only on her head, but also within her collar, about her arms and on her hands, with a very great quantity of pearls round her neck and on her bracelets. She had two bands, one on each arm, which were worth a great price'.

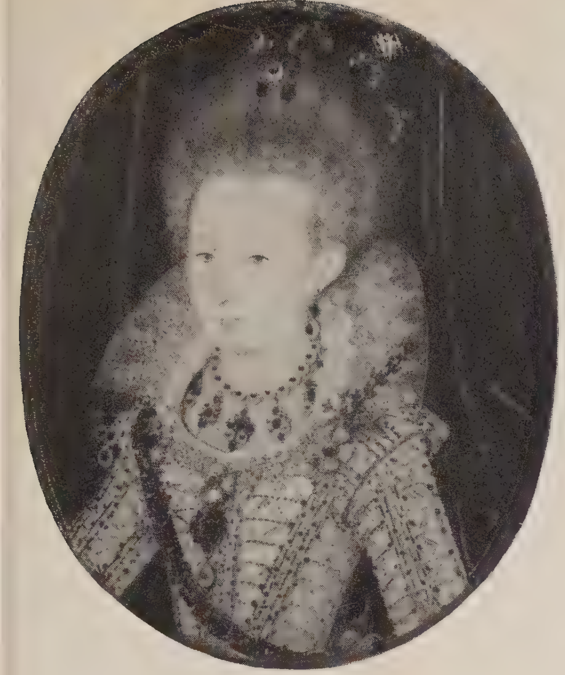
The miniature portrait of James I's daughter, Elizabeth of Bohemia (Pl. 87A), shows a similar profusion of precious stones on her person. On the back of her head is an openwork gold circlet composed of seven members, each of triangular shape threaded with pearls. From the central member hangs down towards the forehead a pendant of gold with a large pearl in the centre, and two large ruby drops. Her earrings are each composed of a large diamond, from which hangs a pear-shaped pearl drop. Around her neck is a necklace of pearls from which hang at intervals six pendants of enamelled gold set with diamonds, rubies and pearls. In the centre of the corsage is a large gold bow set with a ruby, from which hangs a pendant formed of a large table-cut diamond surrounded by two rubies and six smaller table-cut diamonds with a pear-shaped pearl drop. At each corner of the corsage is a further gold bow brooch set with ruby, en suite with that in the centre, but lacking the pendant. On the right shoulder is another jewel, the top of which is concealed by the lace collar. It appears to consist of a group of table-cut diamonds from which hang three pear-shaped pearl drops. Finally, slung over the right shoulder and reaching to the waist, is a magnificent chain of heavy gold links, probably set with diamonds. All these jewels are painted with the greatest fidelity, but their richness and variety are by no means exceptional for the period, and it would be possible to cite many other portraits of noblewomen by Hilliard wearing jewels of comparable splendour.

Royal purchases of jewellery

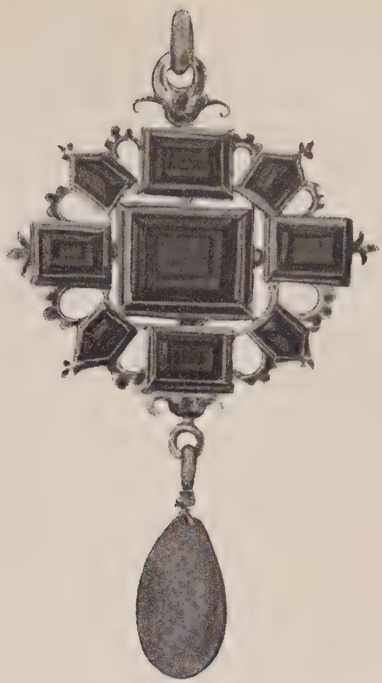
The State papers of James I's reign show that the Queen, Anne of Denmark, was very extravagant in her purchases of jewellery, and immense debts were incurred by the Crown to the consortium of bankers and jewellers who supplied her. Thus on 18th December 1609, a warrant was issued for the payment of £20,500 for jewels etc. provided for the Queen to the Court jeweller, George Heriot, Sir John Spilman and others; that the money was not available to meet the warrant is shown by the offer to pay £10 per cent. to any persons prepared to advance the requisite sum. The costliness of her jewels can be measured by the sum of £1,550 paid to Arnold Lulls, another Court jeweller, for a diamond jewel with pendant pearls and two dozen buttons, given her by James I at the christening of Princess Mary in 1605. The cost of a jewel of more modest character is indicated from a warrant dated 20th April 1610, for the payment of £60 to George Heriot in respect of a jewel of gold set with diamonds, a wedding present to one of the ladies of the Queen's Bedchamber.

Anne of Denmark's jewels

The typical renaissance jewel was made in the form of an animal, monster, ship or a little temple with figures; though such jewels became less fashionable as the seventeenth century advanced, they were still worn by Anne of Denmark and the ladies of her Court. The inventory of the Queen's jewels lists many of them, including a ship, a heart entwined by a serpent, a flower *de luce*, a frog, an anchor, a horn of abundance, a burning heart, a parrot, a corselet, a bayleaf with a lizard, etc. That such jewels were already becoming unfashionable we know from the design book of the jeweller and goldsmith, Arnold Lulls, referred to above. This book, which is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, contains designs for jewels of various types, of which three are reproduced here (Pl. 87B, C and D). Whether these designs were ever executed is not known, but they are believed to have been prepared for the Queen and for Henry, Prince of Wales. It will be seen at once that they differ greatly from the so-called renaissance jewel. Whereas in the latter the central feature was usually some exquisite piece of goldsmith's work, enriched with polychrome enamelling, in Lull's designs pride of place is given to the precious stone, and in particular to the diamond. Figure-work is hardly represented, and even enamel is used only to enrich the narrow settings of the large stones of which most of the jewels are formed. Another significant development is the



(A) Miniature portrait of Elizabeth, daughter of James I, later Queen of Bohemia, by Nicholas Hilliard, about 1610. See page 148. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



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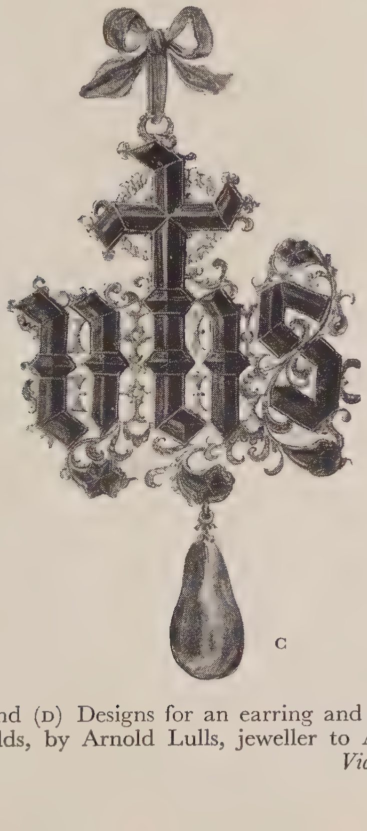

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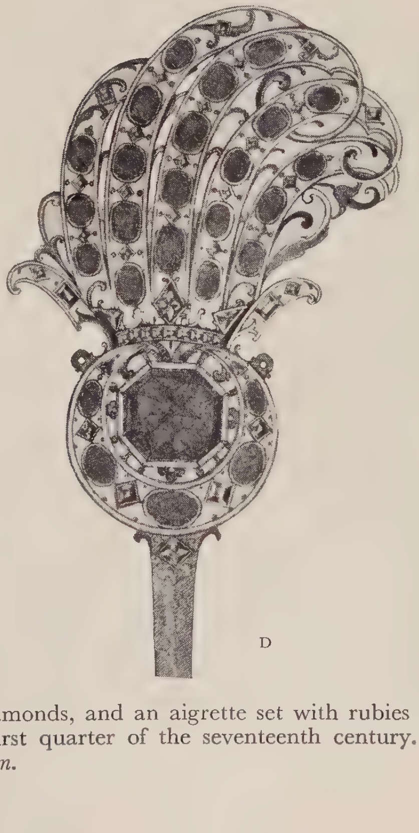
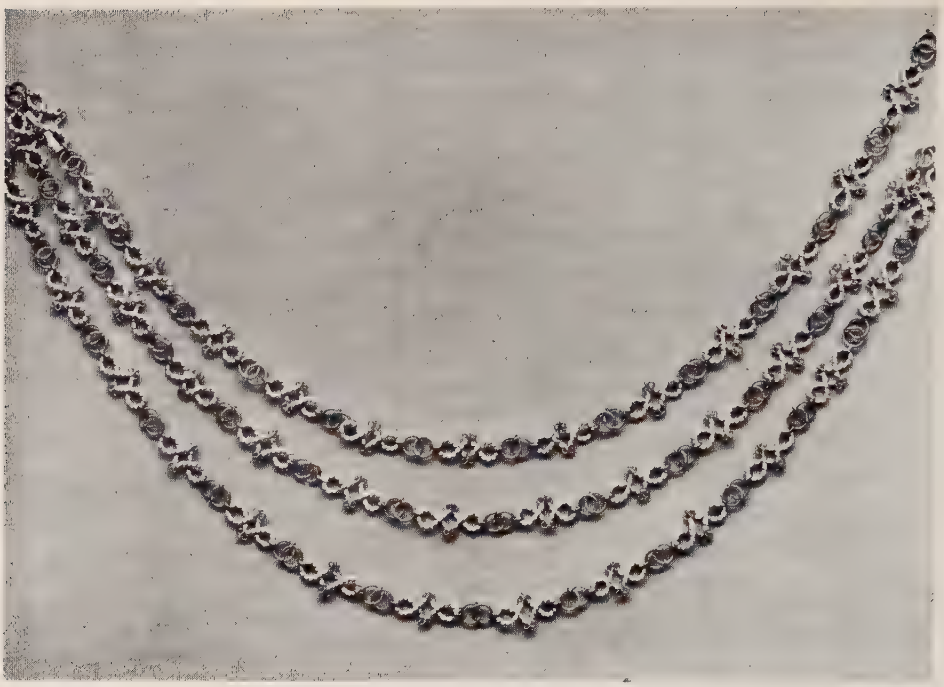


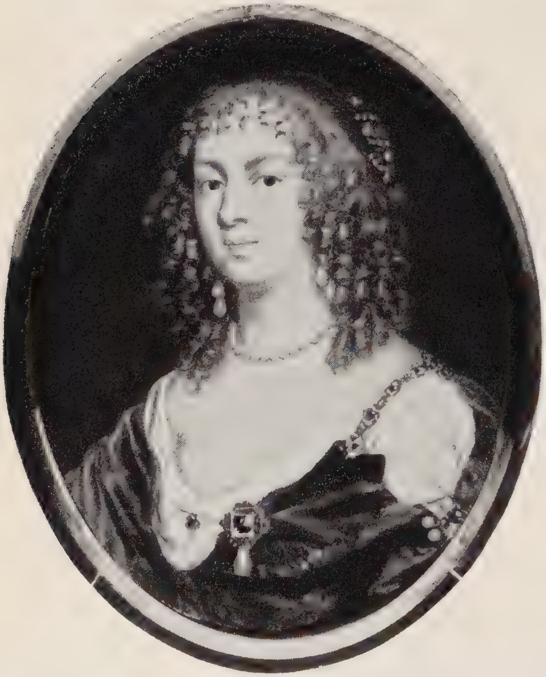
D

(B), (C) and (D) Designs for an earring and pendant set with diamonds, and an aigrette set with rubies and emeralds, by Arnold Lulls, jeweller to Anne of Denmark; first quarter of the seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

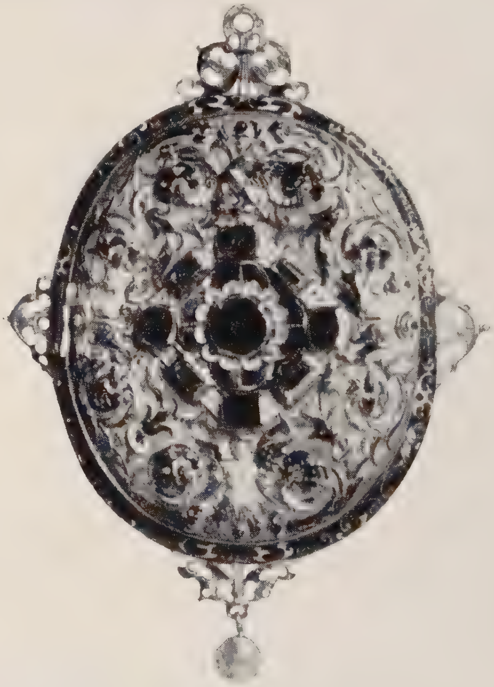
PLATE 87



(A) Chain of gold, enriched with white enamel, from the Cheapside Hoard; early seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

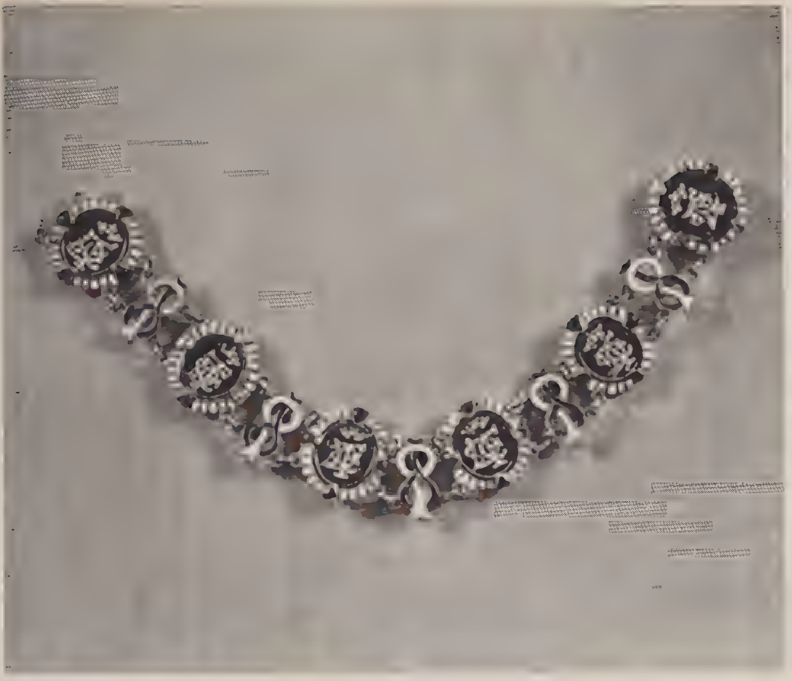


(B) Miniature portrait of a lady after Samuel Cooper: the necklace, earrings and hair adornment of pearls, corsage jewel in the form of a large table diamond set in enamelled gold with a pendant pearl, other jewels composed of diamonds set in gold. About 1640. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

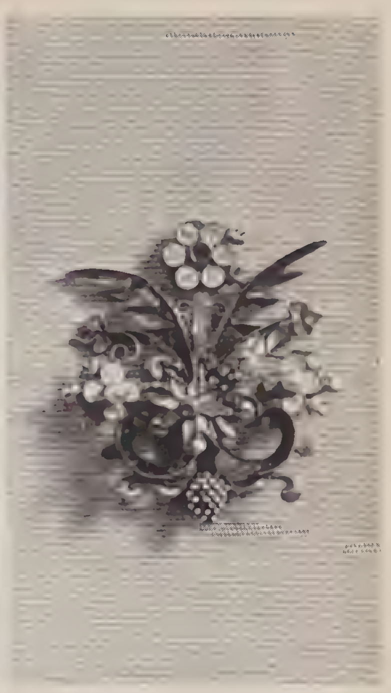


(C) Miniature case of enamelled gold set with table-cut rubies, formerly containing a miniature portrait of James I; first quarter of seventeenth century. *Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.*

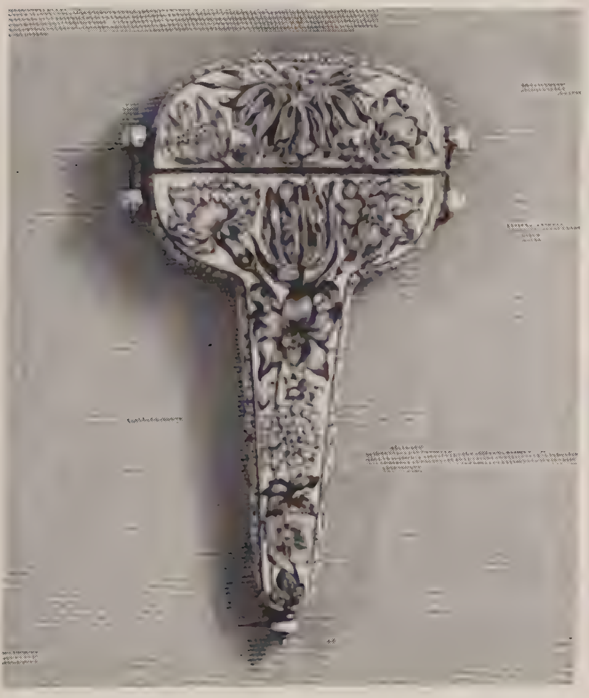
PLATE 88



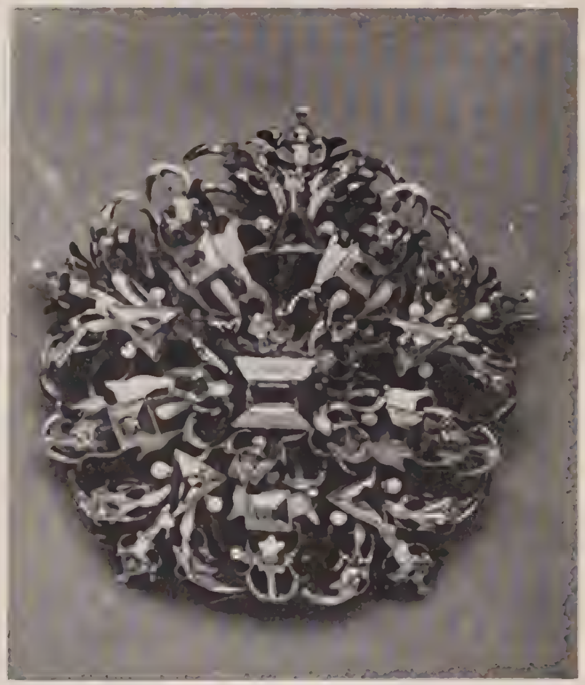
(A) Part of a chain, enamelled gold, set with paste medallions bearing a cypher; first half of the seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



(B) Dress ornament, enamelled gold set with seed pearls, first quarter of the seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

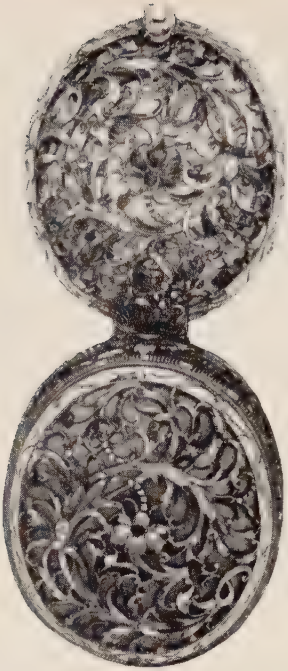


(C) Scissors case, gold enamelled with naturalistic flowers; late seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

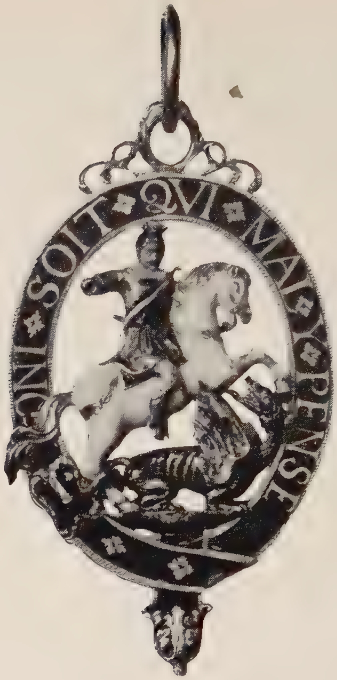


(D) Corsage jewel, gold enriched with black and white enamel and set with table-cut diamonds; second quarter of the seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

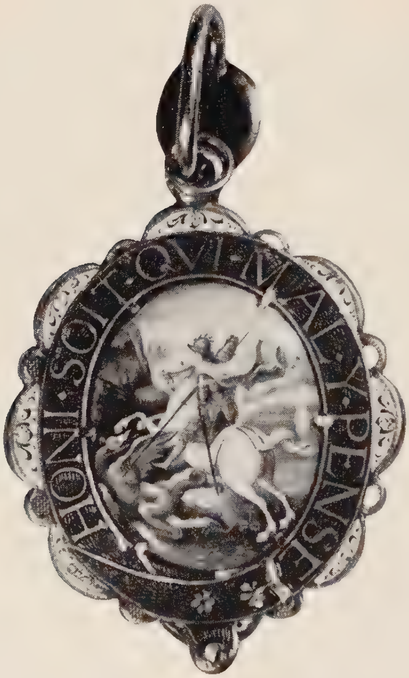
PLATE 89



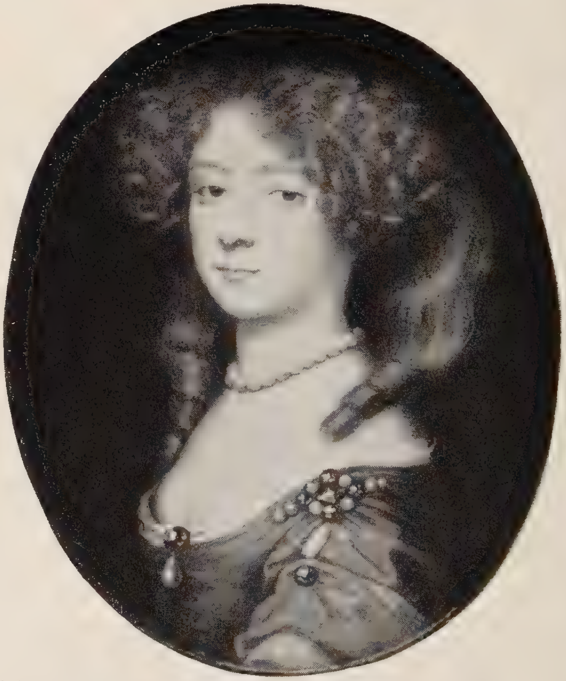
(A) Watch case of gold, enamelled in colours, given probably by Charles I to the Earl of Monteith; second quarter of the seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



(B) 'Lesser George' of the Order of the Garter, enamelled gold; about 1640. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*



(C) Reverse of a 'Lesser George', enamelled with a miniature of Raphael's St George, the front set with paste roses; second half of the seventeenth century. *Windsor Castle, reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen.*



(D) Miniature portrait of a lady wearing a necklace of pearls, and brooches of rose diamonds and pearls in silver settings. Attributed to Richard Gibson, about 1680. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

PLATE 90

setting of small stones in very narrow collets in such a way as almost to conceal the setting altogether. The illustrations show a pendant, one of a pair of earrings, and an aigrette, a hat or head ornament in the form of a conventionalized feather. The stones used are diamonds, emeralds and rubies with pear-shaped pearl pendants. Lulls' designs doubtless represent the vanguard of fashion, and jewels of this type were still being worn until the Commonwealth put an end for a time to displays of jewellery.

Whereas the wearing of dress that is out of fashion has always been scorned, jewellery has usually had a somewhat longer lease of life, though eventually fine stones have always been reset. If the tradition that the enamelled and jewelled gold pendant in the Soane Museum, London, was worn by Charles I at the Battle of Naseby be true, then he was, with remarkable lack of concern for fashion, wearing a piece that was at least forty years old.

Jewellery was not confined to women's dress during the seventeenth century, though the amount worn by men decreased in the course of that period. The hat-badge grew to large proportions in the early seventeenth century, becoming a far more splendid thing than the medallion worn during the reigns of the Tudors. In 1613 we find a payment of £4,000 to George Heriot for a chain and a hatband set with diamonds made for the late Prince (Henry of Wales). This was probably the same hatband that was included amongst the presents taken on the Spanish embassy in 1623. It was then described as being composed of 'twenty fair diamonds set in buttons of gold in manner of Spanish work, whereof eight are four-square table diamonds, two large six-square table diamonds, two four-square table diamonds cut with facets, two large pointed diamonds, one fair heart diamond and three triangle diamonds'. The finest hat-badges were of aigrette design, similar to Arnold Lulls' drawing (Pl. 87D). Other forms of jewellery worn by men included jewelled buttons and buckles, chains and, more rarely, sword and dagger hilts. A peculiar fashion for men which persisted from Elizabethan days until the middle of the century was the wearing of earrings or of one earring only. Charles I always adhered to the fashion and hung a large pearl from his left ear; the one he wore on the scaffold in 1649 is still preserved. It is pear-shaped and some $\frac{5}{8}$-in. long.

The Cheapside Hoard

If fine jewellery of the seventeenth century is rare, even more uncommon is the thinner and cheaper jewellery worn by the wives of the merchants and richer tradesmen. By a remarkable chance an extensive collection of English early seventeenth century jewellery has been preserved intact. This collection, known as 'the Cheapside Hoard', was discovered in 1912, when a house in Cheapside was being demolished. With the exception of a watch set in a large emerald, the objects in the hoard were not of high intrinsic value and were evidently intended for a middle-class rather than an aristocratic market. The most notable feature of the pieces is their lightness of construction, in marked contrast to the massive character of the typical renaissance jewel. This lightness was evidently dictated by economic rather than æsthetic considerations, and the preservation of this collection enables us, just for the first decades of the seventeenth century, to speak with authority about English second-quality jewellery. It includes most of the categories of jewellery in use at the time, and in view of its extent must have been the stock of a jeweller. Most of the types are familiar from contemporary portraits; the most interesting group is the series of chains, or carcanets to give them their seventeenth century name. The effect of the chains in the Cheapside Hoard (Pl. 88A) does not depend on any particular originality of design or quality of workmanship, but on their attractive colour combinations achieved by the juxtaposition of precious or semi-precious stones and coloured enamel. The majority are composed of little flowers in gold, enamelled white or green, with emerald or diamond centres, alternating with emeralds, garnets, lapis-lazuli panels, etc. One of the most attractive is composed of white-and-gold Tudor roses linked with green leaves. The introduction of an English feature such as the Tudor rose is not paralleled in other surviving jewellery of this period. Some of the gold ornaments that were sewn to dresses during the earlier decades of the century were also enamelled; the example in Plate 89B is very light, and instead of being enamelled with properly fired colours, is decorated in cold enamel, that is with unfired painted colours.

The rose-cut

Precious stones had in the sixteenth century usually been table-cut, a treatment which did not bring out the potential brilliance of the stone. Little refraction of light was to be seen in the diamond, and the effect of the latter was not greatly enhanced by the black varnish with which the back of the stone was painted. Towards the latter years of the sixteenth century various fancy cuts were devised which provided a larger number of facets on the stones, and so increased their brilliance. This development culminated in the rose-cut, based on a hexagon divided into equilateral triangles. The perfection of the rose-cut is usually attributed to certain Dutch lapidaries commissioned by Cardinal Mazarin, but a version of it was already known in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Thus a ring supplied by George Heriot for Anne of Denmark was set with a diamond cut in the form of a rose, and the famous Lyte jewel, presented by James I to Thomas Lyte in or before 1611, is set with rose-cut stones. Such technical advances in the cutting of stones doubtless contributed to the change of fashion in favour of precious stones rather than goldsmith's work.

The most easily recognizable English jewellery of the early seventeenth century are the miniature cases of enamelled gold set with precious stones, such as the Lyte jewel referred to above. Their English origin is proved beyond doubt by the miniatures they contain. In spite of their large proportions, they were worn as pendants around the neck; a portrait of Elizabeth Vernon, Countess of Southampton, at Welbeck Abbey shows her wearing two of them, one attached to a chain around her neck and the other pinned to her bosom. The finest work of the English seventeenth century jewellers is to be found in these miniature cases. The example illustrated (Pl. 88C) from the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, is less familiar than the Lyte jewel or those in the Victoria and Albert Museum, but it is unsurpassed in quality. It originally contained a miniature of James I, but was subsequently used as a frame for a classical cameo. Though described in the 1619 inventory of the Emperor Matthias' collection as 'French work', it must have been a gift from James I to the Habsburg Emperor and was surely the work of one of his Court jewellers.

Influence of dress on jewels

During the third decade of the century a change took place in female dress; the farthingale skirt was abandoned and clothes became altogether looser and less formal. There was at the same time a great passion for lace. The wearing of much lace about the neck and bosom left less space for the display of jewellery, but when in the 1630's lace in turn went out of fashion, there was no return to the almost barbaric profusion of jewellery of the early years of the century. The effect of the change can be seen in the miniature of an unknown lady of about 1640 in Pl. 88B. The contrast is most striking; just as the renaissance jewel was replaced by the jewel composed mainly of diamonds, in which the setting played a very secondary and mainly functional role, now the latter has given way to a lavish display of pearls. The extensive décolletage worn by the ladies of Charles I's Court provided the ideal frame for the restrained beauty of lustrous pearls. Not only was a rope of large pearls *de rigueur* around the neck, but pearls were entwined in the hair, whence indeed they were never finally evicted until the more practical days at the end of the eighteenth century. Pearls were also worn as earrings and as pendants from brooches and clasps, and finally as a girdle about the waist.

The portraits of fashionable ladies of the period immediately preceding the Civil Wars, painted by Van Dyck and his school, show an extraordinary conformity of dress. There is almost invariably a large jewel in the centre of the corsage, and the open sleeves are held together over the shoulder and down the arms with a number of clasps. It is evident from the portraits that these jewels were composed of large stones with plain settings. The absence of any particular artistic merit in the settings has led to their being broken up and reset;

as a result such jewels are considerably more rare than those of the early seventeenth century. A fine brooch of the type worn in the centre of the corsage is illustrated in Plate 89D. Its form is derived from that of a knot, and similar knots are to be seen in many portraits, composed of ribbons in the case of the less wealthy sitters, and of enamelled gold in the case of the rich. A jewel of this type belonging to Lady Warwick just before the Restoration was described as a 'fair knot of gold enamelled with tulips and set with diamonds'. A knot or bow of some sort was the favourite form of corsage ornament during the remainder of the seventeenth century, and continued to be so until well into the following century. The pattern books of jewellery designs published in Paris about the middle of the seventeenth century already include a number of the large open bow brooches or pendants of the type subsequently known as the Sévigné. The most influential of these pattern books, both inside and outside France, was that published by the Parisian jeweller, Gilles L'Egaré, who was jeweller to Louis XIV. Published in 1663, it contains, besides various types of Sévigné, girandole earrings, cross pendants and miniature frames set with table- and rose-cut stones. The designs for the backs of the jewels in the form of baroque floral compositions are amongst the most pleasing that the seventeenth century produced. The enamelled gold scissors case in Plate 89C shows something of the effect of the L'Egaré designs, though the flowers are more formally arranged than would be the case in a L'Egaré jewel.

In addition to jewels worn around the neck and shoulders, the lady of the first half of the seventeenth century wore a variety of more or less decorative objects attached to her girdle, which was itself probably of enamelled gold, or of silver-gilt. The links from a chain illustrated in Plate 89A, which is of gold set with pastes, might have served equally well as a necklace or a girdle. To the girdle were attached a pomander, a scissors case (Pl. 89C), a key ring, a case containing knife and fork, and in some cases a small mirror and a prayer-book enclosed in a jewelled gold binding (girdle-book) as well. These various articles were often suspended from long chains and must have greatly encumbered movement. The equipage might well be completed with a watch, the latter worn around the neck or attached to the girdle. The English watch case illustrated in Plate 90A, which was given by Charles I to the first Earl of Monteith, bears out the claim that the English jewellers of the first half of the seventeenth century were the equal of those working in foreign capitals.

Enamelled decoration

Next to miniature cases, watch-cases are the most useful source of information as to the versatility of the English jeweller in the seventeenth century. The presence of an English signed movement, if not an absolute guarantee that the case enclosing it is English, makes it exceedingly likely, and we can, therefore, recognize all the forms of jewellers' work on such cases as English. Besides the usual enamelled gold of the type shown in Plate 88C we find painted enamels, *champlevé* enamel and a rare and difficult technique known as *émail en résille sur verre*, in which cells were cut in the surface of a glass panel, lined with foil and then filled with coloured enamel that fused at a lower melting point than the glass ground. The same technique is also found on a locket in the Victoria and Albert Museum which is thought to be of English origin. Though jewellery of the highest quality was certainly produced in this country, it seems that fashions were probably derived from abroad. No pattern books of jewellery were published in England during the seventeenth century, and it must be presumed that the jewellers relied on books imported from France for new ideas. Though the individual jeweller would doubtless have been capable of drawing up a design for a client, he would have had to look to Paris to learn something of new developments in fashion. Charles II's appointment in 1666 of a Frenchman, Isaac le Gomme (or Gouse), as Jeweller to the Royal Household in succession to the deceased Englishmen, Francis and John Simpson, is not insignificant in this connexion. Such was the dominance of the French jewellers that the type of jewel decorated with opaque enamels in black and white or in light blue and white, which was so popular during the second half of the century, is

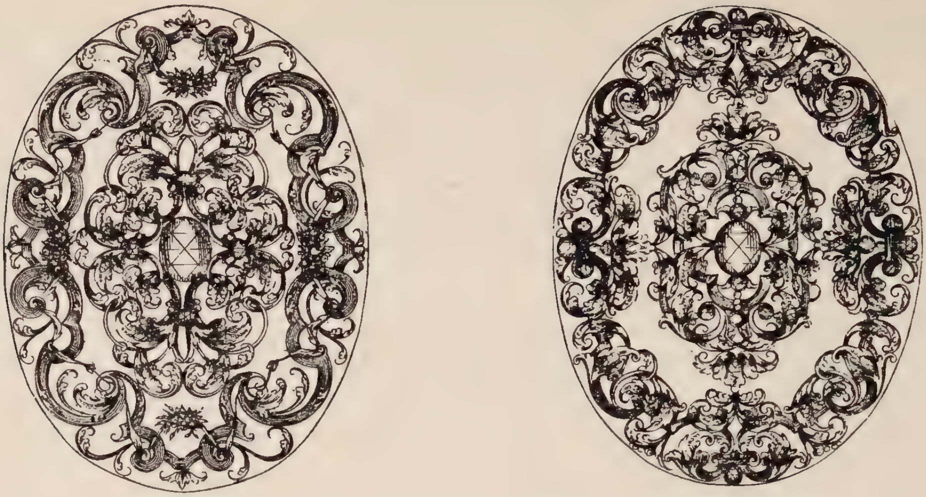


Fig. 1. Two designs for miniature cases, each set with a rose diamond. From *A Book of Severall Jewellers Work* made by J.B.Herbst, London, 1710. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

still generically known as 'Louis Treize', though many of them were made outside France.

While the jewels of the first quarter of the century were mainly enriched with translucent enamels applied by the *champlevé* technique, by the middle of the century the cheaper technique of painted enamel was employed for the decoration of the backs even of the better-quality jewellery. The technique of painted enamel was most effectively developed by members of the Blois family of goldsmiths and watch-case makers, Toutin. Painted enamel of other than purely conventional design is rarely found on jewels, where there was little space available for the representation of figure-subjects such as those painted by the watch-case enamellers. Miniature cases, on the other hand, were frequently decorated with painted enamel.

One further group of identifiable English jewels remains to be described – those of the Order of the Garter. The jeweller who made them was restricted to a uniform design, but was able to introduce variety by using differing materials and settings. The jewel illustrated in Plate 90B belonged, according to tradition, to the Earl of Strafford and dates from before the Commonwealth. Plate 90C shows the back of a 'lesser George' in the Royal collection at Windsor Castle, enamelled with an attractive miniature after Raphael. The front is set with a cameo of St George and the Dragon within a ring of paste brilliants.

The Civil War

The twenty years between 1640 and 1660 wrought great havoc as far as jewellery was concerned. During the Civil Wars innumerable jewels were broken up in order to contribute towards the military chest of one side or the other; not only were all the Crown Jewels broken up and sold, but many private families sacrificed their jewels as well. Subsequently during the Commonwealth there were few commissions to produce fine jewels, and the craftsmen must have been hard put to it to find enough work to earn their bread. The Commonwealth did not, however, discontinue the long-established custom of rewarding foreign envoys with a fine jewel, and the few references to commissions given to jewellers in the State papers at this time refer to presents for diplomats. Charles II ran up heavy debts to the Royal jewellers, Francis and John Simpson, in respect of the cost of jewels presented to ambassadors. In a petition dated as early as February 1662 we find the firm of Simpson asking for the payment of the sum of £15,595 in respect of jewels supplied for the

King's Service. We do not, however, encounter such immense sums as were expended during the reign of Charles II's grandfather. In September 1658 the Protector paid £350 for a jewel for the French ambassador, and ten years later, in June 1668, Isaac le Gomme received £530 for a jewel, the destination of which was not specified.

Restoration fashion in jewellery

The absence of any progress in jewellery design during the Commonwealth becomes noticeable when one turns to the fashions of the Restoration (Pl. 90D). No change can be seen as against those of Charles I's reign. The beauties painted by Lely wear the same loose robes with deep decolletage, the same open sleeves, the same pearl necklaces and earrings as the generation which had sat to Van Dyck. The jewels in these Lely portraits are not painted with the careful detail that we find in the Elizabethan portraits. Their treatment was so far standardized that what appear to be the same jewels are represented in a whole series of portraits. The Restoration gave rise to a large trade in Stuart commemorative jewellery; lockets, rings, pendants, cuff-links and buttons were all produced with minute portraits of the Martyr King. Much of this jewellery, which was of quite low intrinsic worth, has survived to the present day, and it is by far the commonest type of English jewellery of the period existing. It owes its survival as much to its sentimental appeal as to its low value.

Though the lady of the latter years of the seventeenth century wore considerably less jewellery than would have been normal some fifty years before, it would not be correct to think that anything like the sobriety of the Puritan interlude had persisted. The oft-quoted lines from Evelyn's *Mundus Muliebris* or *Voyage to Marryland*, published in 1690, which gives a rhyming catalogue of a fashionable lady's toilet convey an idea of its extent:

> Firstly the chatelaine
> To which a bunch of onyxes,
> And many a golden seal there dangles,
> Mysterious cyphers, and new fangles.
>
> Diamond buckles too,
> For garters and as rich for shoe.
> A manteau girdle, ruby buckle,
> And brilliant diamond rings for knuckle.
>
> A sapphire bodkin for the hair,
> Or sparkling facet diamonds there:
> Then turquois, ruby, emrauld rings
> For fingers, and such pretty things;
> As diamond pendants for the ears
> Must needs be had, or two pearl pears,
> Pearl necklace, large and oriental
> And diamond, and of amber pale.[1]

The brilliant-cut

Evelyn refers to 'brilliant diamond rings', but it is not clear from the context whether he is referring to the 'brilliant-cut' or merely describing the effect of the precious stones. The 'brilliant-cut' (a double cone with its top truncated to form a flat, eight-sided table, the upper and lower slopes cut into a series of triangular facets) was invented by the Venetian, Vincenzo Peruzzi, about 1700, and it seems unlikely that Evelyn would already have been familiar with it. The importance of the discovery can hardly be exaggerated, for it transformed

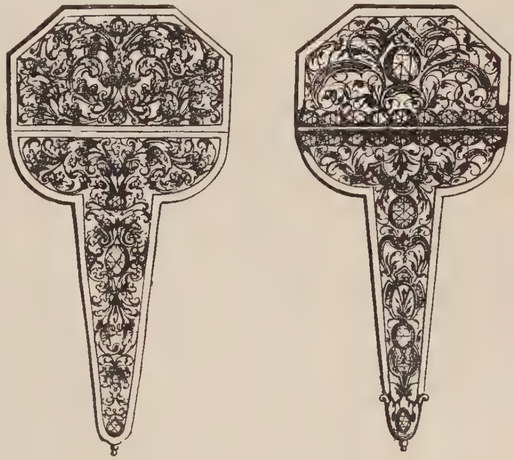


Fig. 2. Two designs for scissor cases, set with rose diamonds. From *A Book of Severall Jewellers Work* made by J. B. Herbst, London, 1710. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

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[1] One type of jewel not mentioned by Evelyn is the 'Brandebourg'. These were in fact frogs, copied from those worn by Polish gentlemen but executed in diamonds instead of in cord. A series of them graduated in size were worn down the front of the bodice.

the diamond and brought out its qualities to the full. It did not, however, by any means displace the rose-cut completely, and roses were still produced and set, though not in the most expensive jewels, throughout the eighteenth century.

During the first half of the seventeenth century enamel, either translucent or opaque, had been used to enrich the back of many jewels and also to add touches of colour to the front as well. Those jewels that were mainly composed of precious stones offered little scope for the enameller, but there was another type of jewel, including such objects as miniature and scissor cases (Figs. 1 and 2), scent-flasks and étuis, which was more suitable for enamelled ornament. An example is illustrated in Plate 89C; the painting of the flowers on the scissors case, though doubtless copied from a pattern book, is most effectively adapted to the space available.

Late Stuart jewels

Such pieces are, however, no more than by-products of the jeweller's art, and late Stuart jewellery must be judged by the major pieces which can now be studied only in portraits. The jewels are more remarkable for their large size than for their design; they usually consist of large square stones with pearls or smaller gems set at the angles. The portraits of ladies of the Charles II period show the rather uninteresting character of this late seventeenth century jewellery. This can scarcely have been due to lack of imagination on the part of the artists. Confirmation for the view that the jewellers were responsible can be found in the ledger of Sir Francis Child, who supplied jewellery to the Crown from 1689 to 1696. This ledger contains rough sketches of the various jewels that passed through his hands, and the designs seem excessively stereotyped.

To judge by the Royal accounts that have been preserved, the banking house of Child mainly supplied jewellery intended to be passed on as rewards for foreign ambassadors. Unfortunately the books give no details as to the appearance of these presents, but they do give the prices. For the most part, a ring costing between £200 and £400 was adequate, but the more important ambassadors received miniatures of the King and Queen set in jewelled frames and these were extremely costly. Thus five jewels with miniatures for the Dutch ambassadors in October 1689 cost £5,000, while two jewels for the Venetian ambassadors cost £1,600 in May 1696.

Looking back at the seventeenth century jewellery as a whole, one of the most remarkable features is the persistence of enamelled enrichment, in spite of the development of new methods of cutting precious stones and the increased range of effect obtainable with stones. It was not until the end of the century that enamel was finally banished to the back of the setting, and not until the eighteenth century that its use was generally abandoned.

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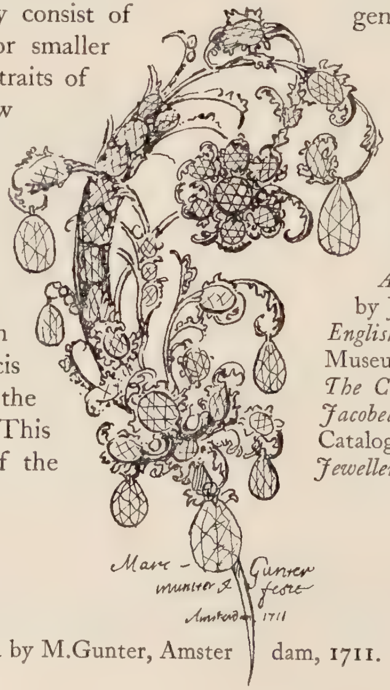


Design for an aigrette, signed by M.Gunter, Amsterdam, 1711. Röhsska Museum, Göteborg.

Music and Musical Instruments

Music and Musical Instruments

ROBERT DONINGTON

Early Stuart England musically an island

The chief musical development which coincided with the Stuart age in England first gathered impetus in Italy. It was a development in the art of writing music melodically, as opposed to contrapuntally.

Melody is itself a more ancient art than counterpoint. It is, so to speak, a primary art, whereas counterpoint is the secondary art of combining melodies. The combination results in harmony; but harmony can arise on other foundations than a contrapuntal foundation.

It is indeed perfectly possible to write music in which harmony plays no part at all. Primitive melody is of this kind. True folk music, which is by no means necessarily primitive, has usually remained devoid of harmonic implications.

Melody as we in the modern West conceive it, on the other hand, has harmonic implications whether we intend it or not. In all really harmonic music there is a pressure which one chord exerts in the direction of the next; and it is very often this harmonic pressure which is the essential driving force. The tune which seems to be taking us along is shaped by the chords and not the other way about.

The third force in music is rhythm; but this has the distinction of being necessary to both the other two, while they are not necessary to it. The length of notes in melody and the timing of chord changes in harmony are aspects of rhythm whose importance it would be impossible to exaggerate. But the beat of a drum can stir the heart without a suggestion either of melody or of harmony.

Now good tunes there have always been, that is obvious: what is perhaps less generally known is that tunes have been harmonized, in the straightforward sense of having chords added to them, long before the rather sophisticated technique of counterpoint. There is a fascinating early Stuart manuscript in the British Museum which gives unexpected evidence of this. It is a collection of Welsh music for the harp. The contents are older than the manuscript; some of them as old as the twelfth century, having been passed down as a jealous tradition of hereditary Bardic material. But the Welsh harp was a fashionable instrument at Court: after all, the Tudors had come from Wales; and the music was undoubtedly still in use when this copy of it was made, in about 1613.

What is so remarkable about this most unusual written collection of works in a style normally traditional, and for the most part long since forgotten, is that, as comes very naturally to the harp, the music is melody accompanied by good fat chords carefully spaced out for either hand. In other words, it is vertical harmony largely dating from a period at which the more old-fashioned histories of music still do not recognize that vertical harmony had been invented. But it had been invented: not, as the old-fashioned belief was, in the late sixteenth century as a derivative of the horizontal harmony produced by counterpoint, but demonstrably in the twelfth century when counterpoint was still something of a novelty; and inferentially far earlier when counterpoint was still to come. For the Bardic tradition of Celtic harp music at the time of these earliest surviving medieval specimens of it was already an art of the periphery, elbowed out of the main centres of European civilization. At the centre the novel art of producing harmony by weaving melodies together horizontally, i.e. contrapuntally, was all the fashion.

The block chords which were the harmony of the Celtic harpists and the interwoven melodies which were the harmony of the medieval contrapuntalists have nevertheless one essential characteristic in common. They never seriously modulate: they remain, as we should describe it, virtually in one key. There is plenty of urgent movement from one chord to the next; yet all this movement takes place around a stationary centre of tonal gravity.

It was the composers of the Renaissance who to the best of our belief first evolved the art of modulation. Little by little their chords began to progress not merely around a stationary centre of tonal gravity but around a centre which is in itself in motion. As we should describe it, they made a journey through the keys in course of the music. And all this they undeniably did by means of counterpoint.

By the sixteenth century the situation was that melody and harmony had been brought to a state of almost perfect balance. You could not say that the living tissue of contrapuntal melodies was itself moulded by the urgent movement of the harmony, as you can certainly say of the eighteenth century counterpoint of Bach or Handel. You could not say that the expressive requirements of the melody outshone the movement of the harmony in interest and significance, as you can say of the dramatic Italian music of the early seventeenth century. You could only say that the interest was evenly distributed – and not merely evenly distributed, but so blended that the pattern of melody and harmony is quite exceptionally unified.

This exceptional degree of unity and balance is not confined to the technical characteristics so far described. It extends throughout sixteenth century music, and in some ways throughout the sixteenth century mentality. Sacred and secular music, and for that matter high-brow and low-brow music, merged at their boundaries with an easy familiarity we in modern times are the poorer for having lost.

The relative unity of sixteenth century music had its geographical as well as its mental aspects. Our Tudor musicians as a whole lay in the main European stream. Tallis and Byrd compare with Palestrina or Lassus not only in merit, but also in style.

That is no longer the case with the Stuart music of the seventeenth century. During the first half of this century our musical situation was that of an island substantially, though not of course wholly, cut off from the mainland of European development. During the second half of the seventeenth century traffic was resumed across the Channel, though much more in the incoming than the outgoing direction. Our musical history then revolved around a series of more or less successful assimilations of continental influence, each somewhat paradoxically revealing the profound inner strength of our native tradition of music. Not until the death of Purcell did this tradition more than temporarily falter, and not until the English sojourn of the German-born but Italian-adapted Handel did our native genius for music pass into a long eclipse.

Modern technique in late renaissance music

Before tracing the two stages of our Stuart musical history in a certain amount of detail, let us consider what were the new factors in continental music – for present purposes almost synonymous with Italian music – which during the first half of the sixteenth century were substantially rejected by English musicians, though not so during the second half.

I have called them a development in the art of writing music melodically as opposed to contrapuntally. But since melody is much more ancient than counterpoint and even than harmony, the novelty of the development – and it really had elements of extreme novelty – clearly did not lie merely in the fact that the melody was made more significant and interesting than the harmony, and that the contrapuntal element was so exiguous as to become virtually non-existent. The novelty lay in a quite conscious and deliberate attempt to put both melody and harmony at the service of the human passions.

The attempt, of course, late though it arose in the history of the Renaissance, was a typically renaissance undertaking. The predominant music of the sixteenth century was sacred counterpoint: in so far as art can ever be called impersonal, the art of Palestrina is impersonal. A better description might be that it expresses as no other style of music has ever quite expressed the most numinous and universal of all the great archetypes deep within the human soul. The swift play of passion lies more visibly on the surface: in reality it is just as archetypal and its sources lie just as deep; but by contrast with the serenity of Palestrina, we can readily see that the quicksilver flexibility of Caccini, Peri, Monteverdi and the other pioneers of the Italian new music at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries stands for everything that historians of the Renaissance mean by Humanism.

Let us put it, then, that the new factors in the modern music of late renaissance Italy were first: melody of a singularly flexible yet unpretentious outline moulded to every outline, both phonetic and emotional, of a highly dramatic and expressive verbal text; and second: harmony of great simplicity, in a sense even of great crudeness, but also very often of quite extraordinary boldness, power and unexpectedness, equally subordinated to dramatic and expressive need.

All this arose at first from the ambition of a small and select circle of aristocrats and connoisseurs, together with their professional protégés, to recreate what they fondly imagined to be the musical style which accompanied the great mythological dramas of classical Greece – another and direct link, of course, with the renaissance ideal. What came Venus-like from a good deal of inevitable preliminary froth and foam was in fact the early Italian opera of Monteverdi; but that was only the most obvious and immediate outcome. No music, I think, could be of greater genius; but the style in its first form did not last long nor produce numerous masterpieces. On the other hand, the general influence of its particular brand of directly expressive melody and supporting harmony can hardly be exaggerated. It was the very germ-seed of the succeeding baroque period of music.

By far the most typical structure of a baroque work of music is a tuneful melody on top; a strong supporting bass-line at the bottom; and in between, the chords filled in so as to provide the harmony, but with a certain indifference as to the texture with which they do so, and not necessarily any contrapuntal working at all. Sometimes the melody itself may, as it were, go into duplicate: instead of one tune there are then two tunes, but more or less at the same pitch, and intertwining as they go along. This is, of course, technically a kind of counterpoint, but to the ear the effect is really that of a twin melody with the usual supporting bass-line and filled-in harmonies. This form, when for instruments, is known as the trio-sonata, the two melodic instruments and the bass instrument being separately counted to add up to three, but not the keyboard instrument which doubles the bass-line and fills in the harmonies.

The modern technique not characteristic of early Stuart music

Now let us turn to the English musical scene in 1603 as Elizabeth ended her long life and eventful reign, to be succeeded by the first of England's Stuart kings.

Who were then our most reputable musicians? There was Byrd, elderly but with much creative activity still in front of him, the doyen of English composers. There was Morley, already ailing; and Gibbons, young, but destined for a somewhat early death; there was Tomkins, in old age the last survivor of the post-Elizabethan school – he did not die until 1656. These were primarily vocal composers, though also very productive for the harpsichord and organ and to a lesser extent for viols. Between them they continued the Elizabethan tradition of sacred counterpoint, adding to it (particularly Gibbons) the new and rather less traditional verse-anthem, with its solo interludes. They founded and carried on our English variety of madrigal, an importation from Italy when there already on the verge of decline, but here acclimatized for a brief, belated and somehow unmistakably English decade or so of brilliant efflorescence. But they did not respond perceptibly to the Italian new music of Caccini, Peri and Monteverdi in its monodic development. They neither avoided counterpoint nor subordinated the musical texture to the words.

Nor did the men do so whose chief work lay with the secular madrigal, like Kirbye and Wilbye. Not even Dowland, Campion or Rosseter (composers whose music includes some of the world's great songs and whose Ayres have a most direct and flexible melody) chose to dispense with counterpoint in their accompaniments, which were played on the lute or on viols, sung by other voices, or given with a combination of these methods. In comparison with Byrd, or even with Gibbons, we may regard them as the modernists of late Elizabethan and early Stuart England; but even so they did not construct their music on the new Italian model.

At this same date, John Bull was establishing on the keyboard, like Dowland on the lute, an international reputation as a virtuoso instrumentalist. He composed perhaps the greatest of all the keyboard music of the great English school, to which Farnaby was meanwhile contributing some of the tenderest examples. This, too, was in a modern style, and one in which England actually excelled the Continent, but it is not the monodic style of Monteverdi, being, in fact, as elaborate in musical construction as it is effective in performance.

So, too, Giovanni Coperario – who was christened plain John Cooper – visited Italy at the turn of the century, and came home to enliven the Tudor chamber music of the viols with the classic grace of the Italian fantasias; but that had not much to do with the modern Italian style of the day, being, on the contrary, highly contrapuntal and in the best sense of the word abstract. His immediate successors were two Englishmen of genuinely Italian extraction. Thomas Lupo was a felicitous composer of loosely contrapuntal fantasies for viols; Alfonso Ferrabosco the Second was a very profound one, with a versatile idiom embracing great brilliance at the one extreme and a most intimate serenity at the other.

These Jacobeans were followed by two Caroline composers most interestingly contrasted. William Lawes was a tempestuous figure who got himself almost gratuitously killed at the siege of Chester in 1645. His inspiration, too, was tempestuous. In boldness of harmony he is one of music's perennial moderns – rather like Purcell, on whom his influence can be most clearly traced. He arrived at his romantic harmony through counterpoint of six parts in his finest fantasies for viols: just the opposite of the Italian monody which was modern music to his continental contemporaries. It is worth mentioning that this William had a brother Henry who was one of the few Englishmen actually to experiment with the monodic method; but he was a much lesser man, and neither his nor the other English experiments in this kind yet led very far.

John Jenkins was the opposite of William Lawes in every obvious way but degree of talent. A most equable man in private life, he lived on in his old age well into Purcell's time. His five-part fantasies for viols are many of them masterpieces in a warmly lyrical mood conveyed through graceful but resourceful counterpoint. His later works for violins show Italian influence and belong to the second phase of Stuart music rather than to the first.

We may sum up the story thus far as follows. The structure of all the important English music of the early seventeenth century remained in more or less degree traditionally contrapuntal: that is to say, from the viewpoint of the music of the future as it was already developing in Italy and elsewhere, old-fashioned. Yet the mood is somehow not old-fashioned at all: it is forward-looking. This forward-looking mood is conveyed chiefly in the harmony.

It was a most paradoxical position. Right down to Purcell's death the harmony of the best English music remained more striking, warm and feelingful than any on the Continent but the finest of the Monteverdi school. Yet even when the channels were fully opened up again later in the century, it was England which accepted the continental influence rather than the other way about. It was the characteristic of Stuart music as a whole – not excluding Restoration Stuart music – to be far more valuable in itself than as a legacy to the immediate future.

The amateur still well served in early Stuart music

The character of English society did not change with the death of Elizabeth. Certainly there were forces of disruption at work which were presently to break into open conflict; but on many levels Jacobean and Caroline England remained, what Elizabethan England had long become, an exceptionally united nation.

This was markedly the case between class and class. 'A follower of a great lord was wont to say', wrote John Robinson (*Observations*, 1625) 'that he had in effect as much as his lord, though he were owner of little or nothing, considering how he had the use of his lord's garden and galleries to walk in, heard his music with as many ears as he did, hunted with him in his parks, and ate and drank of the same as he did, though a little after him; and so for the most part of the delights which his lord enjoyed.' His lord's music might include a resident master of the stature of John Wilbye, for example, at Hengrave Hall, where surviving inventories of instruments point to everything from light music played professionally at meals, on the one hand, to lute songs, madrigals and viol consorts performed among the family, their friends and their relations, on the other.

This was, no doubt, an ideal setting; but the conditions for amateur music remained generally favourable in early Stuart England. And it must be realized that equal-voiced counterpoint has these great advantages for the amateur: each part is of equal interest; and none is of especial technical difficulty. The English fantasies for viols include some of the profoundest instrumental chamber music ever to be designed specifically for amateur enjoyment.

Although in many outward respects the viols are very similar to the violins, both families being string instruments played with the bow and of basically the same construction, their musical effect is decidedly contrasted. The viols are made of much thinner wood and are much more lightly strung. Their tone is consequently less robust; but it is singularly free and colourful. When several viols are played together, the sound of each is heard very distinctly from its neighbours. It is for this reason that they are so admirably suited to the contrapuntal chamber music of early Stuart and Commonwealth England. The viols were given preference over the violins so long as that style of chamber music remained fashionable.

Thomas Mace, a great teacher of the lute and the viol in his day (see Fig. 1, p. 162, and Pl. 94A), tells us something of the spirit in which he and his musical associates enjoyed their chamber music:

> 'We had for our Grave Musick, Fancies of 3, 4, 5, and 6 Parts to the Organ; Interpos'd (now and then) with some Pavins, Allmaines, Solemn, and Sweet Delightful Ayres; all which were (as it were) so many Pathettical Stories, Rhetorical, and Sublime Discourses; Subtil, and Accute Argumentations; so Suitable, and Agreeing to the Inward, Secret and Intellectual Faculties of the Soul and Mind; that to set Them forth according to their True Praise, there are no Words Sufficient in Language; yet what I can best speak of Them, shall be only to say, That They have been to my self (and many others) as Divine Raptures, Powerfully Captivating all our unruly Faculties, and Affections, (for the time) and disposing us to Solidity, Gravity, and a Good Temper; making us capable of Heavenly, and Divine Influences. ...
> And These Things were Performed, upon so many Equal, and Truly-Sciz'd Viols; and so Exactly Strung, Tun'd and Play'd upon, as no one Part was any Impediment to the Other. ...'

Apart from these grave and complex chamber works, which must always have appealed chiefly to amateurs with a strong inclination towards serious music, there was plenty of light, tuneful music being enjoyed both on the viols and the violins; on the lute, with its soft but extraordinarily sonorous and poetical tone; on the cithren, a brighter and more popular alternative to the lute; and on the brilliant harpsichord, which ranged from the smaller spinets and virginals up to the full double-manual instruments of 7 or 8 ft. in length (see Pls. 91A, 92). But to judge from the numbers of surviving manuscripts, no instrumental music had such vogue during most of the seventeenth century in England as the contrapuntal music of the

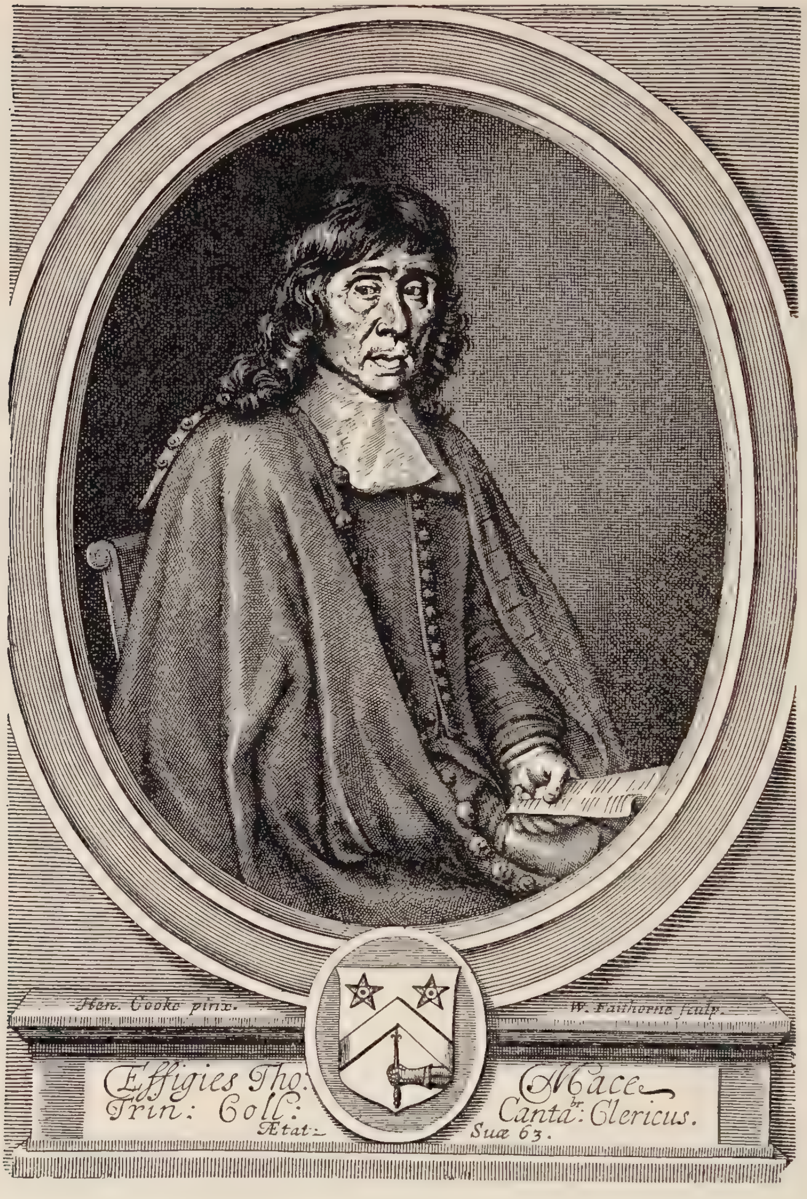

Hen. Cooke pinx.
W. Faithorne sculp.
Effigies Tho: Mace
Trin: Coll: Cantabr: Clericus.
Ætat: Suæ 63.

Fig. 1. Portrait frontispiece of Thomas Mace in his *Musick's Monument*, engraved by W. Faithorne. See also Plate 94A.

viols. Even as late as 1728 the septuagenarian Roger North was still nostalgically describing his youthful enjoyment of it, adding that:

> 'The fantazia manner held thro his reigne [*i.e.* through Charles I after James I] & during ye troubles & when most other good arts languished musick held up her head, not at Court nor (In ye cant of those times) profane theatres, but In private society, for many chose rather to fidle at home, then to goe out & be knockt on ye head abroad; and the enterteinment was much courted & made use of not only In country but citty familys, In which many of the Ladys were good consortiers and in this state was musick dayly Improving more or less till the time of (in all other respects But musick) the happy restauration.'

As the viols went out the violins came in; and it is not without interest that the first commercially organized concerts of which historians have record took place in London under the Commonwealth. The most unified age in English social history was passing away, and it seems more than a coincidence that the happiest of all ages for serious amateur musicianship was passing too.

The modern technique acclimatized in later Stuart music

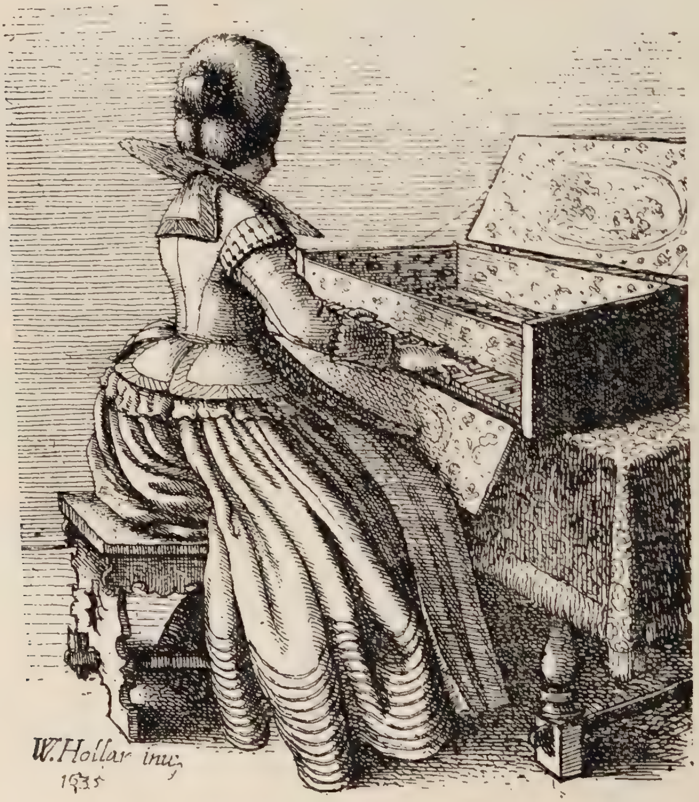
The split in English society, which was only latent under Elizabeth and no more than subterraneously preparing under the first two Stuarts, became an open rift in the Civil War, when father took arms against son and brother against brother until all that was best in our native spirit became divided. The great houses where the viols and the madrigals had flourished were largely ruined, their scions flocking to London at the Restoration in the attempt to restore their broken fortunes. The music of the cathedrals and the big parish churches had been actually prohibited under the Commonwealth, and a choral tradition once interrupted is not easily recovered. In other respects the Puritans were not in the least inimical to music; but the incidental disorganization was immensely so, and it is not surprising that new influences found a ready entry.

The first to arrive was naturally the French, since it was in France that Charles II had spent his most impressionable years. He liked music, we are told, to which he could wag his head in time; he had little use for counterpoint. He formed a French-style band of four-and-twenty violins, and sent young Pelham Humphrey to study French composition, which, though distinct from Italian, was a half-way house to it. The direct Italian influence was not long in following.

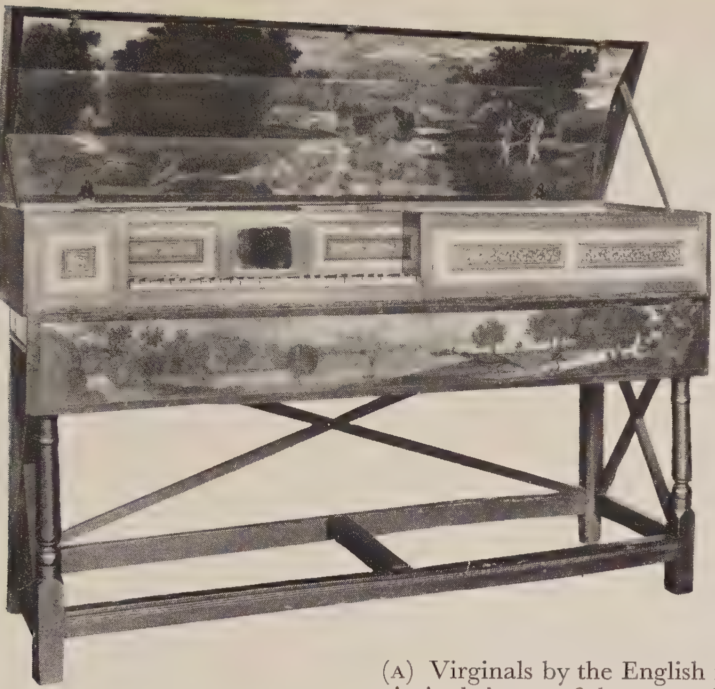
Yet the English tradition soon showed its power of recovery. The irascible Matthew Locke, one of the liveliest talents of the early Restoration, with some genuinely operatic music to his credit as well as much for instruments, roundly declared that he knew no foreign music worth an Englishman's copying save for a few French dances. He and the still more talented John Blow and others soon had English church music on its feet again. But it was English church music with a great difference. In place of equal-voiced counterpoint there were rousing tunes and choruses and brilliant accompaniments and instrumental interludes. The style was – there is no other word for it – operatic: operatic in the sense in which Italian opera had by then developed, which was some distance from the intimate yet impassioned style of Monteverdi. The grain was coarser; the effects were more obvious; the appeal was shallower but wider. Within these limitations much excellent music was composed.

It is against this background that we must set the supreme genius of Stuart music, and one of the supreme geniuses of the entire musical galaxy, Henry Purcell. Entering with a will into the frankly operatic style just described, he produced church anthems, welcome odes and the like, with the best of them; and fine compositions many of these are. He wrote many long songs and scenas like the famous *Blessed Virgin's Expostulation*, which are a blend of genuinely monodic declamation as by then developed in Italy, on the one hand, with jaunty Restoration rhythms and catchy melodies, on the other. He wrote some typical dance-suites for harpsichord. In *Dido and Aeneas* he gave English opera itself a send-off which it is one of the sad enigmas of history that we proved as a nation unequal to continuing at the time. In his solo violin sonata and his two great sets of trio-sonatas for two violins, gamba and keyboard accompaniment, he set himself deliberately, as he tells us in one of his own prefaces, to imitate the best Italian masters of his day; and he does so with masterly accomplishment; but it is not for this that these sonatas are so particularly interesting. What is most interesting about them, over and above their superb musical value, is once again their uncanny Englishness.

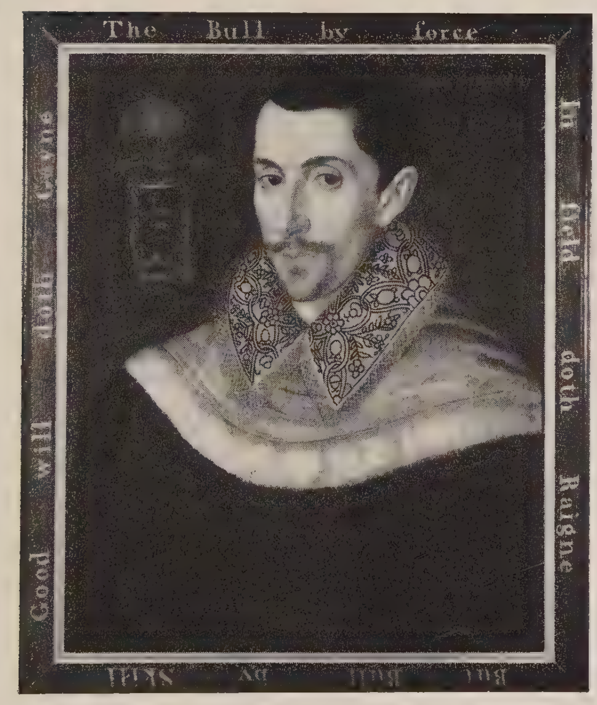
Purcell had studied the old English music of the great days before the Civil War, as his own autograph copies of some of its masterpieces show; indeed, the Tudor church music was to some extent being heard again. He himself wrote a series of splendid contrapuntal fantasies for viols in what was by then, even in England, a quite superseded technique; but he very shortly followed them with his first set of trio-sonatas in the modern Italian idiom. And here it is that we see the conditions of early Stuart music almost exactly reversed. For the form and structure of these trio-sonatas are up-to-the-minute in technique; it is their mood and their harmony which look back to the burning passion and intrepid freedom of Lawes and Dowland.



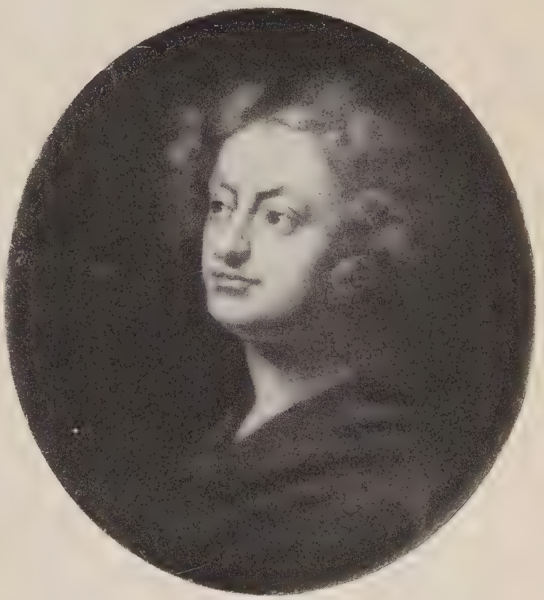
Lady playing a small portable virginals. From an engraving by Hollar, 1635.



(A) Virginals by the English maker John Loosemoore, 1655. The virginals is one of the two main forms of miniature harpsichord, the other being the spinet (see Pl. 92B). *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

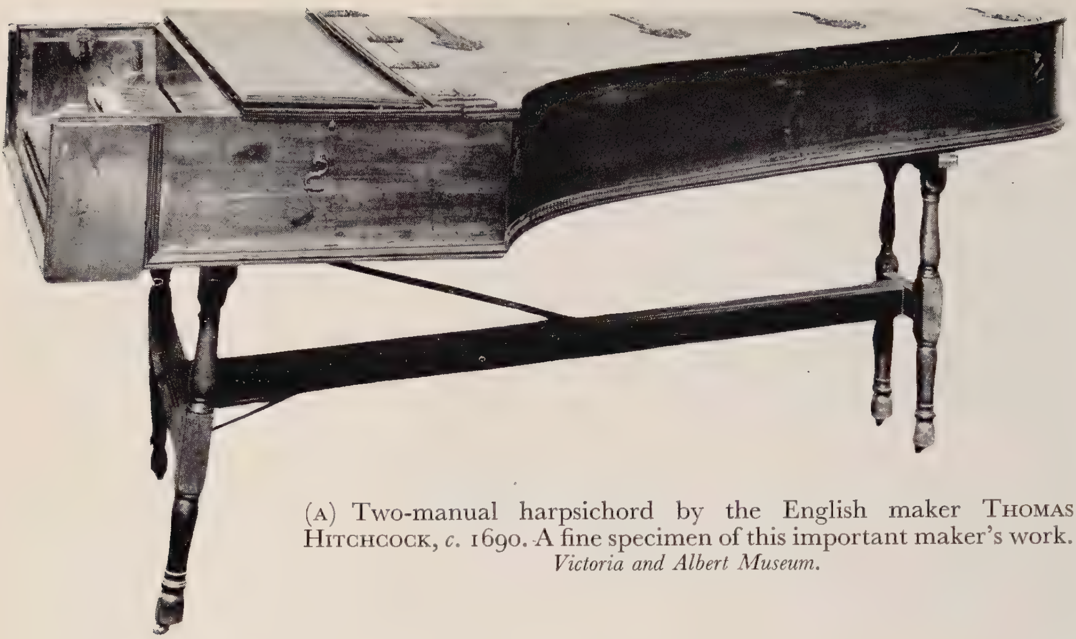

The Bull by force
In field doth Raigne
But Bull by Skill
Good will Gaine

(B) John Bull, by an unknown artist. *Faculty of Music, Oxford.*

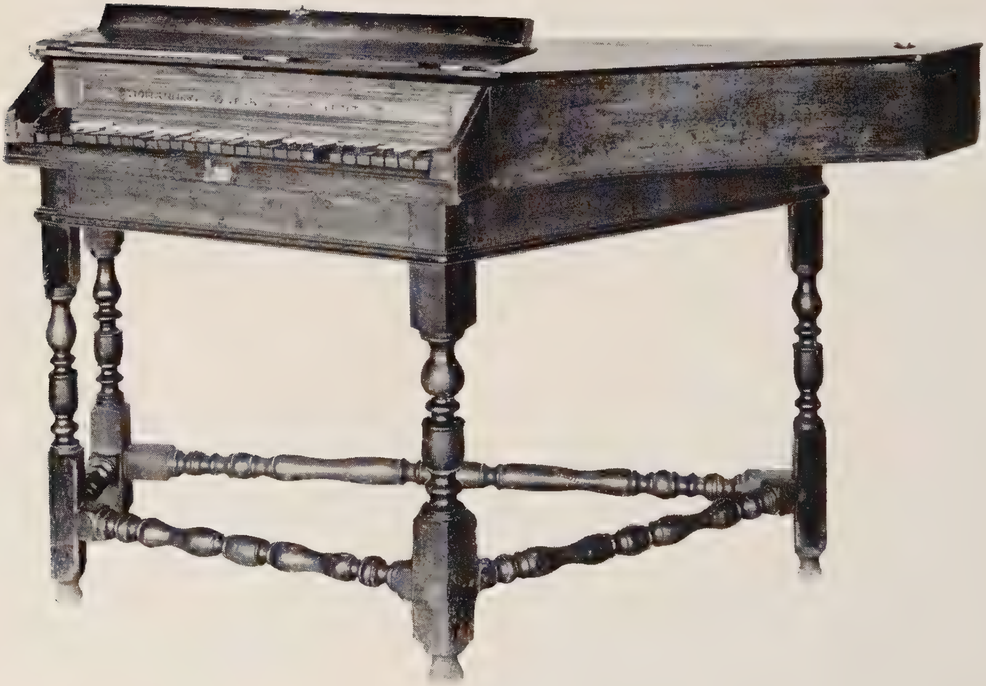


(C) Henry Purcell, 1659–1695, attributed to Kneller. *National Portrait Gallery.*

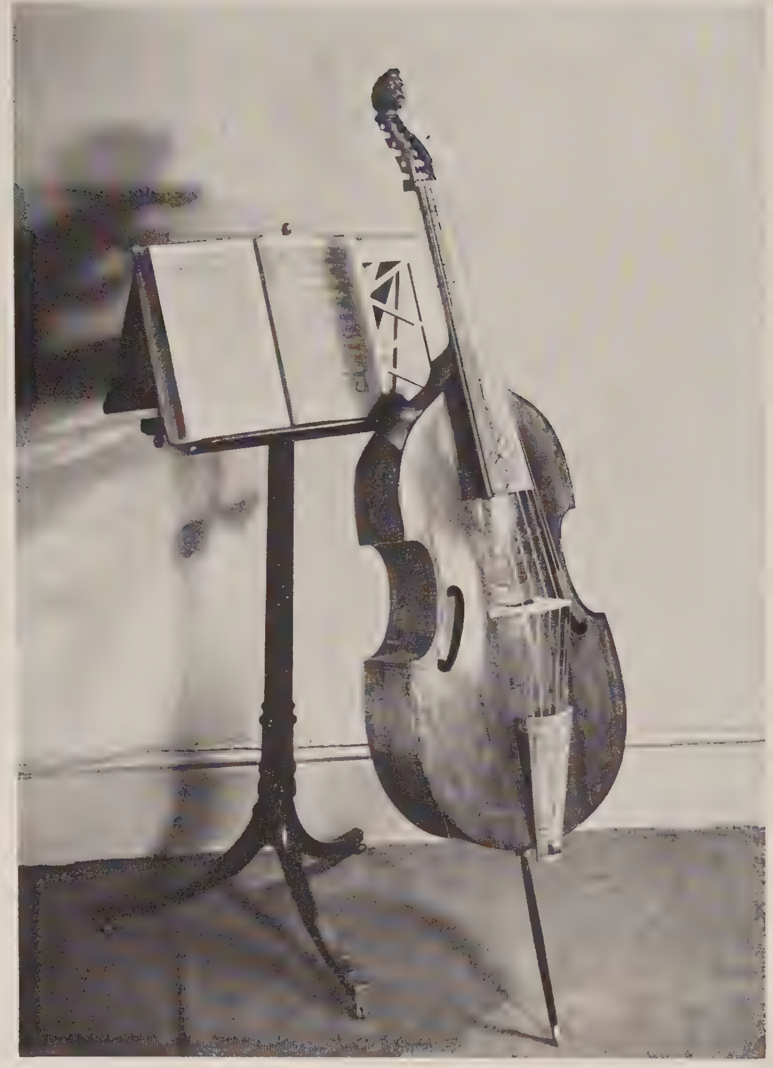
PLATE 91



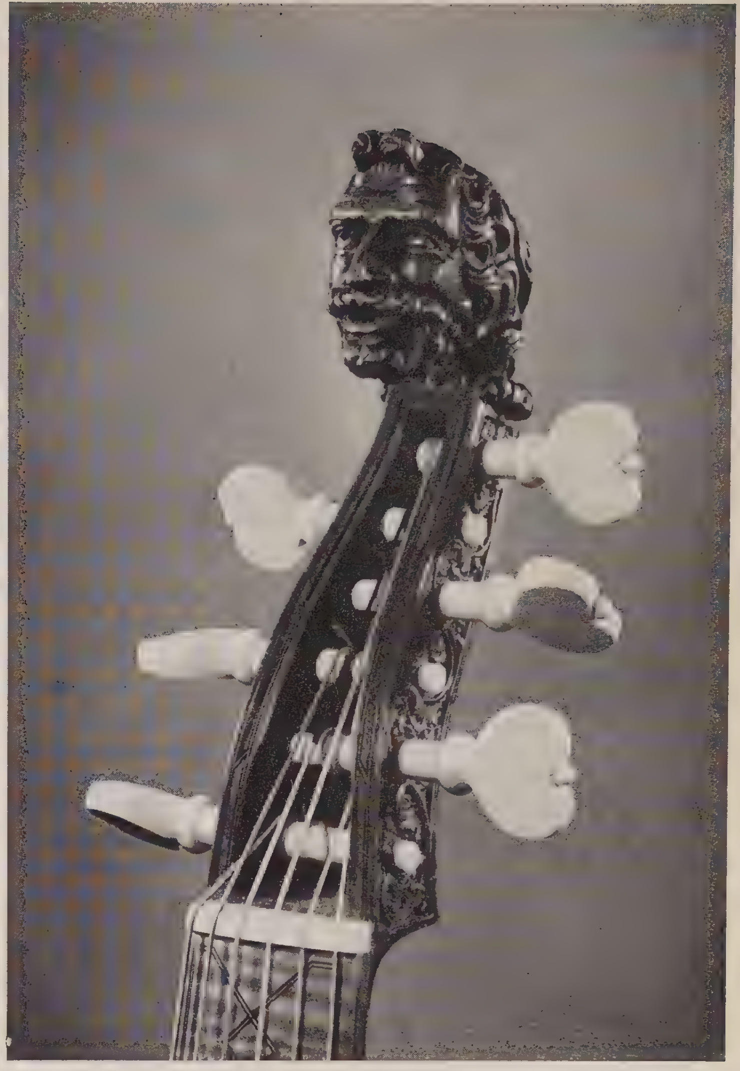
(A) Two-manual harpsichord by the English maker Thomas Hitchcock, *c.* 1690. A fine specimen of this important maker's work.
Victoria and Albert Museum.



(B) Spinet by the English maker John Player, *c.* 1680. See Pl. 91A.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

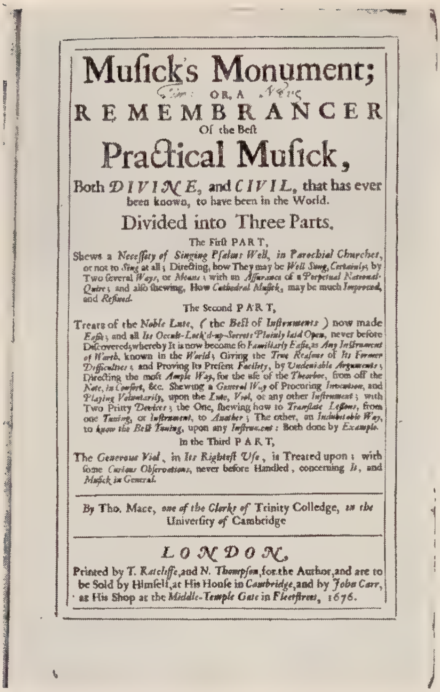


(A) Bass viol (viola da gamba), dated 1696, made in London by Barak Norman, the best and most famed English maker of viols. Still in regular concert use. *Author's Collection.*



(B) The carved head and peg-box of the Barak Norman gamba. The carved work is original; the ivory pegs are modern.

PLATE 93



Muſick's Monument;
OR, A
REMEMBRANCER
Of the Beſt
Practical Muſick,
Both *DIVINE*, and *CIVIL*, that has ever been known, to have been in the World.
Divided into Three Parts.

The Firſt PART,
Shews a *Neceſſity of Singing Pſalms Well, in Parochial Churches*, or not to *Sing* at all; Directing, how They may be *Well Sung*, *Certainly*, by Two ſeveral *Ways*, or *Means*; with an *Aſſurance* of a *Perpetual National-Quire*; and alſo ſhewing, How *Cathedral Muſick*, may be much *Improved*, and *Refined*.

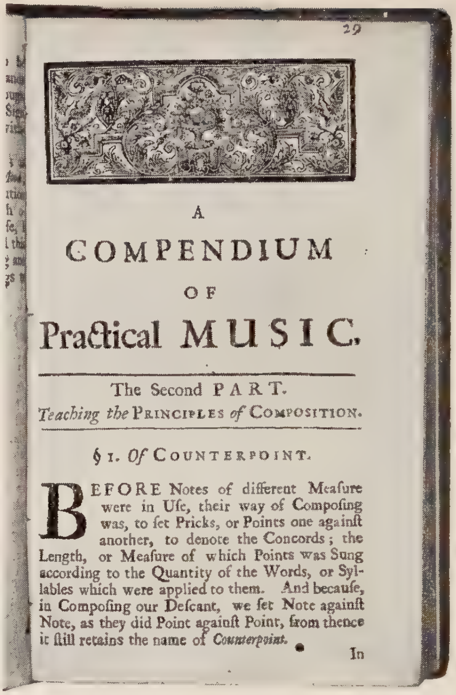
The Second PART,
Treats of the *Noble Lute*, (the *Beſt* of *Inſtruments*) now made *Eaſie*; and all *Its Occult-Lock'd-up-Secrets Plainly laid Open*, never before Diſcovered, whereby It is now become ſo *Familiarly Eaſie*, as *Any Inſtrument of Worth*, known in the *World*; Giving the *True Reaſons* of *Its Former Difficulties*; and Proving Its Preſent *Facility*, by *Undeniable Arguments*; Directing the moſt *Ample Way*, for the uſe of the *Theorboe*, from off the *Note*, *in Conſort*, &c. Shewing a *General Way* of Procuring *Invention*, and *Playing Voluntarily*, upon the *Lute*, *Viol*, or any other *Inſtrument*; with Two Pritty *Devices*; the One, ſhewing how to *Tranſlate Leſſons*, from one *Tuning*, or *Inſtrument*, to *Another*; The other, an *Indubitable Way*, to *know the Beſt Tuning*, upon any *Inſtrument*: Both done by *Example*.

In the Third PART,
The *Generous Viol*, in *Its Rightest Uſe*, is Treated upon; with ſome *Curious Obſervations*, never before Handled, concerning *It*, and *Muſick in General*.

By Tho. Mace, *one of the Clerks of* Trinity Colledge, *in the* Univerſity *of* Cambridge

LONDON,
Printed by T. *Ratcliffe*, and N. *Thompſon*, for the Author, and are to be Sold by Himſelf, at His Houſe in *Cambridge*, and by *John Carr*, at His Shop at the *Middle-Temple Gate* in *Fleetſtreet*, 1676.

(A) The title-page of one of the most extensive and valuable instruction books in the history of the lute and an important one for the viol (1676). Thomas Mace was a conservative musician, and his nostalgic account of the then declining chamber music of the viols is particularly informative. *Author's Collection.*



29

A
COMPENDIUM
OF
Practical MUSIC.

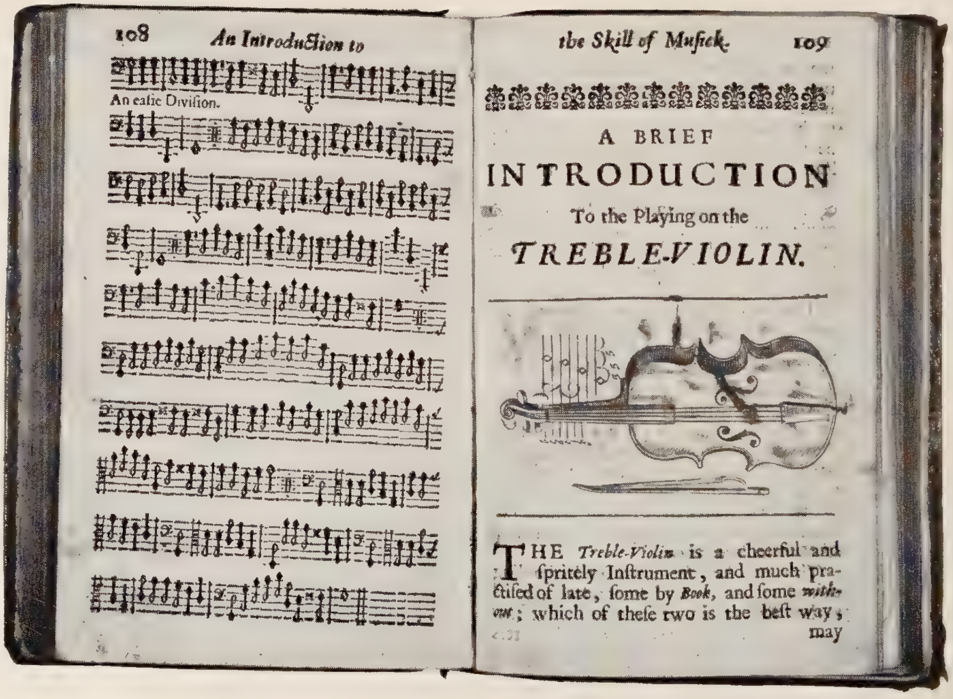
The Second PART.
Teaching the PRINCIPLES *of* COMPOSITION.

§ 1. *Of* COUNTERPOINT.

BEFORE Notes of different Meaſure were in Uſe, their way of Compoſing was, to ſet Pricks, or Points one againſt another, to denote the Concords; the Length, or Meaſure of which Points was Sung according to the Quantity of the Words, or Syllables which were applied to them. And becauſe, in Compoſing our Deſcant, we ſet Note againſt Note, as they did Point againſt Point, from thence it ſtill retains the name of *Counterpoint*.

In

(B) A page from Christopher Simpson's *Compendium of Practical Music* (1667), a straightforward and unacademic musical treatise of the mid-seventeenth century. Simpson was probably the most celebrated virtuoso performer of his day on the bass viol (viola da gamba). *Author's Collection.*



108 *An Introduction to*

An eaſie Diviſion.

the Skill of Muſick. 109

A BRIEF
INTRODUCTION
To the Playing on the
TREBLE-VIOLIN.

THE *Treble-Violin* is a cheerful and ſpritely Inſtrument, and much practiſed of late, ſome by *Book*, and ſome *without*; which of theſe two is the beſt way, may

(C) Two pages from Playford's elementary but useful treatise on music (1654) etc.; the left-hand is *An Easie Division* (i.e., set of variations); the right-hand speaks for itself, but the representation of instrument and bow is crude and inexact. *Author's Collection.*

PLATE 94

Bookbinding and Printing

6

Bookbinding

HOWARD M. NIXON

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the majority of the books in an English library would be bound in limp vellum. This grew unfashionable, however, and by the end of the century sheep or calf was almost always used. Except for pamphlets, which were stitched in paper wrappers, full binding was the rule, although the library of Samuel Pepys, who died in 1703, contains some attractive half-bound books with patterned paper sides.

The reigns of the first two Stuarts saw English decorative bookbinding beginning to develop specifically national characteristics. The period has not yet been closely studied, and little is known about the London binders of these reigns. John and Abraham Bateman were appointed binders to King James I, but the extant bills for the Royal Library and that of Henry Prince of Wales for the first fifteen years of the seventeenth century are for bindings supplied by John Norton and Robert Barker. Both Norton and Barker were important booksellers and printers, and we have no evidence (though it is not impossible) that either possessed his own binding staff.

The first sign of change in the new century was the introduction of new materials. In Elizabethan England the majority of the finest bindings had been executed in embroidered fabrics, the Queen herself having a marked taste for velvet bindings. Elaborate gold-tooled leather bindings were not very common and had always been of calf. At the beginning of James I's reign, morocco, in various shades of brown and green, began to replace calf for the best work and gold-tooled limp vellum also became popular. The normal design at the start of the reign was still that misnamed 'Lyonese', with large centre- and corner-pieces blocked in a press, which had been in common use all over Europe for the previous quarter of a century. The centre ornament often consisted of arms, as on most of the royal bindings of James I's reign, or of a cartouche containing a badge or initials, as on bindings by Williamson of Eton, some of which have Queen Elizabeth's falcon badge and others the initials of Sir Charles Somerset. The corner ornaments were usually of formal design and semi-circular or L-shaped, although on the standard library bindings executed for Henry Prince of Wales in about the year 1610 they were replaced by huge and rather ugly lions, fleurs-de-lis, roses and ostrich feather badges.

At the start of the century small tools were largely confined to the portions of the covers not decorated by the centre- or corner-pieces where a diaper or 'semis' was formed by a single tool such as a thistle or fleur-de-lis. Some of the presentation bindings in the library of Prince Henry, who died in 1612, however, have corner ornaments made up of small tools, and from about 1620 onwards their use greatly increased. French influence still persisted in the designs of some London bindings which were direct, if not very close, imitations of the Paris 'fanfare' bindings with interlacing ribbons outlining small compartments of varied shapes. Simultaneously, however, distinctively English bindings began to appear with the addition to the earlier centre- and corner-piece design of an outer frame, usually decorated with repeated impressions of large tools, the most common being wedge-shaped blocks of conventional foliage ornament (Pl. 95A). This style flourished in the 1630's with the centre- and corner-pieces of the panel within the frame gradually being replaced by small tools similarly arranged or by a lozenge-shaped band of ornament recalling a favourite arrangement of blind-tooled rolls on London bindings of the sixteenth century. A diaper of small tools over the whole cover was also frequently employed in the 1630's, some of the designs evidently copying French models, but a distinctively English variation being found with alternations of small lozenges and slightly larger circles, each containing a small floral tool. Another repeating pattern, with a series of gold-tooled rectangles placed one inside another like Chinese boxes, was used mainly on Cambridge work, but the most typical Cambridge bindings of the 1630's still have the decoration concentrated on a central circle and quarter circles at the corners. The best of these bindings are probably the work of Henry Moody and Daniel Boyse. They used a number of distinctively Cambridge tool-patterns only found elsewhere on the amateur work of Nicholar Ferrar's female relations at Little Gidding, who were taught by a Cambridge bookbinder's daughter 'that bound rarely'. Onlays of different coloured leather appeared on some white vellum bindings of the late 1630's which may also be Cambridge work, and in the next decade coloured onlays and tools engraved *au pointillé* (i.e. with a dotted outline) began to infuse variety and grace into the better class work.

Surprisingly enough, the supposedly drab days of the Commonwealth period saw the growth of the use of brighter-coloured moroccos, particularly the red 'Turkey leather' which was to prove so popular for the next hundred and fifty years. A Cambridge binder, who was probably John Houlden, and the Londoners Stephen and Thomas Lewis of Shoe Lane and Henry Evans of Wood Street, were producing by 1660 polychrome bindings with onlays of coloured leather which clearly foreshadowed the glories of the Restoration period – the greatest age in the history of English bookbinding. From 1660 until the end of the seventeenth century the best bindings from London, Oxford and Cambridge were unrivalled in Europe for originality and charm, variety and gaiety. Many of the tools used were clearly copied from French originals, and the tooling was never quite as good as that of the best French finishers of the day. Some French influence persisted also in design, echoes of the 'fanfare' style still being found on some English bindings of the 1670's and 1680's. The majority of the designs, however, were new and distinctively English. The rectangular panel, often with onlaid corner-pieces of leather of contrasting colour, was fashionable at the time of Charles II's return, and continued in use to the end of the century. Possibly inspired by designs on Persian rugs, it was being used by Fletcher in 1661 on a Prayer Book bound for the future King James II and in the last fifteen years of the century by Richard Balley, a binder who, in Bagford's words, 'hath contrived to bind a book that at sight you could not know the fore-edge from the back, both being cut and gilded alike' (Pl. 96B – an example with a normal back).[1]

The most characteristic design of the Restoration period, however, and one that is peculiarly English, is the so-called 'Cottage style' (Pl. 95B). In this the central panel is no longer rectangular, but has a broken pediment at head and foot. The name is based on a vague resemblance to the roof of a cottage with overhanging gables, but the broken pediment was a favourite architectural motif of the period, particularly on carved woodwork. It probably made its first appearance on another binding by Fletcher, the copy of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* presented by the Stationers' Company to King Charles II in 1660, but the majority of the more elaborate 'cottage' bindings seem to come from the shop of Samuel Mearne. Mearne (to whom in the past all bindings of this period have been uncritically attributed) was one of the leading members of the Stationers' Company and a wealthy stationer and bookseller. He had, however, been apprenticed to a bookbinder and there is no doubt that he had binders working in his shop. Two of his apprentices, William Willis and Robert Steele, subsequently became master binders, and we learn from Bagford not only that one Suckerman 'perhaps one of the best workmen that ever took tool in hands ... commonly worked for Mr. Mearne', but also that Richard Balley who 'contrived' the backless bindings, was trained under Suckerman 'at Mr. Mearne's'. Balley occasionally used the 'cottage style' himself, as did Roger Bartlett, a native of Oxfordshire who learned his trade in London, but returned to pursue a somewhat chequered career in Oxford after the Great Fire. To him may be safely attributed a very homogeneous group of bindings which usually have a number of *pointillé* volutes disposed along the pediments.

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[1] John Bagford, who died in 1716, compiled some notes (now in the British Museum) on the history of bookbinding in which he refers to a number of the leading English binders of his day.

Equally characteristic and numerous are the bindings in the 'all-over' style decorated with repeating patterns of 'drawer-handle' tools. These tools are also architectural in origin, being no doubt suggested by an Ionic capital. The finest bindings with this design have been attributed to an unidentified craftsman, termed the Queens' binder, but they appear to come from several shops employing close copies of one another's tools and working in this manner between about 1670 and 1690 (Pl. 96A). Similar in style, but more easily distinguished, are the tools used by another anonymous craftsman, the so-called 'Devotional binder', which were larger and bolder in outline and included a characteristic sunflower and an unusual tubby little bird.

Thanks to Bagford's notes on the bookbinders of the day, compiled for his projected history of printing and the book trade, and the notes on his bookbinders to be found in Dunton's *Life and Errors*, more information has been available in the past on this period than on any earlier and many subsequent ones. The names of eighty-two binders appended to the 1669 agreement on the prices of binding, together with Mr Ellic Howe's researches in the records of the Stationers' Company, have further increased our knowledge. In addition to the names already mentioned, we can identify the work of Mearne's erstwhile apprentice, Robert Steele, and there is a group of bindings which include in their tooling a vase decorated with a leopard's head which may be safely assigned to Alexander Cleeve. On the other hand, although Nott, whose work was much admired by Pepys, is known to have been Clarendon's binder, the existing bindings with the Clarendon arms appear to be presentation bindings from a number of different shops; there is only one binding very doubtfully attributed to Baker, binder to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and we know nothing that can be connected with Tatnam, classed by Bagford with Nott among 'others that have deserved well and ought to be remembered in after ages'. It is among these names, perhaps, that we shall identify eventually those responsible for the best bindings of the 'Queens' binder' group, the work of the 'Devotional binder' and that of the 'Naval binder', which includes some of the finest English bindings of that or any other age.

Printing

RUARI McLEAN

There is no great English printer during the Stuart period, for the times did not allow it. English printing during the seventeenth century was poor in quality, hardly profitable, and heavily persecuted.

In 1586 the Star Chamber had decreed that no new printing press was to be set up 'till the excessive multitude of Printers having presses already set up, be abated' – and no printing was allowed anywhere in the provinces, except at Oxford and Cambridge; a degree of censorship without parallel in any other country, which was maintained for almost the whole century.

In 1615, by a Stationers' Court decree, only twenty-two printers were allowed in London. In 1637 a Star Chamber decree enacted that when vacancies arose, new master printers could only be appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London; and a new press could not be constructed without official sanction. At this time twenty-three printers and four foundries were permitted in London. The number of printers gradually increased, during the Civil War and Interregnum, until in 1660 Sir Roger L'Estrange wrote that there were sixty printers in London, and the number ought to be reduced to twenty. This he was soon able to set about implementing, when he was appointed 'Surveyor of the Imprimery and Printing Presses'; he made one less, for example, when John Twyn was hanged, drawn and quartered for printing *A Treatise on the Execution of Justice*. L'Estrange's ravages were followed by those of the Plague (1665) and the Fire (1666), which ruined many in the book trade.[1] Nevertheless, in 1662 York became the fourth place in England where printing was permitted.

In addition to censorship, there was a system of monopolies in the different kinds of printing, which made the monopoly-holding printers themselves interested in restriction. None of these conditions was conducive to good printing.

Copper-plate engraving

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of Stuart book-production in general is the copper-plate title-plate. After 1600, for about a hundred years, nearly every English book had to have one; and the woodcut title-page characteristic of Elizabethan books disappeared. These engraved title-pages are comparable to modern book-jackets, and, indeed, many of them have been adapted for that purpose during recent years. A selection of them is shown in A. F. Johnson's *A Catalogue of Engraved and Etched English Title-pages ... to ... 1691* (Oxford 1934): but many of the best are not by English artists, or are copies of designs which first appeared in earlier, foreign editions (see Pl. 97).

No English-born engraver of the first rank emerges during the Stuart period; but England was fortunate in receiving the great Czech engraver Wenceslaus Hollar. He had left his native Prague as a refugee from war and oppression in 1627, and came to England in 1637 in the service of Thomas Howard, the Duke of Norfolk and Earl-Marshal. As a protégé of the Court circle, Hollar moved back to Amsterdam in 1644, but returned to London in 1652, where he died in 1677. Perhaps the best-known of his work is his bird's-eye views of London before and after the Great Fire, and his engraving of Ogilby and Morgan's Survey made immediately after the Fire. His views of Windsor, Richmond, Greenwich, Albury in Sussex (where Howard had his country seat), Hull and, above all, London and Westminster, are of exquisite beauty and verisimilitude.

Hollar, whose output was prolific and of great variety, does not seem to have produced any books of engravings like, for example, the books of bird's-eye views of Oxford (1675) and Cambridge (*c.* 1690) by David Loggan, the *émigré* from Danzig who was certainly inspired by Hollar's style.

At the beginning of the Stuart period the general style of engraved title-pages was conventional and architectural. The doorway, or arch, was the obvious way to provide an imposing frame for the title of the book. Well-known examples are Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Politie* (1611), Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612), and Ben Jonson's *Workes* (1616), all engraved by William Hole, and Raleigh's *History of the World* (1614), engraved by Renold Elstrack. This style sometimes degenerated into an overloading of ornamentation which surpassed the worst efforts of the Victorians, and was in addition complicated with symbolism that was often highly obscure even to those who were expected to understand it.

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[1] See H. R. Plomer, *A Short History of English Printing*, London 1900, p. 207, where L'Estrange is quoted as writing that 80 printers died of the Plague; but only eight printers are said to have been actually ruined by the Fire.

There were, however, plenty of other ideas in title-page design: for example, Francis Bacon's *Instauratio Magna* (1620), engraved by Simon van de Passe, shows two free-standing columns through which a ship is sailing; and *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet* (1630), engraved by Thomas Cockson, has its title lettering displayed on a small sail tied between two oars.

In the second half of the century the composition of the engraved title-pages became freer. The famous title-page to Hobbes's *Leviathan*, unsigned (1651), is formal but no longer architectural, and the designer has used an arrangement which gives him full scope for an imaginative picture of the royal Leviathan (the body ingeniously formed from a crowd of his subjects) rising over a landscape which is not English – probably because it was drawn by a French or Dutch artist while Hobbes was on the Continent.

Hollar engraved (but he may not have designed) some of the most attractive title-pages of the period. His title-pages for *An Embassy ... to ... China* (1673), and Ogilby's *Britannia* (1675), are straightforward illustrations, in a style recaptured and transmuted by the late Rex Whistler. Another illustrative title-page is that in Scarron's *Comical Romance of a Company of Stage Players* (1676), which vividly portrays a performance by strolling players on a temporary stage. It is by William Faithorne, who had been a pupil of Hollar's, and in whose house Hollar lived when he first returned from Antwerp in 1652.

Copper-plates, besides being used for title-pages, were also frequently used for head- and tail-pieces, and initial letters in the text. But a copper-plate cannot be printed at the same time, or even on the same press, as type: every sheet with such an illustration must be put through a different press, which greatly increases the cost. Copper-plate engravings are also sometimes open to criticism on artistic grounds, as not harmonizing with the pages of a book printed from type. They can always be identified by the mark of the plate, unless this has been trimmed off.

The writing-masters

It is perhaps surprising that the writing-masters, or scriveners, did not influence book or type design during the Stuart period. No publisher, apparently, employed a penman to design a simple and purely calligraphic title page; yet many of the writing-masters were men of outstanding artistic and intellectual ability.

Our knowledge of the Stuart writing-masters owes much to Samuel Pepys' interest in the subject: he made an alphabetical list of sixty-four writing-masters alive in England (mostly in London and Westminster) in 1699, and collected specimens of English and foreign calligraphy which are now in the Pepysian Collection in Magdalene College, Cambridge. Pepys knew the prolific Edward Cocker (1631–76), the writing-master whose name is perpetuated in the phrase 'according to Cocker' from the best-selling *Cocker's Arithmetick*, of which, however, Cocker was not probably the author.[2] Cocker was one of the ablest penmen of his day in England, and published at least twenty-four copybooks, which were printed from copper-plates (see Figs. on pp. vii, 106, 180).

Printing the Bible

The greatest technical achievement of the London printing trade during the seventeenth century was the Polygot Bible, (1654–57), edited by Brian Walton; a work of enormous complexity, since each opening presents 'some ten or more versions of the same passage ... so set that each comprehends exactly the same amount of text'.[3] It was printed by Thomas Roycroft in six folio volumes, in about four years; and although the Plantin Polyglot of 1572 and the Paris Polyglot of 1645 are far handsomer, the London Polyglot is said to be the best arranged and of the most use to scholars, which was, after all, its chief function. The Polyglot Bible was published, apparently successfully, by subscription. It is stated by T.B. Reed that the price was £10, and that £9,000 was subscribed four months before the first volume was put to press; the cost of the six volumes being £7,500, and the number of each volume printed about 1,000.

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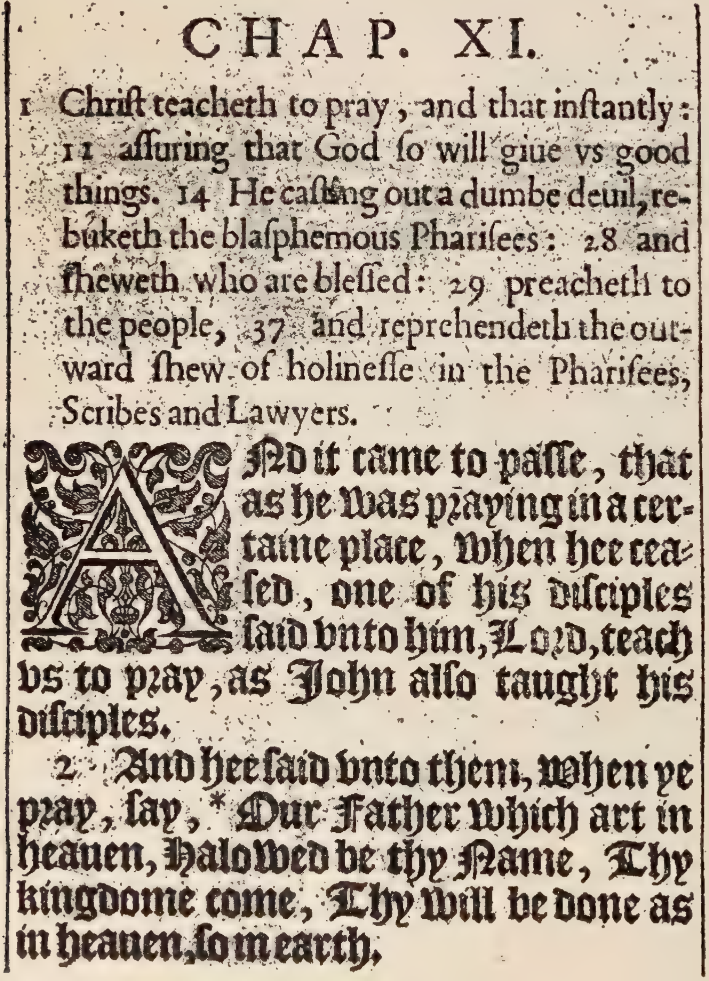
[2] See Sir Ambrose Heal and Stanley Morison in *The English Writing Masters and Their Copy-Books*, Cambridge, 1931.

[3] T.B. Reed and A. F. Johnson, *The Old English Letter Foundries*, London, 1952.

Mention must be made of the first publication, in 1611, of the King James version of the Bible, still today the 'Authorized', and the most popular text. It was a folio, printed by Robert Barker, the King's Printer, and may be supposed to represent the best London printing of the time, although the King's Printer had then no competition. The text is set in black-letter (Fig. 1), with interpolated words, notes and headlines in roman. It is a plain and open page, but shows little sense of typographic artistry. It has a fine engraved title by an Antwerp-born engraver, whose only known work in England this is; and some pages contain woodcut embellishments.



CHAP. XI.

1 Chriſt teacheth to pray, and that inſtantly: 11 aſſuring that God ſo will giue vs good things. 14 He caſting out a dumbe deuil, rebuketh the blaſphemous Phariſees: 28 and ſheweth who are bleſſed: 29 preacheth to the people, 37 and reprehendeth the outward ſhew of holineſſe in the Phariſees, Scribes and Lawyers.

And it came to paſſe, that as he was praying in a certaine place, when hee ceaſed, one of his diſciples ſaid vnto him, Lord, teach vs to pray, as Iohn alſo taught his diſciples.

2 And hee ſaid vnto them, When ye pray, ſay, * Our Father which art in heauen, Halowed be thy Name, Thy kingdome come, Thy will be done as in heauen, ſo in earth.

Fig. 1. *Left.* Part of a column from The King James Bible of 1611 (actual size).

Black-letter was still the more formal and 'important' type-face, generally used for the Bible, official proclamations and legal works. But roman type was already the type-face for literature and such ordinary matter as news-sheets and pamphlets. Roman was used, for example, for the first printing of Shakespeare's plays in 1594 (by a pirate publisher), the quartos and the First Folio in 1623. Typographically, the first Folio is finer than most volumes of its period,[4] and its title-page, with type as well as engraving, is unusual.

If the King's Printer had no competition in Bible-printing in 1611, it was not long that he had to wait. The opposition came from Oxford and Cambridge, where a constant battle was waged during the whole century with the Stationers' Company of London over printing and publishing privileges, of which the Bible privilege was the most valuable. Cambridge produced its first Bible in the Authorized King James version in 1629, and Oxford not until 1675; yet the right of the Universities to print the Bible was contested by the Stationers' Company all the time. The Oxford side of the dispute is fully described in John Johnson and Strickland Gibson's *Print and Privilege at Oxford to the year 1700*.[5] Around 1680 there was a price war between Oxford and London which brought the prices of Bibles down to less than half of what they had been and greatly increased the number of Bibles in circulation 'to the great benefit of Souls, and their advantage in Christian Knowledge', as a hopeful contemporary wrote.

In the latter half of the century Oxford printing had a champion who brought to England types whose value is perhaps only now being fully realized. This was Dr John Fell, Dean of Christ Church, Bishop of Oxford and from 1666 to 1669 Vice-Chancellor of the University. Besides promoting and upholding the rights of the University

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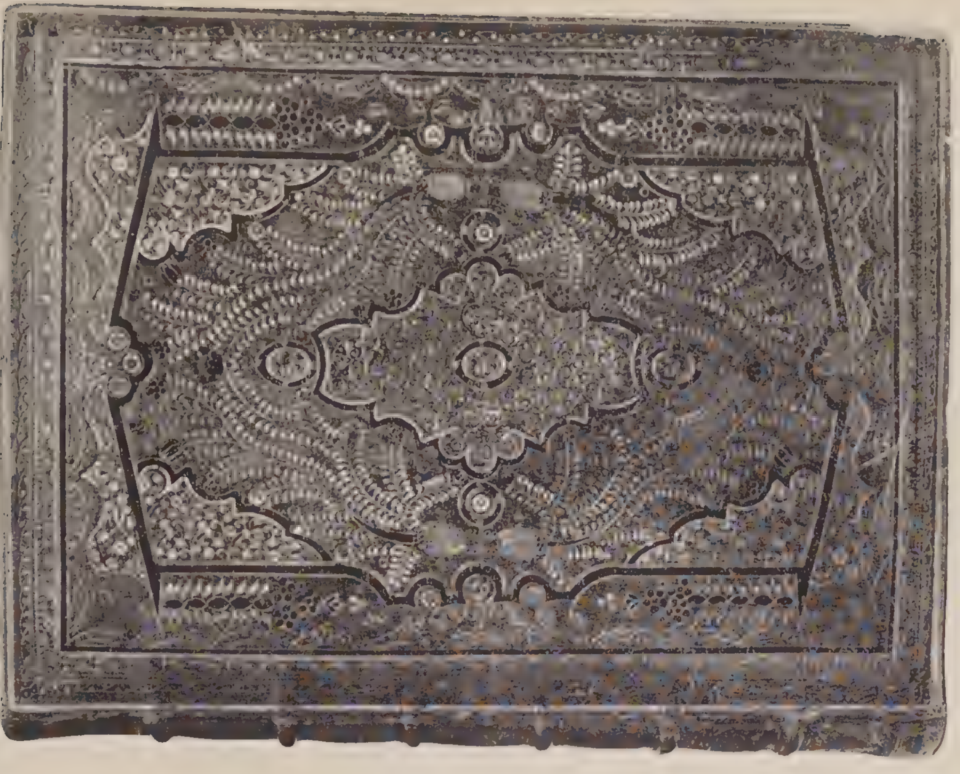
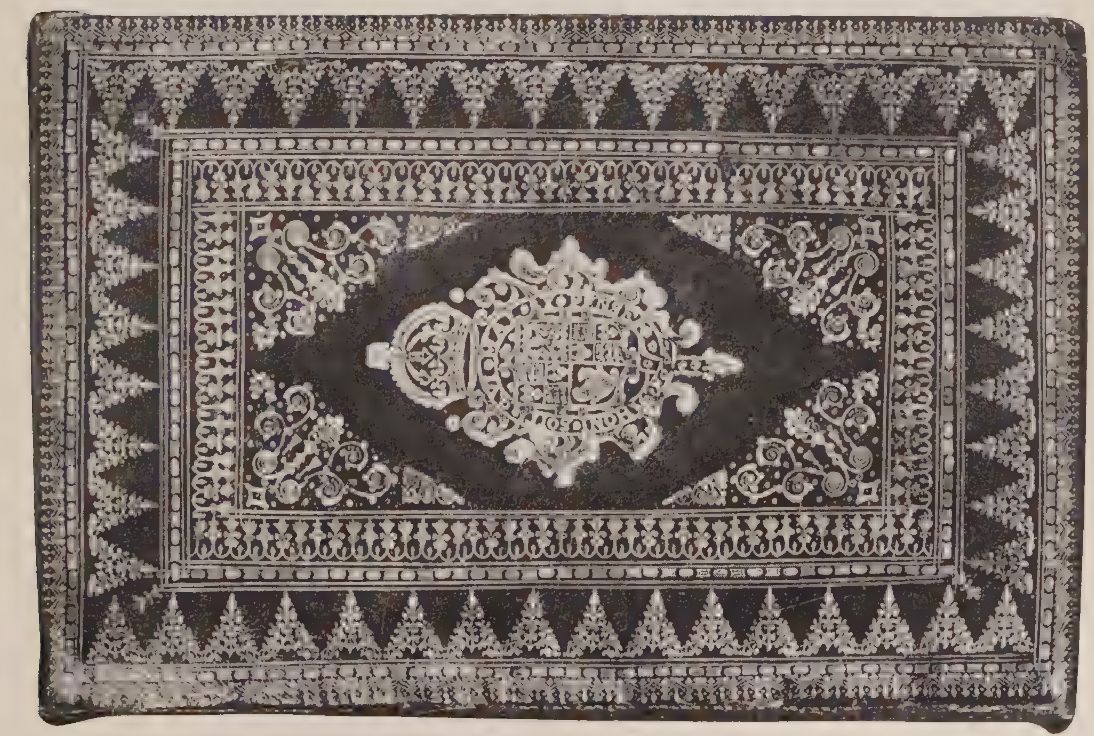
[4] See A. Sampson, 'The Printing of Shakespeare's Plays', *Signature* 15, New Series, 1952.

[5] Oxford, 1946.

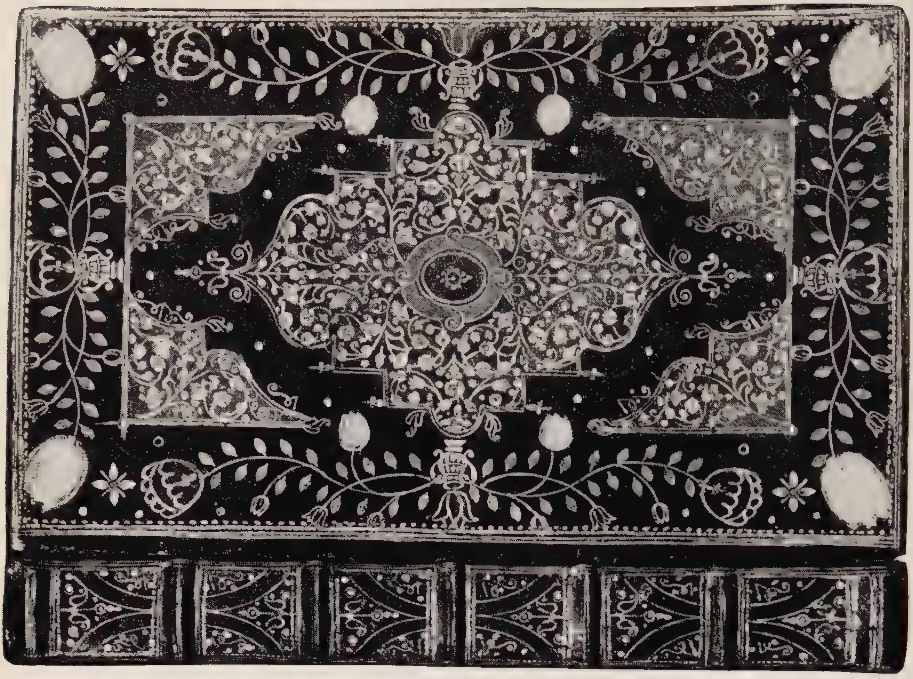


(B) A 'cottage style' binding attributed to SAMUEL MEARNE, *c.* 1680. *Book of Common Prayer* and *Holy Bible*, London, 1678. Red morocco, gold-tooled, with details in black paint. *British Museum.*

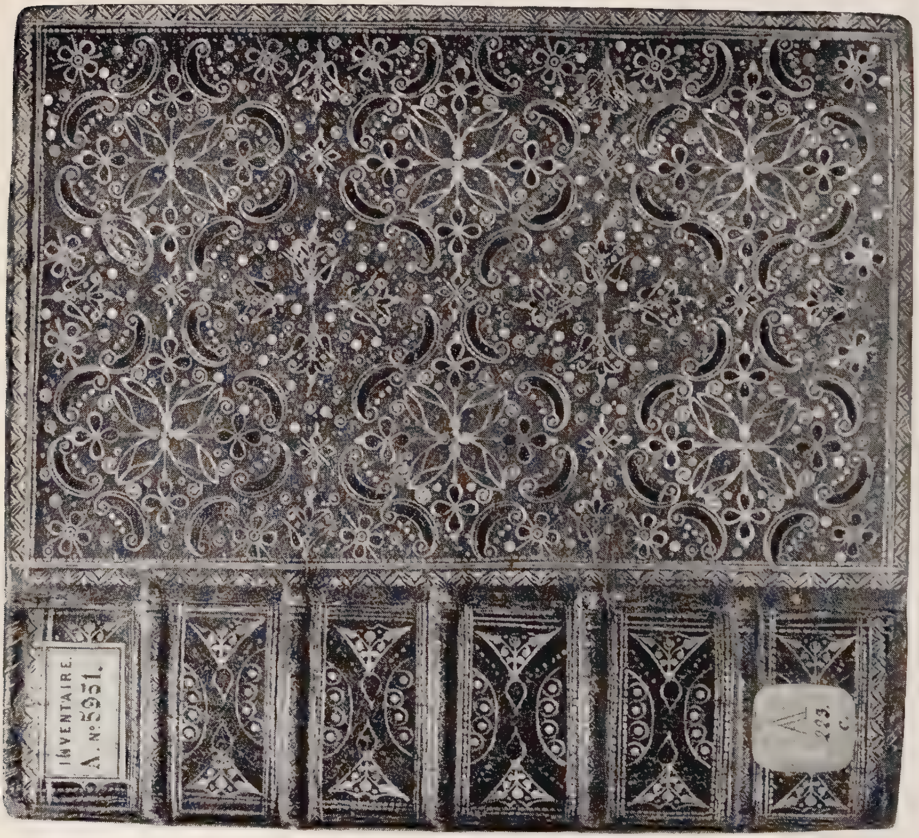


(A) A London binding, *c.* 1636. G. Williams, *The Best Religion*, London 1636. The dedication copy to King Charles I. Olive morocco, gold-tooled. *British Museum.*

PLATE 95

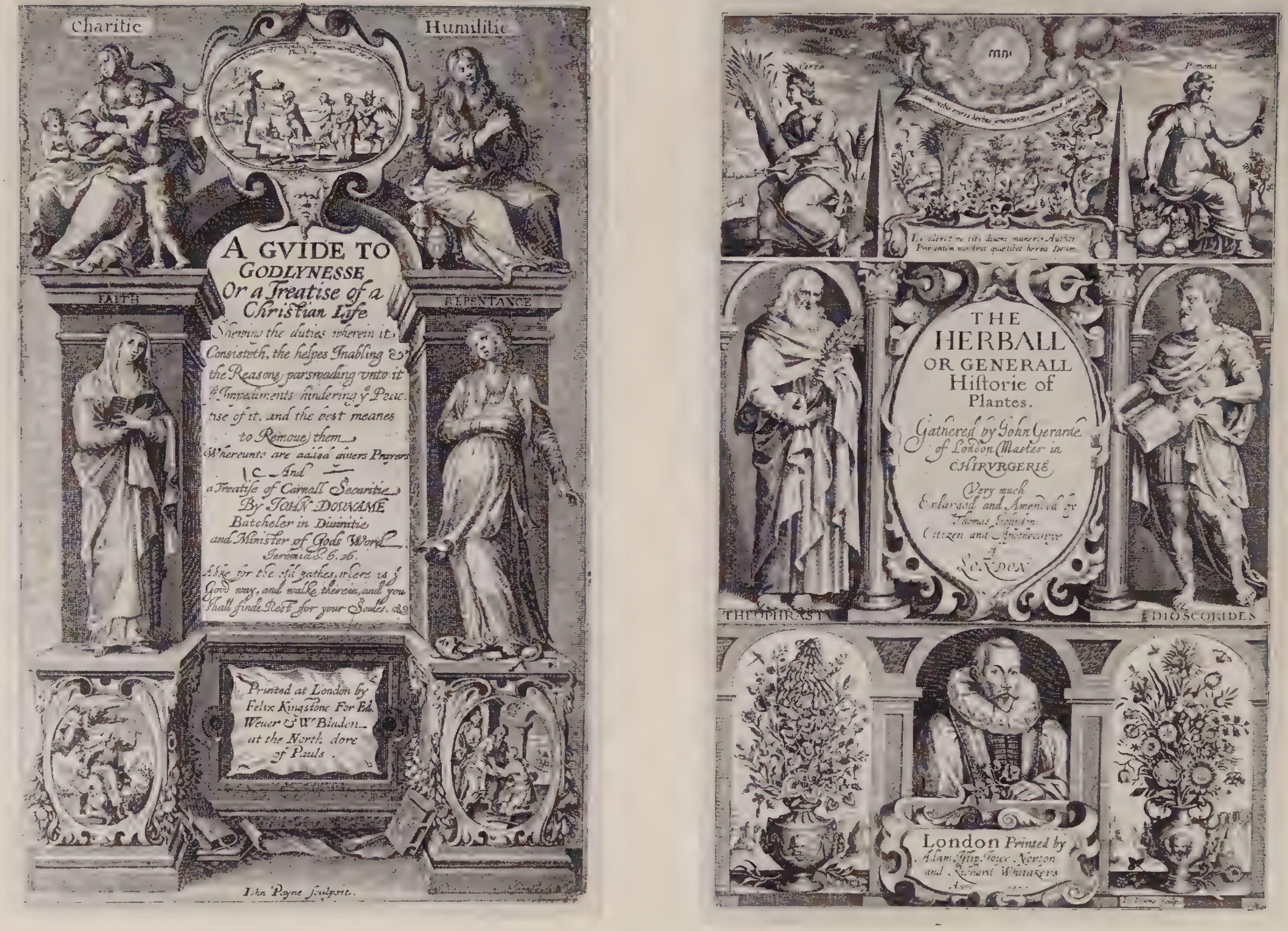


(B) Panel-design mosaic binding attributed to RICHARD BALLEY, *c.* 1685. *Book of Common Prayer*, London, 1684. Black morocco, gold-tooled, with onlays of red, white and brown leather. *British Museum.*

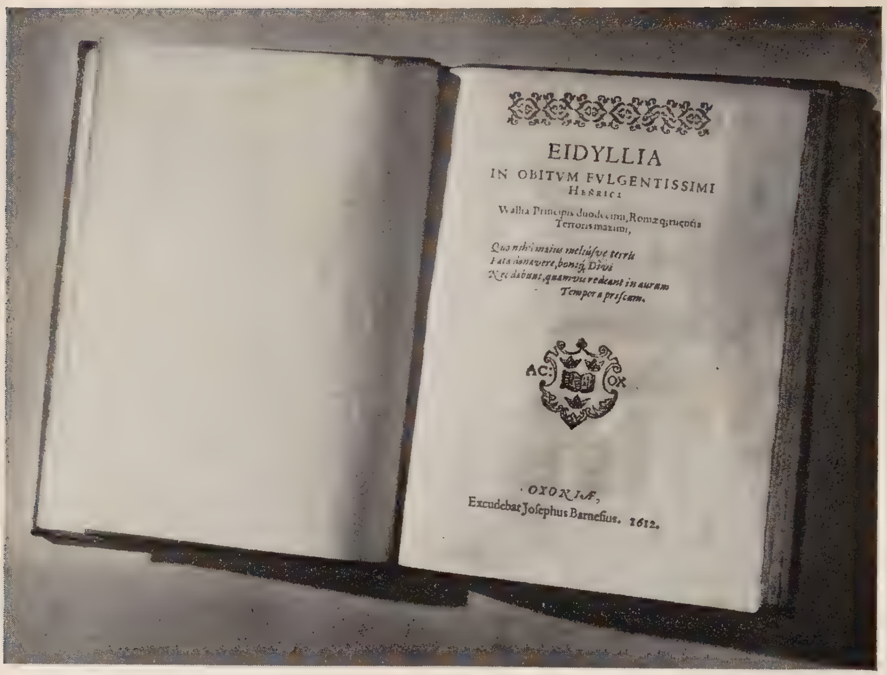


(A) 'All-over' style binding with drawer-handle tools, *c.* 1676. *Holy Bible*, London, 1676. Red morocco, gold-tooled, with details in black paint. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

PLATE 96


Charitie
Humilitie
A GVIDE TO
GODLYNESSE
Or a Treatise of a
Christian Life
Shewing the duties wherein it
Consisteth, the helpes Inabling &
the Reasons parswading unto it
the Impediments hindering ye Prac-
tise of it, and the best meanes
to Remoue them
Whereunto are added divers Prayers
And
a Treatise of Carnall Securitie
By JOHN DOWNAME
Batcheler in Divinitie
and Minister of Gods Word
Jeremiah 6. 16.
Aske for the old pathes, where is ye
Good way, and walke therein, and you
shall finde Rest for your Soules.
FAITH
REPENTANCE
Printed at London by
Felix Kingstone For Ed.
Weuer & W. Bladen
at the North dore
of Pauls.
John Payne sculpsit.
THE
HERBALL
OR GENERALL
Hiſtorie of
Plantes.
Gathered by John Gerarde
of London Master in
CHIRVRGERIE
Very much
Enlarged and Amended by
Thomas Johnson
Citizen and Apothecarye
of
LONDON
THEOPHRAST
DIOSCORIDES
London Printed by
Adam Islip Joice Norton
and Richard Whitakers

Two copperplate engraved title pages (both much reduced), typical of Stuart book production, both engraved by John Payne. *A Guide to Godlynesse* was published in 1622, and Gerard's *Herball* in 1633.



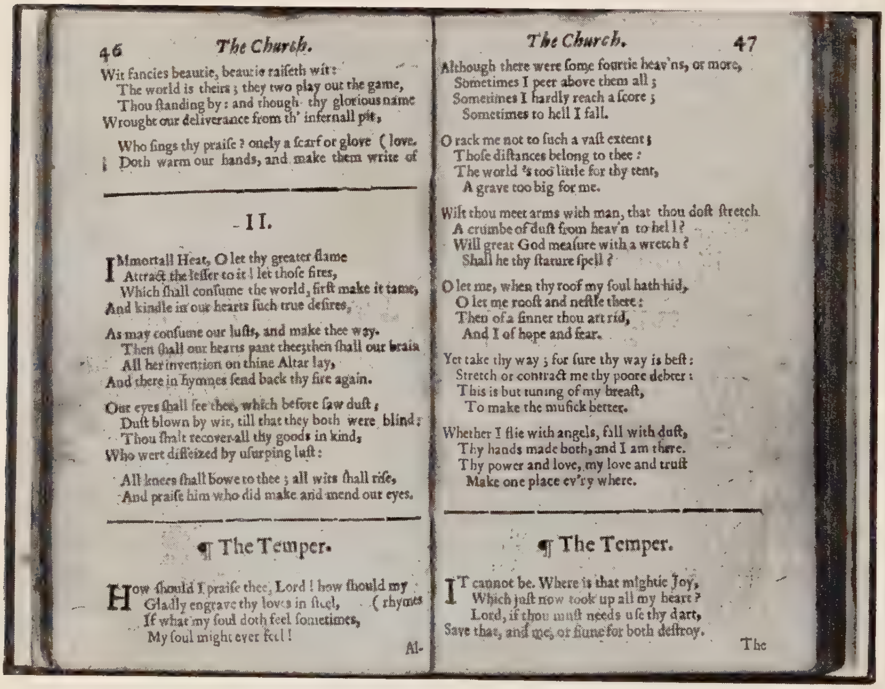
EIDYLLIA
IN OBITVM FVLGENTISSIMI
HENRICI
Walliæ Principis duodecimi, Romæq; ruentis
Terroris maximi,

Quo nihil maius meliúſve terris
Fata donavere, boniq; Divi
Nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in aurum
Tempora priſcum.

AC: OX

OXONIÆ,
Excudebat Joſephus Barneſius. 1612.

(A) An Oxford title-page of 1612. *Oxford University Press.*



46 *The Church.*

Wit fancies beautie, beautie raiſeth wit:
The world is theirs; they two play out the game,
Thou ſtanding by: and though thy glorious name
Wrought our deliverance from th' infernall pit,

Who ſings thy praiſe? onely a ſcarf or glove (love.
Doth warm our hands, and make them write of

II.

IMmortall Heat, O let thy greater flame
Attract the leſſer to it! let thoſe fires,
Which ſhall conſume the world, firſt make it tame,
And kindle in our hearts ſuch true deſires,

As may conſume our luſts, and make thee way.
Then ſhall our hearts pant thee; then ſhall our brain
All her invention on thine Altar lay,
And there in hymnes ſend back thy fire again.

Our eyes ſhall ſee thee, which before ſaw duſt;
Duſt blown by wit, till that they both were blind:
Thou ſhalt recover all thy goods in kind,
Who wert diſſeized by uſurping luſt:

All knees ſhall bowe to thee; all wits ſhall riſe,
And praiſe him who did make and mend our eyes.

¶ The Temper.

HOw ſhould I praiſe thee, Lord! how ſhould my
Gladly engrave thy loves in ſteel, (rhymes
If what my ſoul doth feel ſometimes,
My ſoul might ever feel!

Al-

The Church. 47

Although there were ſome fourtie heav'ns, or more,
Sometimes I peer above them all;
Sometimes I hardly reach a ſcore;
Sometimes to hell I fall.

O rack me not to ſuch a vaſt extent;
Thoſe diſtances belong to thee:
The world 's too little for thy tent,
A grave too big for me.

Wilt thou meet arms with man, that thou doſt ſtretch
A crumbe of duſt from heav'n to hell?
Will great God meaſure with a wretch?
Shall he thy ſtature ſpell?

O let me, when thy roof my ſoul hath hid,
O let me rooſt and neſtle there:
Then of a ſinner thou art rid,
And I of hope and fear.

Yet take thy way; for ſure thy way is beſt:
Stretch or contract me thy poore debter:
This is but tuning of my breaſt,
To make the muſick better.

Whether I flie with angels, fall with duſt,
Thy hands made both, and I am there.
Thy power and love, my love and truſt
Make one place ev'ry where.

¶ The Temper.

IT cannot be. Where is that mightie Joy,
Which juſt now took up all my heart?
Lord, if thou muſt needs uſe thy dart,
Save that, and me, or ſinne for both deſtroy.

The

(B) Opening from the seventh edition of George Herbert's *The Temple*, printed at Cambridge in 1641. *Cambridge University Press.*

For illustrations of other Stuart books, see Pl. 94.

PLATE 98

To face page 173

Press, he made – partly by purchase and partly by commissioning – a collection of punches and matrices for Greek and roman types, mostly in Holland, so that by 1672 Oxford had the best-equipped type foundry in England. Some of the smaller 'Fell' roman types are believed to be original Garamond or Granjon designs; the larger sizes, down to 'English' (= 14 pt), are of seventeenth century Dutch design. These unique types are all still in use at the Oxford University Press.

In 1702–4 the University Press issued the folio volumes of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion.* Clarendon presented the copyright to the University (which it still holds, confirmed by the Copyright Act of 1911), and from the profits that accrued the University built the first 'Clarendon Press' building – hence its name. The *History*, printed in the 'Fell' types, is a monumental piece of book production, one of the finest of the whole eighteenth century.

At the end of the century efforts were also being made to improve the equipment and output of the Cambridge University Press. The chief instigator of change was Dr Richard Bentley (1662–1742), the classical scholar, and Master of Trinity College; like Fell, he re-equipped his Press with types from Holland.[6]

Publishing

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the pattern of modern publishing economics begins to emerge. Dryden (1631–1700) has been called our first 'eminent man of letters', because he earned his living by writing for the booksellers; and Jacob Tonson (1656–1736) the first 'eminent publisher'. They quarrelled. Yet, then as now, neither publisher nor author could go far without the other.

Tonson cared, as any real publisher must, for the appearance of his books, which are better than most of his time; but good printers and good type-founders did not yet exist in London. On at least one occasion, in 1703, Tonson had to go to Holland himself to procure good types. Two of his notable books published within our period are the first illustrated edition of *Paradise Lost*, 1688,[7] and Dryden's complete translation of Virgil, 1697. In William Bowyer (1663–1737), who started in business on his own in 1699, Tonson did at last find a printer of ability. Bowyer's son, whose work is mentioned in the next volume of this series, was perhaps the first printer of intellectual stature in England since the Elizabethan John Day.

Technique of printing

The technique of printing, type-founding and paper-making remained basically unchanged throughout Europe during the Stuart period. An improved hand-press was invented by Blaeu in Amsterdam in 1620, which slightly increased production; but it was not generally adopted in England.

Newspapers

The first regular printing of news[8] seems to have begun in Germany in 1609, in the form of 4- or 8-page pamphlets, whose pages were just like the book-pages. The next stage was the issuing of single sheets, known as 'corantos', in Amsterdam in 1618. The earliest extant newspaper in English was published by Pieter Van den Keere in Amsterdam in 1620. The printing of news in England was at that time forbidden by King James I, but there was a considerable circulation of Dutch-printed news in England, followed probably by news-sheets with Dutch imprints secretly printed in London. Eventually the King decided to control what he could not suppress, and on 2 September 1621 there appeared the earliest extant dated newspaper in English, headed *Coranto*, printed and published under licence in London. The publishers, or licensees, were Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer, with a licence dated 13th August 1621. Thomas Archer lost his licence on 20th September, but seems to have regained it soon afterwards, for his name appears on many subsequent newspapers.

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[6] See S. C. Roberts, *The Evolution of Cambridge Publishing*, 1956.

[7] See C. H. Collins Baker, 'Some Illustrators of Milton's *Paradise Lost*', *The Library*, June 1948.

[8] All the information following is contained in *The Origins of the Newspaper*, a lecture delivered by Stanley Morison at the St Bride Institute, London, in 1954 and privately printed by *The Times*; see also the same author's *The English Newspaper*, 1932.

The early English newspapers were set in rough-looking roman types on quarto size pages (about the size of the present volume). Owing to Star Chamber restrictions, only foreign news could be printed: but in 1632 the Star Chamber prohibited newspapers altogether, a ban which remained for six years and was celebrated by Milton's biting pamphlet for the freedom of the press, *Areopagitica*, published in 1638.

In 1641 the Star Chamber was abolished, and it became possible, although not prudent, to print domestic news. The Parliamentarians were no more anxious to allow themselves to be criticized than the Royalists, and the life of a publisher of news continued to be vexatious and precarious. Not until 1783, for example, were reporters allowed to take notes in the House of Commons.[9]

The first English daily newspaper was *The Daily Courant*, appearing for the first time on Wednesday, 11th March 1702. It ran for over 6000 issues. The reign of Queen Anne saw the founding of *The Tatler* (1709), *The Spectator* (1711), and many other names still familiar; in the lists of their contributors occur the first great names in English journalism, including Addison, Swift, Steele, Arbuthnot (the creator of 'John Bull') and Defoe.

In 1695 the Licensing Act lapsed, and the printing trade was at last freed from its worst limitations. Presses immediately began to be established in provincial towns; and a new age began with the new century.

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[9] See A. Aspinall, 'The Reporting and Publishing of the House of Commons Debates, 1771–1834', in *Essays Presented to Sir Lewis Namier*, 1956.

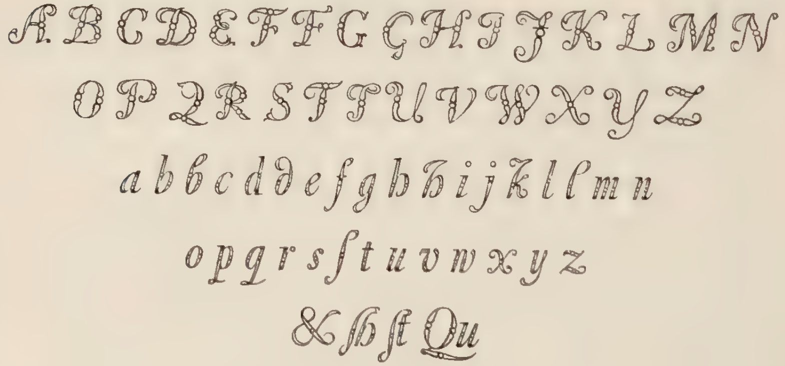

Fig. 2. Complete fount of Union Pearl, cast by the Grover Foundry at the end of the seventeenth century. This is believed to be the first decorated typeface produced in Europe, although no contemporary examples of its use have been found. The original matrices still exist and are owned by the typefounding firm of Stephenson Blake of Sheffield. The typeface is in commercial use today.

Index

Andirons, 113, pl. 68B, C, D.
Anne of Denmark's jewels, 148 ff., pl. 87B, C, D.
Anne, Queen, 8; buys aviary, 64.
Applied work, 128.
'Arabesque' designs, 40–1, pls. 18B, 19C.
Archer, Thomas, architect, 28, pl. 11B.
Archer, Thomas, publisher of *Coranto*, 174.
Armorial bed, ix; carpets, 131.
Ashburnham, Earl of, by Tillemans, pl. 40A.
Ashdown House, Berks., 18, 22, pl. 6B.
Ashfield, Edmund, 58.
Aston, Sir Roger, tomb by Cure, 67, pl. 41A.
Audley End, Essex, 76, 119.

'Back-stool', 33.
Bacon, Francis, *Of Building*, 17.
Bacon, Sir Nathaniel, 57.
Bagford, John, 168, 169.
Balley, Richard, 168–9, pl. 96B.
Banqueting House, Whitehall (Jones), 18, 67; ceiling by Rubens, 21; plate at, 76.
'Bantam work', 40.
Barker, Robert, 167, 172.
Barlow, Francis, 61, 62, pl. 39A.
Baroque: architecture, 24–8, pl. 11A, B; furniture, 45; interior decoration, 53, 59, 61; music, 159–60; painting, 50, 52, 57, 64; sculpture, 69, 71, pls. 42B, 44B, 45B, 46B; textiles, 120, pl. 71A.
Bateman, John and Abraham, 167.
Beadwork, 130.
Beakers, silver, 78–9, pl. 49B; glass, 106.
Beale, Mary, 56.
Bedford, Countess of, by Van Dyck, 52, pl. 26C.
Beds, 38–9, 44; hangings, 130, pl. 76B; joined, 38; stump, 39; upholstered, 44, pl. 20A. *See also* pl. 1.
Beer bottles, 106; glasses, 104.
'Bellarmines', 96, pl. 58A.
Belton House, Lincs., 20, 24; carving, 22, pl. 10B; hall, pl. 10B.
Benood, William, 123.
Bernini, Giovanni Lorenzo, 26, 68, 69.
Bible, boxes, 12; printing, 171–2 *and* fig. 1.
Biblical scenes: delftware, 101, pl. 57A; embroidery, 127, 129, pl. 75; tapestries, 122–3.
Bill-head, contemporary, 92 fig. 1.
Bird, Francis, 71.
Black-letter type, 172 *and* fig.
'Blanc-de-chine' porcelain, 103, pl. 59E.
Bleeding-bowls, 82, 100.
Blenheim Palace, Oxon. (Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor), 27–8, 119, 124, pl. 12B; Laguerre and, 60; Thornhill and, 60, pl. 37B; tapestries, 124.
Blow, John, 163.
Blue-dash chargers, 100, pl. 57B.
Bobbin-lace, 128, 132.
'Boccaro', 101.
Bogdani, Jakob, 64.
Boler, lace pattern book, 128.
Books, 12; -cases, 12, 45, pl. 20B.
Boulle, André Charles, 41.
Bourne, Nicholas, 174.
Bower, Edward, 53, 56.
Bowyer, William, 173.
Boyse, Daniel, 168.
'Braganza' feet on chairs, 42.
'Brandebourg' jewels, 153n.
Brandenburg coat, 139, 140.
Breeches, 136–7 *and* fig., 138–40.
Bronze sculpture, 68, pl. 42A.
Broome Hall, Kent, 20.
Browne, Stephen, 64.
Buddha-knop spoons, 88.
Bull, John, 160, pl. 91B.
Bulwer, John, by Soest, pl. 31D.
Bureaux, 45, 12, 31, pl. 20B.
Burghley, Northants., 59–60, 76, 121, pl. 36.
Burroughs, John, 92 fig. 1.
Bushnell, John, 69, 70, pls. 42B, 44B.

Cabinets, lacquer, 40.
Campden, Viscount, tomb by Gibbons, 70, pl. 45A.
Candles, 111–2; snuffers, 111–2; -sticks, 13, 31, 85–6, 110I, L, 111–2, pl. 52B.
Cane furniture, 41 ff., 41 fig. 7, 45 *and see* 30, pl. 22C; cheapness, 43.
Carcanets, 149, pl. 88A.
Carlile, Joan, 64.
Carpets, 131–2, 12, 30, 32 ff., 45, pl. 78; absence of in bedroom, pl. 1; on shelves, 35.
Casement windows, 24.
Casket, jewel, lid of, 108 fig.
Cassiobury Park, Herts. (May), 22.
Castle Ashby, Northants., 18.
Castle Howard, Yorks. (Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor), 26–7, 60, 61, pls. 12A, 13B.
Ceilings, 20–1; Belton House, 22, pl. 10B; Burghley, pl. 36; Castle Howard, pl. 13B; Chatsworth, 26, pls. 10A, 13B, 37A; Coleshill, 21, pl. 8A; Forde Abbey, 21, pl. 9B; Gilling Castle, pl. 14A; Grimsthorpe, pl. 14B; Thorpe Hall, 21; Wilton, 21, pl. 9A.
Chains, gold, 149, 151, pls. 88A, 89A.
Chairs, 33 ff.; arm-, pls. 18B, 22A; cane, 41 ff., 41 fig. 7, 45 *and see* 30, pl. 22C; farthingale, 32–3, pl. 17A; Italian, 32, 33 fig. 2; joined, 34–5; Lancashire type, pl. 17B; legs, 34, 41 ff., 43 fig. 8; seats, 34; single, pl. 17B; upholstered, 43 fig. 7, 120, pls. 17A, 22A, B. *See* pls. 1, 17A, B, 18B, 22A, B, C, 62A, 85.
Chalice, steeple-cup, 76; beaker, 78.
'Champlevé' enamel, 151, 152.
Chandeliers, 86, 111.
Chargers, 100, pl. 57A, B.
Charles I, 4–5; as art collector and patron, 49, 51, 53, 57, 63, 68, 122 (pl. 72), 123; earring, 149; portraits (Van Dyck and Hollar), xii, (Le Sueur), pl. 44A, (Mytens), pl. 25; praised by Rubens, 51.
Charles II, 5–6; at Garter feast, pl. 2; baroque interior of Windsor, 24, 59; bust by Bushnell, 69, pl. 44B; liked topography, 62.
Charlton House, Greenwich, 17, pl. 5A.
Chatsworth, Derbyshire (Talman), 24 ff., 123, pl. 11A; chapel, 26, 70, pl. 13A; Laguerre and, 60, pl. 37A; south front, pl. 11A; state rooms, pls. 10A, 37A; Thornhill and, 60.
Cheapside Hoard, 149–50, pl. 88A.
Chelsea Hospital (Wren), 24.
Cheron, Louis, 60.
Chests, 33, 39, 45, pl. 17C.
Chests of drawers, 43–4, 46 *and* fig. 9, pl. 18C; handles, 44.
Chettle House, Dorset (Archer), 28.
Chevening, Kent, 18 ff., 19 fig. 1.
Chicheley Hall, Bucks (Archer), 28, pl. 11B.
Child, Sir Francis, 154.
Chimneys, Chevening, 18, 19 fig. 1; Coleshill, 19, pl. 7A.
China, *see* Chinese porcelain.
Chinese porcelain, 101–3, 45, 100, pl. 59; *see also* pls. 57D, 60D; silks, 120.
'Chinoiserie', embroidery, 130, pl. 77; monteiths, 84; tankards, 80; tapestries, 124, pl. 73.
Chocolate-pots, 85, pl. 53A.
Cibber, Caius Gabriel, 26, 69, 70, pl. 45B.
Cistern wine-cooler, 115.
Clarendon House, Piccadilly (Pratt), 19–20, 49.
Clarendon, Lord, 19, 22, 49, 173.
Clarendon Press, 173.
Cleeve, Alexander, 169.
Cleveland, Duchess of, by Lely, 54, pl. 31A.
Cleyn, Francis, chair by, 32, 33 fig. 2; tapestries, 123.
'Cloakbag breeches', pl. 84B.
Clocks, 11, 109; backplate, 116 fig; by Webbe, pl. 63.
'Close' cupboard, *see* Cupboard, press.
Closterman, J. B., 55, 58, pl. 34A.
Clothes press, 36, 37 fig. 5, 39.
Cocker, Edward, 171; drawings by, vii, 106, 180.
Coffee, introduced, 101; -pots, 85.
Coleshill, Berks. (Pratt), 18–19, 22, pl. 7A; interior decoration at, 21, pl. 8A; staircase, 21, pl. 8A.
Collier, E., still-life by, pl. 62B.
Colour, blue and white popular, 100, 151. *See also* Polychrome.
Colt, Maximilian, 68, pl. 43B.
Conington, Cambs., 70, pl. 46A.
Conversation pieces, 64.
Cooper, Samuel, 57–8, 64, pls. 33B, C, D, 88B.
Coperario, Giovanni (John Cooper), 160.
Copper-plate engraving, 170–1, 97 fig. 2, pl. 97; to identify, 171.
Corkscrews, 106.
Cornbury Park, Oxon. (May), 22.
Corridor, 27.

'Cottage style' bindings, 168–9, pl. 95B.
Cotton, 125 ff., pl. 76.
Cotton, Robert, tomb by Gibbons, 70, pl. 46A.
Coventry, Sir William, by Riley, pl. 31C.
Coverlets, embroidered, 130, pl. 77.
Coxed, John, *and* Coxed & Wooster, 45.
Cradle models, 94, pl. 56C.
Crane, Sir Francis, 122–3.
Cranford Church, Middlesex, 67, pl. 41A.
Creepers, 113.
Crewel-work, 130, 33, pl. 76B.
'Cristallo', 103.
'Crizzling' described, 105.
Cromwell, Oliver, 5; miniatures of, 57.
Crosse, Laurence, 57.
Crutcher, Richard, 71.
Culpeper, Lady, tomb by Marshall, 68, pl. 43A.
Cupboards, 35–6; china, 45 *and see* 30; food, pl. 16B; glasses, 106; hanging, pl. 16B; livery, 33, pl. 16B; press, 37 fig. 5, pl. 15A, B; splay-fronted, 35 fig. 4.
Cups, 76 ff., pls. 47A, C, 48B; caudle-, 81–2; 'college', 81, pl. 50B; porringers, 81–3, 82 fig. 1; posset-, 81–2, 94–5, 103, 105, pls. 56D, 57D, 61A; standing-, 77, pl. 48B; 'two-eard', *see* college; two-handled, 81–3, pls. 50B, 54A.
Cure, William, 67, pl. 41A.
Curfew, 113, pl. 64A.
Cushions, embroidered, 127, 132, pl. 74.
Cuts, jewel: brilliant-, 153–4; rose-, 150, 154; table-, 150, pls. 88B, C, 89D.

D'Agar, Jacques, 56.
Dahl, Michael, 56, pl. 35A.
Damasks, 120, pl. 71B.
Danckerts, Hendrick, 61–2, pl. 40B.
De Caux, Isaac, south front of Wilton House, 18.
Decorative painting, 59, 124–5.
Decorative woods, 39, 41, 43.
De Critz, John, 50.
Defoe, Daniel, on chairs, 42; on chinaware, 102; on hangings, 125.
Delft ware, 45, 84, 99–100, pl. 57B, C, D.
De Maecht, Philip, pl. 72.
De May, Stephen, 123.
Denham, Sir John, 22.
Dennington Church, Suffolk, chair at, 43 *and* fig. 8.
Derbyshire pottery, 95.
Dieussart, François, 68.
Dining-room, contemporary description of, 32.
Dishes, slipware, 94, pl. 56A, B; chargers, 100, pl. 57A, B; rings, 115.
Dixon, Matthew, 56.
Dixon, Nicholas, 57, 58.
Dobson, William, 52–3, 58, 64, pls. 28, 30B, 62A.
Donyatt, Somerset, pottery, 95.
Dorset, Earl of, by Oliver, pl. 81.
Double Cube Room, Wilton, 21, 53, pl. 9A.
Dowland, John, 160, 164.
Drayton, Northants., 21, 60–1.
Dressing-box, pls. 1, 21B.
Dryden, John, 7, 173.
'Duck's neck' spout, 85.
Duncombe Park, Yorks. (Wakefield), 28.
Dutch House, Kew, 20.
Dutch influence: andirons, 113, pl. 68C; architecture, 20, 22, pl. 7B; carving, 22–3; commerce and industry, 1–2; cups, 76, 81; furniture, 31, 42; Grinling Gibbons, 22; painting, 50, 51, 53, 55, 61, 63; sculpture, 69; silver, 23; tomb sculpture, 67, 70; *see also* 9–10.
Dwight, John, 96–7, 102, pl. 58A, B.
Dyrham Park, Glos. (Talman?), 26.

'Ear-pieces' on chairs, 34, pl. 18B.
Earthenware, lead-glazed, 93–5, pls. 55–6; tin-glazed, 99–100, pls. 57, 60D, E.
Eastbury, Dorset (Vanbrugh), 27–8.
East India Company imports: carpets, 131; lacquer furniture, 40, 124; porcelain, 101–3; stoneware, 98, 101; tea, 84, 101; textiles, 125, 130, pl. 76A.
Easton Neston, Northants. (Hawsmoor), 26, 60.
'Ecuelle', 82.
Elers, John and David, 98, 99 fig. 3, 101; *see also* pl. 58C.
Elizabeth of Bohemia's jewels, 148; by Hilliard, pl. 87A.
Eltham Lodge, Kent (May), 22, 28, pl. 7B.
'Email en résille sur verre', 151.
Embroidery, 126–31, pls. 74–7; *see also* pls. 79–81, 85B, 86.
Enamelled decoration, 98, 151–2, 154, pls. 58C, 88–90.
England, rise in importance, 1; eighty per cent. rural, 9.
Enoch Wood Collection, 98.
Evans, Thomas, by Pierce, 69, pl. 44C.
Evelyn, John, 13 f., 58; discovers Grinling Gibbons, 22; on 'Alva' pictures, 96; on coffee, 101; on fops, 138–9; on hairstyles, 143; on Indian hangings, 125; on jewels, 153; on marquetry, 41; on woods, 39; on woodworkers, 31.
Ewer and basin, 77–8, 88, pl. 52A.
Exton Church, Rutland, 70, pl. 45A.

Faber, John, 58.
Faithorne, William, 58, 171; engraving by, 162 fig. 1.
'Falling' table, *see* Tables, gate-leg.
Fanelli, Francesco, 68.
'Fanfare' bindings, 167–8.
Fareham, Hants, pottery, 95.
Farthingale discarded, 142; chair, 32–3, pl. 17A.
Fawdery, William, chocolate-pot by, pl. 53A.
Ferrabosco, Alfonso, 160.
Fiennes, Celia, on animal painting, 62; on 'booffetts', 45; on bottles, 106; on embroidery, 130–1; on silks, 121.
Firebacks, 112–3, pl. 65A, B; fire-dogs, 113; -pans, 113; -side sets, 113.
Fireplaces: Belton House, pl. 10B; by Inigo Jones, 20; by John Webb, 21; Chatsworth, pl. 10A; Forde Abbey, 21, pl. 9B; *see also* 30, pl. 1.
Flatman, Thomas, 57.
Flemish influence: embroidery, 126; painting, 61; table supports, 37; tomb sculpture, 67; *see also* 9.
Flemish pattern books: architecture, 18; interior decoration, 20.
Flock-printed canvas, 125.
Flowerpot, contemporary drawing of, 97 fig. 2.
'Flute'-glass, 106, pl. 60C.
'Folding' table, *see* Tables, gate-leg.
Folk art, 12 f.
Forde Abbey, Dorset, 21, 123, pl. 9B.
Foreign trade, effect of, 2–3; travel, ditto, 4, 9, 19, 49, 58.
Forks, 88–9, pls. 54B, 67.
Forster, Thomas, 58.
Frampton Court, Glos., 28.
French influence: architecture, 24, 26; bindings, 168; clothes, 135; court of Charles II, 54; fireplaces, 20; furniture, 9, 10, 31, 40; jewellery, 151–2; Kneller, 55; Laguerre, 59 f.; music, 163; silver, etc. 89; stair-cases at Windsor, 24; Verrio, 59 f.
French pattern books, interior decoration, 20.
Fulham Parish Church, 69, pl. 42B.
Fulham pottery, 96, 98, pl. 58A, B.
Fuller, Isaac, 59.

Gage, Catherine, pl. 85.
Gamba (bass viol), 163, pl. 94B; by Norman, pl. 93A, B.
Gardens, formal, at New Park, 16 fig. 1.
Garter, jewels, 152, pl. 90B, C; feast, pl. 2.
Garthorne, George, 85.
Gentry, life of, 8 ff., rise of, 11 ff., 135.
German influence: goldsmiths, 75; stoneware, 96; table supports, 37.
German pattern books, interior decoration, 20.
Gesso furniture, 40, 31, 44, 45 *and see* 30, pl. 19B.
Gestingthorpe, Essex, pottery, 95.
Gething, Richard, engraving by, 14.
Gheeraerts, Marcus, 50, pl. 26D.
Gibbons, Grinling, 22, 24, 69, 70, 71 fig., 72, pls. 45A, 46A.
Gibson, Richard, pl. 90D.
Gibson, Thomas, 56.
Gilling Castle, Yorks (Wakefield), 28, pl. 14A.
Gilt furniture, 40, 44, pl. 19B.
Glass, 103–6, pls. 60–2; -coolers, 83–4; lead, 105, pl. 61B; -maker at work, 92 fig. 1; windows, 12.
Glass House at Vauxhall, 44.
Goblet, glass, pl. 61D.
Goldsmith's workshop, 90 fig. 7.
Goodricht, Sir Daniel, pl. 84A.

Gore, Edward, sconce by, pl. 66.
Great House, influence of, 9 ff.
Great Wardrobe tapestries, 122–4, pl 73.
Green, Thomas, 71.
Green glass, 105.
Greene, John, 104, 105 fig. 4, 106.
Greenhill, John, 54, 56, 58, 64, pl. 33E.
Greenwich: Hospital, 24; Palace, 21–2; Queen's House, 17–21.
Griffier, Jan, 61.
Grimsthorpe, Lincs., new wing by Vanbrugh, 27, pl. 14B.
'Gros point', 128, 130.
Guilloche ornament, pl. 16B.
Gunter, M., 154.

Hairpin, design by Gunter, 154.
Hall, the Great, 17, 27 f., 76, pls. 10B, 13B, 14.
Ham House, Surrey, decorative painting, 59, 61, 62; Green Closet, 53; staircase, 21, pl. 8B; textiles, 122, 131.
Hampton Court, 24, 71, 103, 120, 125, 131, pl. 46B.
Hanaps, or standing-cups, 81.
Hanneman, Adriaen, 52.
Hare, Hugh, by Kneller, pl. 34B.
Harington, Sir John, on stools, 34.
Harmony, invention of vertical, 157.
Harp, music for, 157.
Harpsichord, 161, 163; by Hitchcock, pl. 92A; *see also* pl. 91A.
Harrison, Edmund, 126.
Hatfield, Herts, Church, 68, pl. 43B; House, 17, 76, 119.
Hawksmoor, Nicholas, 24 ff.; influenced by Wren, 24; Blenheim, 27; Castle Howard, 26–7; Easton Neston, 26.
Hearths, 112–13.
'Heaven' Room, Burghley, 59–60, pl. 36.
'Helmet' ewer, 77–8.
Henry, Prince of Wales, bindings, 167; jewels, 148–9; portrait, pl. 23.
Hereford, cushion for, 127, pl. 74A.
Heriot, George, 148, 149, 150.
Heythrop Hall, Oxon. (Archer), 28.
Hilliard, Nicholas, 50, 148, pl. 87A.
Hinges, 110–11.
Hitchcock, Thomas, harpsichord by, pl. 92A.
Hoare, Richard, 70.
'Holbein' rugs, 131.
Hollar, Wenceslaus, 62, 63, 170, 171; engravings, xii, 132, 141, 143, 164, pls. 2, 30A.
Hollingbourne Church, Kent, 68, pl. 43A.
Holme, Randall, 32, 35, 83.
Hondius, Abraham, 63.
'Hoop-back' single chair, 45.
'Hose', 136, pl. 81.
Hoskins, John, 57, pl. 33A.
Hoskins, Mrs Anne, by Gheeraerts, pl. 26D.
Houses, desire for privacy in, 9; Inigo Jones's new design, 18 ff.; remodelled, 9; symmetry, 17, 20.
Huguenot refugees: goldsmiths, 89; woodworkers, 31.
Humphrey, Pelham, 163.
Hurd, Jacob and Nathaniel, 85.
Huysmans, Jacob, 54, pl. 31B.

Ifield, John, pl. 55A.
Indian imports, *see* East India Company.
Interior decoration, 20 ff. *See* pls. 8–10, 13, 14.
Inventories, 13, 32, 34, 101, 103, 106, 109, 112, 113, 130, 131, 132, 138.
Isham, Sir Thomas, pl. 35B.
Italian influence: architecture, 17 f., pls. 5B, 7A, 8A; furniture, 32, 33 fig. 2; glass, 105, pl. 61A; music, 158–9, 163; painting, 52, 55, 59, 61, pl. 34A; sculpture, 68, 69; silks, 120–1, pl. 71B; staircase at Coleshill, 21, pl. 8A; tomb sculpture, 67, 69, pl. 42B.

'Jacobethan' manner in painting, 51.
Jackson, Gilbert, 53, 56.
James I, 1 ff.; borrows jewel, 147; gives away treasures, 75; his Queen's jewellery, 148–50, pl. 87B, C, D.
James II, 6 f.; by Lely, pl. 26B.
Japanese porcelain, 101–3, pl. 59B.
Japanning, 40 *and* fig. 6, 31, 41, 43, 44, pl. 21B.
Jars, porcelain, pl. 59A, B.
Johnson, Cornelius, 50 ff., 55, 57, pl. 26A.
Jones, Inigo, 17 ff.; Chevening, 19 fig. 2; Double Cube Room, Wilton, pl. 9A; Queen's House, Greenwich, pl. 5B: *see also* pl. 6B.
Jonson, Ben, 96.
Jug, glass, 105, pl. 61B; pottery, 97 fig. 2, pl. 55A.

'Kakiemon' porcelain, 103, pl. 59B.
K'ang Hsi porcelain, 103.
Keech, John (I. K.?), 88–9, pl. 54B.
Kent, William, 28, 58.
Ker, James, gold teapot by, 85.
Kew Palace, 20.
Keyholes, 110; and keys, 109–10, pl. 69B.
Kidderminster carpets, 132.
Kimbolton, Hunts., 28, 61.
Kingston Lacey, Dorset (Pratt), 19.
Kings Weston, near Bristol (Vanbrugh), 27.
Kip, J., 16 fig. 1, 23 fig. 3, 25 fig. 4, 26, 28, 62.
Kneller, Sir Godfrey, 55 f., qualifications, 55, 64; team of assistants, 51, 55; *see* pls. 32B, 34B, 91C.
Knibb, Joseph, 116.
Knives, 115, pl. 67.
Knole, Kent, 33, 49, 86, 131.
Knot brooches, 151, *and see* pl. 89D.
Knotted thread, 131.
Knyff, Leonard, 62, 63.
Knyvett, Lord, tomb by Stone, 67, pl. 41B.
Krishna-knop spoons, 88.
Lace, 128–30, 150.
Lacis, 128.
Lacquer furniture, 40 ff., pl. 21A; imitations, 40 *and* fig. 6, pl. 21B.
Laguerre, Louis, 59 f., 64; ceilings at Chatsworth, pls. 10A, 37A.
'Lairs', old name for ewers, 77.
Lamport, Northants., 21.
Landscape painting, 50, 52, 53, 61–2; *and see* pls. 38, 40B, C.
Lanscroon, Gerard, 60.
Lanyer, Jerome, 125.
Laton, Margaret, pl. 80.
Latten, 109 ff.
Lawes, William, 160, 164.
Lead-glazed earthenware, 93–5, 98, pls. 55–6.
Leathes, William, pl. 86A.
Le Brun, Charles, 60, 124.
L'Egaré, Gilles, 151; *see also* pl. 89C.
Le Gomme (*or* Gouse), Isaac, 151, 152.
Leigh, Thomas, 53.
Lely, Sir Peter, 53 ff., 22, 120, 153; ability, 54, 64; portrait drawings by, 58; team of assistants, 51, 54; *see* pls. 26B, 30C, 31A.
Lemans, James, 121.
Lennox, sons of third Duke, by Van Dyck, pl. 82.
Le Pautre, Jean, waiter ornamented by, pl. 49A.
'Lesser Georges', 152, pl. 90B, C.
Le Sueur, Hubert, 68–9, pls. 42A, 44A.
Liger, Isaac, 85.
Lighting appliances, 85–6, pl. 52B.
Line engraving on copper, 58, 170.
Livermore, John, pl. 55C.
Locke, John, 7.
Locke, Matthew, 163.
Locks, 109–10, pls. 69B, 70.
Loggan, David, 58, 170.
London bindings, 167–8, pl. 95A.
London, influence of, 10 f.
London Gazette, 101–2.
Longhena, Baldassare, 21.
Longleat, Wilts, 62, 63, 76; landscape near, pl. 38.
Loosemore, John, virginals by, pl. 91A.
Lovelocks, 137 *and* fig. 1, pl. 82.
Lulls, Arnold, 148, pl. 87B, C, D.
Lumley, John, Lord, 32 f.
Lupo, Thomas, 160.
Lute, 160–1; instruction book for, pl. 94A.
Lutterell, Edward, 58.
'Lyonese' design on bindings, 167.
Lyte jewel, the, 150.

Mace, Thomas, 161, 162 fig. 1, pl. 94A.
'Maiolica', 99, 100.
Make-up, 144.
Mandilion, or 'Manderville', 136.
Mannerist style in painting, 50, 52.
Mansell, Sir Robert, 103–4.
Maratti, Carlo, 58, pl. 35B.
Marlborough, Duchess of, quarrels with Vanbrugh, 27; prefers Italian silks, 121.
Marlborough, Duke of, 8, 10, 27, 59, 124; by Thornhill, 60, pl. 37B.
Marlow Place, Bucks. (Archer), 28.

Marmion, Sir Edmund, pl. 1.
Marot, Daniel, 26, 120; 'Marot type' chair leg, 45, 40 fig. 6, pl. 22A.
Marquetry, 31, 40 f., 43–6, pl. 19C.
Marshall, Edward, 68, pl. 43A.
Mary, Queen, 7 f.; and embroidery, 131; and porcelain, 102–3, pl. 59A, B.
May, Hugh, 22 ff.; Eltham Lodge, pl. 7B.
Mazarines, 115.
Mearne, Samuel, 168–9, pl. 95B.
Measey and Greene, 104, 105 fig. 4.
Medical glass, 105; pottery, 100.
Medina, Sir John, 55.
Mellan, Claude, 58.
Merton College Cup, pl. 50B.
Mezzotint, growing challenge of, 58.
Mills, Peter, Thorpe Hall, 18.
Milton, John, 6, 7; *Areopagitica*, 174; by Richardson, pl. 32C.
Miniatures, 50 f., 57 f., 148 ff., pls. 33, 87A, 88B, 90D; cases, 150, 152 *and* fig. 1, 154, pl. 88C.
Mirror, by Mansell, 104; dressing, 44, pl. 21B, *and see* pl. 1; gesso, 40, 45 *and see* 30; lacquer, 40, pl. 21A; post-Restoration, 44.
'Molinet', 85.
Monnoyer, Jean Baptiste, 63.
Montacute House, Som., armorial bed at, ix.
Monteith, glass-cooler, 83–4.
Monteith watch case, 151, pl. 90A.
Monteverdi, Claudio, 159 ff.
Moody, Henry, 168.
Mordaunt, Lord, tomb by Bushnell, 69, pl. 42A.
Morelli, Allesio, 104, 105 fig. 4.
Morley, James, 98, pl. 58D; advertisement by, 97 fig. 2.
Morocco bindings, 167 f., pls. 95–6.
'Mortar-glasses', 104.
Mortars and pestles, pl. 64B.
Mortlake tapestry works, 122–3, 32, pl. 72.
Mugs, 93 ff., 98, 99 fig. 3; delftware, 100, pl. 60D; glass, 105; porcelain, pl. 59E; stoneware, 97 fig. 2, 98, pl. 58D; 'tyg', pl. 55C.
Murray, Thomas, 55.
Murray, William, 53.
Mytens, Daniel, 50 ff., 57, 64, pl. 25.

Needlepoint lace, 128.
Needlework cabinet, pl. 75A.
Nether Lypiatt, Glos., 18.
'Network', 128.
New Park, Surrey, 16 fig. 1, 26.
Newspapers, 173–4.
Newton, Isaac, 7; impact of *Principia Mathematica*, 6.
Nightgowns, 140 ff.
Night-masks, 142.
Norman, Barak, gamba by, pl. 93A, B.
North, Roger, on music, 163.
Northampton, second Earl of, by Johnson, pl. 26A.
Northampton, third Earl of, by Dobson, pl. 30B.
Norton, John, 167.
Norwich carpets, 132.
Nost, John, 71, pl. 46B.

Oliver, Isaac, 50 f., pl. 81.
Oliver, Peter, son of Isaac, 51.
Ombersley Court, Cambs., 63.
Orchestra, at a play, pl. 4.
Oriental influence: carpets, 131; delftware, pls. 57D, 60D; embroidery, 130, pl. 77; furniture, 40, pl. 21A; portrait of Lord Denbigh, 52; spoons, 88; tapestries, 124, pl. 73.
Oriental porcelain, *see* Chinese porcelain.
Orkney, Countess of, by Huysmans, pl. 31B.
'Ox-eye' cup, pl. 50B.

Painted enamel, 151, 152.
Painted textiles, 124–6.
Palladio's villas, influence of, 18, 28.
Palmer, Sir William, by Cooper, pl. 33C.
Panel-design mosaic binding, pl. 96B.
Panton, Simon, 84 fig. 2.
Parquetry, 41, 43, 44.
Pattern books: architecture, 18; interior decoration, 20; jewellery, 148–9, 151–4 *and* figs., pl. 87B, C, D; lace, 128; needlework, 127–9 *and* figs. 1, 2.
Payne, John, engraver, pl. 97A, B.
Peake, Robert, painter, 50.
Peake, Robert, publisher, 18.
Peg-tankard, 81, pl. 50A.
Pellegrini, Giovanni Antonio, 60–1.
Pembroke, third Earl of, by Le Sueur, 68, 69, pl. 42A.
Pembroke, fourth Earl of, portrait, pl. 24.
Pepys, Samuel, and Seymour Salt, 76; bindings, 167; buys mirror, 44; drinks tea, 84; life-mask, 69; likes topography, 62; on cisterns, 115; on cloaks, 140; on hats, 140; on knives, 114; on writing-masters, 171 *and see* 14; pockets silver, 83; 'slice', 85.
Periwigs, 138, 140, pl. 86.
Persian carpets, 131.
Peruzzi, Vincenzo, 153.
Peterborough, Earl of, by Dobson, pl. 28.
'Petit point', 128–30.
'Petticoat', 141, 144 *and* fig. 15.
Pewter domestic ware, 114–5.
Pickering Loving Cup, 77, pl. 47C.
Pierce, Edward, 69, pl. 44C.
Pier glasses, 44.
Pindar, Sir Paul, 147.
Plant-scroll ornament, 127–8, pl. 74A.
Plates, 114.
Player, John, spinet by, pl. 92B.
Playford's treatise on music, pl. 94C.
Plummer, John, peg-tankard by, pl. 50A.
Polychrome: bindings, 168; delftware, 99–100, pl. 57A, B, C; hangings, 125.
Polyglot Bible, 171–2.
Population in 1700, 8.
Porcelain, *see* Chinese porcelain.
Porringers, 81–3, 82 fig. 1.
Portraiture, 50 ff.; drawings, 58; miniatures, 57; popularity of, 61.
Posset-cups, earthenware, 94–5, pls. 56D, 57D; glass, 103, 105, pl. 61A; silver, 81–2.
Pot hanger, pl. 68A.
Poultrain, *see* Colt, Maximilian.
Poyntz, Francis, 123–4; Thomas, 124.
Pratt, Sir Roger, 18 ff.; Coleshill, exterior, pl. 7A, staircase, pl. 8A.
Presses, 36, 37 fig. 5, 39, pl. 15A, B.
'Prince's metal', 111.
Principia Mathematica, impact of, 6.
Printed textiles, 124–6.
'Prunts', pl. 61C.
Punch-bowls, 83–4.
Punch work ornament, 31 *and* fig. 1.
Purcell, Henry, 158, 160, 163–4; by Kneller, pl. 91C.
Puritans and Puritanism, 3 ff., 75, 78, 135, 138; and music, 163; mugs, 94; spoon, 87 *and* fig. 5. *See also* pl. 1.
Pyne, Benjamin, 85; waiter by, pl. 49A.

Queen's Chapel, St James's (Jones), 18.
Queen's House, Greenwich (Jones), 17, 20; staircase at, 21.
Quellin, Arnold and Artus, 69–71.
Quilting, 130.

Ramsey, William, tankard by, pl. 53B.
Rand, John, sconce by, 86 fig. 4.
Raphael's 'Acts of the Apostles', 122–3; 'St George', 152, pl. 90C.
Ravenscroft, George, 104–5, pl. 61B.
Ricci, Marco, 60, 62.
Ricci, Sebastiano, uncle of Marco, 60–1.
Rich, Lady Isabel, pl. 79A.
Richardson, Jonathan, 55, pl. 32C.
Richmond, Frances, Duchess of, by Cooper, pl. 33D.
Richmond, Mary, Duchess of, by Van Dyck, pl. 29.
Riley, John, 55, 64, pl. 31C.
Rim-locks, 109, pl. 70.
Robinson, Richard, lock and key by, pl. 69B.
Robinson, Robert, 'chinoiserie', 124.
Rococo, first intimations of, in Kneller, 56; in Thornhill, 60.
'Roemer', or 'romer', 106, pl. 61C.
Romano, Guilio, 123.
Rous and Cullen, potters, 95–6.
Rubens, Peter Paul, influence of his *Palazzo di Genova*, 18; on Charles I, 51; paints Banqueting House ceiling, 21; employed by Charles I, 53, 68.
Rupert, Prince, by Dobson, pl. 62A; his 'metal', 111.
Rushlights, 112.
Rustat, Tobias, monument by Gibbons, 72 fig.

Sackville tomb, by Cibber, 70, pl. 45B.
'Sad' colours, 135.
Sadler, Thomas, 56.
St George's Hall, Windsor, 24, pl. 2.
Salisbury, Earl of, tomb by Colt, 68, pl. 43B.

Salt-glazed stoneware, 95–7, pl. 58.
Salts, 77, 89, pls. 47B, 51A.
Salvers, 83, pl. 51B.
Samplers, 128.
Sash windows, 24.
Satin, 129–30, pl. 77.
Saucer, change of function, 101.
Sayes Court, Deptford, 13 f.
Scissors case, 151, 153 fig. 2, 154, pl. 89C.
Sconces, 85–6, 86 fig. 4, pl. 66.
'Scriptors', *see* 'Scrutoirs'.
'Scrutoirs', 46n, 31, 39.
Seaton Delaval, Northumberland (Vanbrugh), 27 f.
'Seaweed' marquetry, 41.
Serlio, Sebastiano, 18.
Settles, 35; -table, pl. 18A.
Sgraffiato technique, 94.
Shaftesbury, first Earl of, 6–7, 10, 11.
Shaftesbury, third Earl of, 58 f., by Closterman, pl. 34A.
Sheffield cutlery, 115.
Shorleyker, Robert, 128, 127 fig. 1, 129 fig. 2.
Siberechts, Jan, 62, pl. 38.
Silk, 120–1, 128–32, pls. 71–5, 77.
Simpson, Christopher, pl. 94B.
Simpson, Francis and John, 151, 152.
'Skittle-ball' teapots, 85.
'Slip' decoration, 99 ff., pls. 55–6.
'Sluts', 112.
Snuff-box, 89 fig. 6.
Snuffers, 111–12.
Soest, Gerard, 54, 58, pl. 31D.
Somerset House, 20.
Sotheby, James, 58 f.
Souch, John, 53.
Southwark sculpture, 67, pl. 41; pottery, 99 f., pl. 60D.
Spinet, 161; by Player, pl. 92B; *see also* pl. 91A.
Spitalfield silks, 121.
Spoons, silver, 86–8, 87 fig. 5; other metals, 115.
Staffordshire pottery, 94 ff., 98, 99 fig. 3, pls. 55D, 56A, B, C, 58C; 'Toft' ware, 94, pl. 56A.
Staircases, 17, 21–6, pl. 8A, B.
Stansted, Sussex (Talman?), 23 fig. 3, 26.
Stanton, William, master mason, 20.
Stanton, William and Edward, 69.
Stanwell Church, Middlesex, 67, pl. 41B.
Stapleford Hall, Leics., 21.
Starch, widespread use of, 136.
State bed, 44, pl. 20A.
Stayner, Thomas, 71.
Steeple-cups, 75–6, pl. 47A, B, C.
'Steinkirk' cravat, 140, pl. 86.
Stone, Nicholas, 67–9, pl. 41B.
Stoneware, 95–9 *and* figs. 2, 3; pls. 58, 59D.
Stonor, Lady Elizabeth, by Wright, pl. 32A.
Stools, 33 ff., 31, 164 fig.; joined, 34 f., 35 fig. 3.
Stourhead, Wilts., 68, pl. 44A.
Strafford, Earl of, by Van Dyck, 52, pl. 27; his Garter jewel, 152, pl. 90B.
Streeter, Robert, 59.
Stretchers, difference between Dutch and English, 42.
Stuart, Lady Arabella, pl. 79B.
Stump-work, 126, 129, 130.
Sudbury Hall, Derbyshire, 59, 61.
Sunderland, Earl of, by Lely, pl. 30C.
Swakeleys, Middlesex, 20, pl. 6A.

Tables, 36 ff.; decorated friezes on, 37; draw, 37, pl. 16C; gate-leg, 36 ff., 45 *and see* 30, pls. 16A, 19A; gesso, 40, pl. 19B; lacquer, 40; legs of, 37 f., 41, pls. 16A, C, 19A, B, C; settle-, 35, pl. 18A; side, 37 f., pl. 19C. *See also* pls. 1, 35B, 62A, 83.
'Take down a peg', meaning of, 81.
Tallboy, 44.
Talman, William, 24 ff.; and Castle Howard, 26; Chatsworth, 24 f., pls. 10A, 11A; dependence on France, 26; Stansted, 23 fig. 3; Uppark, 25 fig. 4.
Tankards, earthenware, 94, pl. 55B; peg-, 81, pl. 50A; porcelain, 101, pl. 59C; silver, 79–81, pls. 48A, 53B, 62B.
Tapestries, 121–4, 119, pls. 72–3.
'Tazza-shaped' wine cups, 79.
Tea, 101; 'Bohea', 45.
Teapots, silver, 84–5 *and* figs. 2, 3; stoneware, 97 fig. 2, 98, 101, pls. 58C, 59D.
'Tenebristi' painters, 52.
Terborch, Gerard, 54, pl. 85B.
Terry, F., steeple-cup by, pl. 47A.
Textiles, stylistic evolution of, 119, 126; woollen, first used for suits, 135.
Thornhill, Sir James, 59, 60, 64, pl. 37B.
Thorpe Hall, Northants. (Mills), 18, 21.
Thurstone, Sarah, coverlet by, 130, pl. 77.
'Tichborne Dole, The', by Van Tilborch, 62, pl. 39B.
Tickenhall, Derbyshire, pottery, 95.
Tijou, Jean, 24.
Tillemans, Peter, 63, pl. 40A.
Tin-glazed earthenware, 99–100, pls. 57, 60D, E.
'Toft' ware, 94, pl. 56A.
Toilet-sets, 83.
Tomb sculpture, 67 ff., pls. 41–3, 45.
Tompion clocks, 11.
Tonson, Jacob, 173.
Tontin family, 152.
'Transitional' porcelain, 103, pl. 59A.
Trencher, 114; -salt, 77.
'Tridarns', 36.
Trifid forks, 87, pl. 54B; spoons, 87.
Trio-sonata, 159, 163, 164.
Turkey work, 32, 41, 131.
Turkish carpets, 131.
Twist turning, difference between Dutch and English, 42.
'Tyg', 93, pl. 55C.

Upholstered seat furniture, 33 f.
Uppark, Sussex (Talman?), 25 fig. 4, 26.

Vanbrugh, Sir John, 26 ff., 61; attracted by medieval architecture, 28; Blenheim, pl. 12B; Castle Howard, pls. 12A, 13B; Grimsthorpe, pl. 14B; influenced by Wren, 24. *See also* pl. 14A.
Vanderbank, John, 124, pl. 73.
Van de Velde, Willem, 63, 124.
Van Diepenbeeck, Abraham, 63.
Van Dyck, Sir Anthony, arrives in London, 50; influence of, 51 ff.; landscape painting, 53; portrait of Charles I, xii; *see also* pls. 26C, 27, 29, 82, *and next entry*.
Vandyke beard, 138.
Van Heemskerck, Egbert, 64.
Van Hoogstraaten, Samuel, 63.
Van Ost, *see* Nost, John.
Van Somer, Paul, 50, 52.
Van Tilborch, Gillis, 62, pl. 39B.
Velvet, 120–1.
Veneering, 31, 39, 41, 43, 45, 46.
Venetian influence: glass, 9, 103; Kneller, 55; Pellegrini, 60–1; Thornhill, 60; wine-cups, 79.
Venice, Convent of S. Giorgio Maggiore, 21; glass from, 103 ff., *and see* 105 fig. 4.
Vere, Sir Horace, pl. 84B.
Verelst, Simon, 63.
Verrio, Antonio, by Kneller, pl. 32B; work at Burghley, 59 f., pl. 36; and at Windsor, 59.
'Vetro di Trina', 79.
Viols and violins, 160 ff.; bass viol by Norman, pl. 93A, B; instruction book for, pl. 94A. *See also* pl. 4.
Virginals, 161, 164 fig., pl. 91A.
Vishnu-knop spoons, 88.

Wafer irons, 114.
'Wainscot' furniture, 39.
Wainscoted rooms, 20, 32.
Waistcoats, 136, 139, 144, pl. 86.
Waiter, pl. 49A.
Wakefield, William, 28.
Walker, Robert, 52.
Walnut, 39.
Walpole, Horace, on chairs, 32.
Wan-li porcelain, 100, 102.
Warming pans, 13, 114, pl. 69A.
Watch-cases, 151, 154, pl. 90A.
Watches, 109, 149, 151.
Watson, Samuel, carvings at Chatsworth, 26, pl. 10A.
Webb, John, assistant to Inigo Jones, 19 ff.; and interior decoration, 21.
Webbe, Edward, clock by, pl. 63.
Wedgwood family, potters, 98.
White, Robert, 58.
'White' glass, 105.
'Whitehall group' of patrons, 53.
Whitehall Palace, 24, 57.
Wigs, 138, 140, pl. 86.
Wilbye, John, 160, 161.
Willaume, David, 78; ewer by, pl. 52A.
William and Mary, 7 f.; *see also* Mary, Queen.
Williams, John, goldsmith, 75.
Wilton House, Wilts., 18 ff.; Double Cube Room (Jones), 20–1, 53, pl. 9A; south front by de Caux, 18.

Wiltshire pottery, 95.
Windows: Belton House, 24; Charlton House, 17 f., pl. 5A; Chevening, 18, 19 fig. 1; Coleshill, 19, pl. 7A; glass for, 105; Queen's House, Greenwich, 17, pl. 5B; sash, first used at Windsor, 24; Swakeleys, 20, pl. 6A.
Windsor: Apartments by May, 24; and their influence on baroque, 24, 59, 61; hangings, 125; St George's Hall, pl. 2; first painted staircases at, 24.
Wine-bottles, 100, 105–6, pl. 60E, *see also* pl. 62A, B; 'Bellarmine', 96, pl. 58A.
Wine-cistern, 115; -coolers, 115; -cups, 79; -flagons, 115; -glasses, 104–6, 105 fig. 4, pl. 60A, B, C, *see also* pl. 62A, B.
Wissing, Willem, 54–6, 64.
Withyham Church, Sussex, 70, pl. 45B.
Wollaston, John, 56.
Wootton, John, 63.
Worsley, Sir Robert, by Greenhill, pl. 33E.
Wotton, Sir Henry, 64.
Woven stuffs, 119–21.
Wren, Sir Christopher, development towards baroque, 24; first experiments in large-scale planning, 24; on English artists, 22; 7, 10, 11, 69, 71 (mentions).
Wright, Sir Edmund, of Swakeleys, 20, pl. 6A.
Wright, John Michael, 54 ff., pl. 32A.
Writing-masters, 171; *see also* vii, 14, 106, 180 (figs.).
Wrotham pottery, 93 f., pl. 55A, C.
Wyck, Jan, 63, pl. 40C.

Yale, Elihu, his tapestries, 124.
Yi-hsing stoneware, 101–2, 84, 98, pl. 59D.
York, Duke of, by Lely, pl. 26B.

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Antiquities concerning the English Nation (Verstegen) (1605), 50.

Book of Martyrs (Foxe) (1563), 168.
Book of Severall Jewellers Work, A (Herbst) (1710), 152–3, figs.
Britannia Illustrata (Kip) (1707), 16 fig. 1, 23 fig. 3, 25 fig. 4, 26, 28.

Compendium of Practical Music (Simpson) (1667), pl. 94B.
Complete English Tradesman, The (Defoe) (1745), 42.
Course of Chirurgical Operations (Dionis) (1733), 83.

Delightes for Ladies (Platt) (1644), 106.
Diary (Evelyn) (ed. 1818), 13, 19, 96.
Diary (Pepys), 44, 69, 83, 84, 114, 115, 140.
Dictionary (Kersey) (1706), 115.

Elements of Architecture (Wotton), (1624), 64.
Essayes (Cornwallyes) (1632), pl. 83.

Genteel Habits of England, The (Marmion), (*c.* 1644), pl. 1.

History of the Rebellion (Clarendon) (1702–4), 49, 173.

Journal (Fiennes) (ed. 1947), 45, 62, 106, 121, 130.

Letters from the Dead to the Living (Brown) (1702), 140.
Life and Times (Wood) (ed. 1894), 83.
London Amusements (Brown) (1700), 140.

Memoirs (Evelyn) (1637), 101.
Memoirs (Hutchinson) (ed. 1806), 135.
Mundus Muliebris (Evelyn) (1690), 143, 153.
Musick's Monument (Mace) (1676), 161, 162 fig. 1, pl. 94A.

Needle's Excellency, The (Boler) (1640), 128.
Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne (Kip) (1707–8), 62.

Observations (Robinson) (1625), 161.

Palazzi di Genova (Rubens) (1622), 18.
Paradise Lost (Milton) (1667), 6, 173.
Penna Volans (Cocker) (1661), 106, 180.
Principia Mathematica (Newton), (1687), 6.

Queen-like Closet, The (Woolley) (1670), 83.

Roxburgh Ballads (1680–90), 113, 139.

Scholehouse for the Needle, A (Shorleyker) (1624), 127 fig. 1, 129 fig. 2.
Sylva (Evelyn) (1664), 39, 40.

Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain (Defoe) (1724–7), 102, 125.
Treatise of Japaning and Varnishing, A (Stalker and Parker) (1688), 40, 46.
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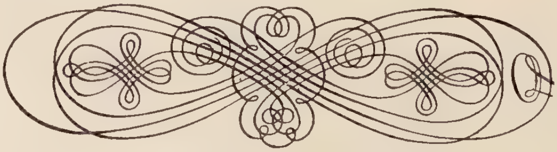
See also titles cited in article on 'Printing', pages 170–1.



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